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THE

AMERICAN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. XVIII.

SEPTEMBER & DECEMBER, 1835.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY LYDIA R. BAILEY,
NO. 26 NORTH FIFTH STREET.
1835.

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Report of William Crawford, Esq. on the Penitentiaries of the United States, addressed to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. Presented by his Majesty's command. Ordered to be printed, 13th March, 1835.

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AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXXV.

SEPTEMBER, 1835.

ART. I.—*Philip van Artevelde; a Dramatic Romance, in two parts.* By HENRY TAYLOR. Cambridge and Boston. 2 vols. 12mo. 1835.

THE readers of poetry in the present day are much in the condition of revellers after a banquet. They are satiated with the abundance and richness of the viands offered to their taste during the period of exuberance and enthusiasm in the first part of the present century, when the eager relish for poetical productions was commensurate with their rapid supply. The festival is over; naught remains to tempt the appetite, rendered fastidious by sweets; and the guests have nothing left to do but criticise the character of their past entertainment. An apathy has succeeded, for which it might be easy to account, did there exist a perfect analogy between the constitution of the human body and the human mind. Were the latter satisfied, as is the former, by an abundance of aliment, and incapable of receiving benefit from what it imbibes beyond a certain point, a reason might readily be assigned for the indifference if not distaste which prevails at present with regard to poetry. But such is not the case. The mind's appetite but "grows by what it feeds on," its wants and its desires increase in proportion to their gratification; the soul that drinks most deeply at the fountain of knowledge, feels more and more intensely the thirst it endeavours to slake. Thus it is no less evident that the mental capabilities are unbounded, than that there is a limit to the wants of our physical nature.

Where, then, it may be asked, must we look for the cause of the present satiety, and of the poverty of our own day in works of poetical genius? Not in the profusion we have already enjoyed;

there is no inherent reason why we should weary in the pursuits of imaginative literature, more than in the graver walks of knowledge, simply because so much has been attained. Nor do we think the barrenness of which we complain, owing to the fact so often adduced to account for the want of original fiction, that the field of invention has been already a thousand times traversed and retraversed, till nothing remains to reap therefrom. We do not expect the poet to create. When we demand originality, we have no idea that he is required to step beyond the ordinary limits of nature, and produce something equally new and startling to the eye and to the fancy. He can but do what others have done before him; collect and arrange and combine the various materials which nature in her vast range has furnished; and he shall be esteemed superior or inferior to others, according as his combinations are more or less in harmony with the universally recognised principles of truth. It is absurd to talk of the materials for poetry being exhausted. It is true "there is nothing new under the sun;" but novelty is not what we should look for, and is very far from constituting the basis of all that is attractive, and improving, and elevating, in poetical literature. The proper aim of poetry is not to dazzle, but to instruct and please, by the vivid representation of what is passing around and within us; and so long as external nature has charms, as men have thoughts and passions, there will be ample store of materials for the exercise of genius.

The temporary decline of the popular taste for poetry is, we think, attributable in great measure to the character of the recent school. The writers belonging to it have addressed themselves chiefly to the feelings instead of the understanding. To obtain an empire over the heart and fancy, they brought into the field every force, and employed every means likely to secure them the victory. They charmed the ear by their melody, captivated the imagination by their luxuriance of imagery, and wrought upon the sensibilities by their glowing delineations of passion; but while they succeeded in awakening the strongest emotions, the intellect remained unmoved; and the subject of a momentary spell soon recovered to wonder where were vanished the charms that had so lately entranced him. Their pictures were not lifelike, but exaggerated; and the richness of colouring and splendour of drapery with which they were invested, if they delighted the eye, served only to disguise the realities they pretended to represent. The poets of this class had little to do with nature as it truly exists in the mind of man. They taught us nothing that we might apply to the ordinary occurrences of life; they did not point out to the mental vision the rocks and quicksands on the sea of common existence; nor was the light they afforded the serene guiding star which shone a beacon in the firmament to direct wanderers

in the way of safety; it was rather the fitful and fleeting meteor, which dazzles for a time, to disturb and distort the sight accustomed to its delusive glare. They suffered little rational reflection to mingle in the profusion of impassioned sentiment and glowing imagery that abounded in their productions; whatever was indisputably and palpably true they seemed disposed to neglect from principle, as if it belonged not to their art to inculcate truth, or deduct inferences from what is visible and tangible. Aspiring to lift themselves far above the cold things of this world, they disdained to ally the impalpable spirit of their fancies with the dull weight of reason, forgetting that such a union is both natural and indispensable.

The pleasure afforded by a perusal of the works of these writers was undoubtedly great, but it was more intense than durable in its nature. They appealed exclusively to the passions, to the excitabilities of men; and though these might readily be influenced, and at first in a surprising degree, the effect in continued efforts would gradually but certainly diminish. This result was unavoidable; the food offered to satisfy the public appetite consisted of luxuries, which produced unnatural excitement, but were incapable of affording valuable nourishment to the understanding; and hence such dainties, though various and highly seasoned, soon palled upon the taste, and tended to destroy the relish for the healthy but plainer aliment better suited to the rational faculties of the soul. The power of moving the feelings and enchanting the imagination, possessed in so eminent a degree by the poets of whom we speak, was not only sufficient to blind us to their deficiencies, but to render us comparatively insensible to the beauties of those elder writers, whose works have stood the test of time and criticism, and remain as the standards of excellence for future years. The superficial brilliancy of modern refinement dazzled and bewildered us, and "as at the funeral of Arvalan, the torch-light put out the star-light."

But these great luminaries of former time are destined to shine forth again with unobscured and unforgotten splendour. The keen relish for the more superficial charms of verse, and for that species of poetry which holds dominion only over the sentient faculties, has already passed away, and will be followed by the revival of a pure taste, and a rational perception of whatever is great and excellent and beautiful, in the matter as well as in the adornments of this most exquisite and noble art. The great fault of the poets of the late school is the want of subject matter. Their splendid structures are for the most part without a foundation, and must therefore speedily fall to decay. Take one of the most admired of their productions; strip it of its brilliant and glowing vesture of lovely imagery and language, and what remains? We look for the form that sustained this wealth of ornament—but, lo!

it is not—it has vanished into subtle air! They deemed it quite unnecessary, in weaving the bright web of their fantasies, to consider whether aught was tangible beneath it. Their lucubrations resembled the gorgeous tints of sunset clouds, which enchant the eye for a time, but are presently dispersed by the winds, leaving no impression upon the memory save the vague idea of their surpassing but transient loveliness.

We agree with Mr. Taylor's estimate of the character of Lord Byron's poetry. He may be placed at the head of the writers of whom we have spoken, as entitled to that place not only from the superiority of his genius, but from the vast impulse given by his works to the taste he first rendered prevalent. He combined, in an eminent degree, the most powerful recommendations of that peculiar style of poetry—passionate feeling, brilliancy and fervour of imagery, and magnificence of diction. Yet he was deficient in knowledge of human nature, at least in that appreciating and discriminative knowledge essential to the constitution of the true poetry, which will command lasting and universal admiration after the gloss of novelty is worn away. The dark spirit prevailing in his works, resulted either from the brooding of a morbid and distempered fancy, or a want of perception of what is good in human nature; in either case equally at variance with enlightened reason. The views of mankind which shut out the better things of humanity, are no less erroneous than those which regard only its excellencies. "There is no such thing," justly observes the author of the book before us, "as philosophical misanthropy; and if a misanthropical spirit, be it genuine or affected, be found to pervade a man's writings, that spirit may be poetical as far as it goes, but being at fault in its philosophy, it will never, in the long run of time, approve itself equal to the institution of a poetical fame of the highest and most durable order." The defects observable in Lord Byron's conception of human nature are peculiarly shown in the characters he has drawn. These are rather abstractions than representations; abstractions of some particular passion, which is painted in high relief, to the obscuring of every other object. There is no alternative of light and shade in his pictures; no blending of good and evil, of excellence and imperfection, as in nature, and in the highest works of art. "His heroes," again to quote Mr. Taylor, "are creatures abandoned to their passions, and essentially, therefore, weak of mind. Strip them of the veil of mystery and the trappings of poetry, resolve them into their plain realities, and they are such beings as, in the eyes of a man of masculine judgment, would certainly excite no sentiment of admiration, even if they did not provoke contempt. When the conduct and feelings attributed to them are reduced to prose, and brought to the test of a rational consideration, they must be perceived to be beings in whom there is no strength, ex-

cept that of their intensely selfish passions—in whom all is vanity; their exertions being for vanity, under the name of love, or revenge, and their sufferings for vanity, under the name of pride. If such beings as these are to be regarded as heroical, where in human nature are we to look for what is low in sentiment, or infirm in character?"

If even the energy and richness of Lord Byron's poetry was insufficient to compensate for the absence of solid material and useful truth, if even his productions would have palled with repetition, and fail to command that continued and undiminished admiration which is the test of pre-eminent worth, it is surely not to be expected that the efforts of his imitators, who stand immeasurably below him in the scale of merit, will satisfy the public mind. The language of emotion rendered popular by him, has been adopted by them in every possible variety; but we cease to be affected by these conventional expressions of passion, unadorned as they frequently are by the brilliant charms belonging to their great prototype.

The poetry of Shelley and his imitators, "followers of the fantastic school," differs from that of Byron in being yet more vague and shadowy and unreal. He truly "seems to have written under the notion that no phenomena can be perfectly poetical, till they shall be so decomposed from their natural order and coherency, as to be brought before the reader in the likeness of a phantasma or vision." We have been often delighted with the genius of Shelley. We have been charmed with his imagery, his diction, and his melody of versification. We have wandered with him in ideal regions of majesty and beauty, and have had our senses steeped in Elysium by the splendour offered to our view, and have been entranced into forgetfulness of this world, and all that belongs to it. Nor would we be understood as depreciating the power that can create illusions so magnificent. We do not mean to say that the taste is erroneous which admires works of this class, and feels their beauties with intense appreciation. Nay, we would not part with a single charm of the modern school, could it be retained without the sacrifice of higher and graver things. But we do maintain that the eager relish for this kind of poetry has been in great measure productive of indifference for that of a more enduring, though less fascinating order. Conceiving the elevation and expansion of the intellect to be of more importance than the gratification of the senses, we maintain that the strong desire for exciting novelties has exerted a prejudicial influence, in blunting our sensibility to what is really excellent, but affords no powerful stimulus. It is only in this view that we would deprecate excessive admiration for outward embellishment—when it tends to make us forget the inward and substantial portion which may be called the soul, the intellectual and immortal part of poetry.

Truth is the only eternal basis that will sustain the fair creations of genius; that lends them grace and beauty, and imparts to their charms its own enduring and fadeless nature. That poetry will, in the end, be alone most permanently admired, which conveys valuable knowledge to the mind, in a form the most attractive. Not that species of knowledge which we seek to obtain in laborious study from graver works, or dissertations upon the sciences; but a knowledge of ourselves, of the wonders of external nature, and the hidden workings of the human mind. It is the province of poetry to unfold to us the labyrinth of thought and passion, to point out the secret springs of human action, to supply us with food for contemplation, and to direct our attention to all that is beautiful or excellent in the natural or moral world. These high ends may be accomplished by it more readily and more effectively than in any other way, since it is the most comprehensive and perfect of all languages; the language above all others which seizes man by his humanity itself—idea for spirit, feeling for soul, imagery for the fancy, and music for the ear! It is never at variance with philosophy or good sense. The bard, in his loftiest flight, will find his accordance with the principles of congruity and reason, no clog upon his wings:—even in the acknowledged domain of fancy, the immutable law of truth is recognised, and we fail not to observe and condemn any violation of that law. Good poetry, in the highest and purest sense of the term, is that which, while it charms the fancy, awakens reflection, and exalts and refines the faculties; and after reading which, we feel that we have acquired something worthy of remembrance.

It is not then, to any decline in public taste for poetry in itself, that we are to attribute the sluggishness that has so long prevailed in relation to it; but to the character of the poetical productions of the present century, unfitting those who relished them in an extreme degree, for the appreciation and enjoyment of works of a graver, and we may be permitted to say, of a higher cast. But we trust that this apathy will not long continue, and that popular taste will be revived for productions resembling in scope and in solid excellence those to which we owe the stability of our literature. When such shall be the case, we shall have no longer reason to complain of the poverty of modern invention.

In an age of utility like the present, it is natural to suppose that poetry should partake of a similar character. It has varied in the different periods of the world:—simple in the simplicity that belonged to the childhood of nations, the "prattling of human intelligence,"—amorous and pastoral among a young and pastoral community—warlike and epic among a warlike people, and grave, philosophical, and bold in the successive stages of advanced civilization and independence. It has ever been "the divinity that stirs within" the breast of man; following him through the various

stages of his social condition; accommodating itself to his wants, purifying his pleasures, consoling his sorrows; truly and eminently the "guardian angel of humanity." We can conceive that at the end of time, if ever a period arrive when all the sentiments of the human heart shall be extinguished and absorbed in one, when the passions and strifes of men shall give way to immediate anticipation of the future—that poetry will also be sublimed into devotion, and will be no more below than "an adoration and a hymn." But we have not reached those days; a vast space yet remains between the actual state of humanity and the end to which it may attain; and poetry, from this to that period, will have new and high destinies to fulfil, in which its character must differ essentially from what it has hitherto been. We may here quote a distinguished French poet, who says, speaking of the future destinies of poetry:—"It will never more be lyric, in our acceptation of the term; it has no longer sufficient youth, freshness, or spontaneousness of impression, to sing as at the first waking of human thought. It will never more be epic; man has lived too long, has reflected too much, to suffer himself to be amused and interested by long descriptions; and experience has destroyed his faith in the marvels with which the epic poem enchanted his credulity. It will never more be dramatic; because the scene of real life in our times of liberty and political action, has an interest more real, more intimate and stirring than the scene of the theatre, because society, formerly easily amused, has become critical. Poetry will become reason versified; such for a long period will be its destiny. It will be social, political, philosophical, religious; like the epochs through which the human race are to pass. It will above all be personal, meditative, and grave—no longer a sport of the mind, a melodious caprice of superficial thought, but the deep, sincere imbodyment of the highest conceptions of intelligence. It will be man himself, and no longer his image—the true and entire man." But because more real, will it have less of life, less of intensity, less of action than heretofore? No! it will speak more vividly, more truly, the language of the soul. It will assume a higher character than before; it will take the name of all that is lofty and sublime in our nature; and elevate and enlighten, not by giving us distorted and delusive views of the objects around us, but by enlarging and clearing the intellectual vision.

It is time to proceed to the examination of the book before us, which has occasioned these remarks; and to determine whether it furnishes an appropriate example of the kind of poetry we have endeavoured to recommend. The author in his preface has shown himself aware of the rocks and shallows on which the poetical taste of the public has been stranded, and evidently aspires to guide it in a safer course. It is true that he says, "his critical views have rather resulted from composition than directed it;"

but from one who professedly adventures in a new field, we have a right to expect that his practice should illustrate his theory, and to measure his powers by its success.

The author of "Philip van Artevelde" has voluntarily encountered difficulties in the production of his work, which might have been avoided, and which naturally stand in the way of its immediate popularity. The first of these is the form in which he has chosen to present it to the reader. It is a dramatic romance; or as he calls it—"an historical romance, cast in a dramatic and rhythmical form," without, however, being designed for the stage, as it is "equal in length to about six such plays as are adapted to representation." A dramatic poem undoubtedly has its advantages, in affording opportunity for a stronger delineation of character, by bringing us more closely into contact with the individuals depicted, and enabling us to trace more accurately the workings of mind, and the secret springs of action. But it necessarily excludes description, and poetical ornament of various kinds, which, though it may be readily enough dispensed with in a play of the usual length, where the action is condensed, is almost essential to assist us in rambling through two good sized duodecimo volumes. Great force in conception of character, vigorous and concentrated dialogue, richness of poetic diction, and above all a deep and absorbing interest in the incidents of the story—are here necessary to compensate for all that we relinquish in abandoning the descriptive style. The author should infuse into his work an air of reality, which may captivate the attention, and convey to the mind the most vivid impression. His tints should glow with the warm colouring of life, while his outlines present the grace and vivacity and strength of actual being. The dramatic faculty is pre-eminently creative; and its creatures do not appear in shadowy and visionary indistinctness, but breathe and move before our eyes. This rare power is essentially requisite to the constitution of a dramatic poet; and it is owing to its absence in many of our greatest writers, that their efforts in this line have been comparatively unsuccessful.

Another of the difficulties imposed upon himself by Mr. Taylor, lies in his selection of a subject. Few readers are intimately acquainted with, and still fewer care any thing about, the portion of history upon which the action of his work is founded. An insurrection in a few Flemish towns, actuated by a spirit of resistance to feudal tyranny, is a fact undoubtedly of some importance to the political historian, but of very little to the multitude who read merely for amusement. Little romantic interest has ever been attached to the exploits of the Whitehoods of Ghent, or the daring deeds of John Lyon, or the brewer Jacques van Artevelde. Had our author dramatised a portion of the history of New Holland, or adventured into the wilds of Kamtschatka, he could not have

failed to find a theme equally promising, and a soil as congenial, in which to plant the flowers of poetry. Notwithstanding all that may be said to prove that "there is nothing in a name," we doubt much whether any reader who shall glance over the *dramatis personæ* of these two volumes, will feel a strong disposition to inquire into the doings or sayings of persons endowed with such uneuphonious appellations. Assuredly such cognomens as "Van den Bosch," "Van Drongelen," "Van Muck," "Myk Steensel," "Sir Simon Bette," "Sir Guisebert Grutt," "Roosdyk," "Van Stockenstrom," and "Van Whelk," were never destined

"To fill the sounding trump of future fame,"

or to figure upon the pages of a poetical work. We hold it a sin to have disturbed these worthy burghers and citizens—who doubtless during their lives held in execration the frivolities of poetry, and to the rapturous announcement of some inspired bard,

"See—the roseate day is breaking!"

would have answered, smoking their pipes with renewed energy —"Let it *break!* it owes me nothing"—from their oblivious repose, to drag them into a new arena, and force them to talk in tropes and blank verse. We think that herein Mr. Taylor has not only done injustice to them, but to himself. But perhaps he opined that his triumph over such obstacles as we have mentioned would be the more signal from their intervention; that the difficulties on which he has ventured would only serve to enhance his success. This he may have thought; and truly we have no little veneration for the prowess of the man who has armed himself to contend against such dangers, confident in the excellence of his cause, and assured that his valour and his good steel will win him the victory. Our respect for his genius would have been greatly enhanced, had he succeeded, in spite of his various hindrances, in rendering his work eminently interesting and excellent. This, however, he has not done. Philip van Artevelde, though a production not devoid of decided merits, and possessing some qualities which will wear permanently well, has faults that must prevent a high degree of success. The chief of these is its want of interest. Whether it be an immediate defect in the material, which *will not* be wrought up into an attractive form, or an emanation from the phlegmatic natures of its Flemish heroes, we know not; but it is certain that a dull and leaden influence pervades the whole. Though a few of the scenes are not deficient in action, there is a want of stirring animation and life throughout; and beyond all, of that power of arresting and enchaining the attention, and awakening the sympathies, without which a dramatic composition is nothing. Many readers who commence, will throw aside the first volume, without any inclination to pursue the thread

of the tale; though the few who achieve the whole of its five hundred pages or less, will feel rewarded for a task in some degree wearisome, by the numerous beauties they will have encountered. We can follow the whole course of the hero's fortunes, from the period of his first entrance into political life to his death, without experiencing the slightest emotion. To prove the justice of our judgment in this respect, we will enter into a brief analysis of the work; and afterwards examine more fully its claims to a high place among the literary performances of the present age.

The Whitehoods of Ghent, so called from their being distinguished by wearing white hoods, were a party disaffected to the government of their feudal lord the Earl of Flanders, and were first instituted by a burgess named John Lyon. The spirit of insubordination on the part of the commonalty was rife in the fourteenth century, not only among the Flemish towns, but also in France and England. Philip van Artevelde is chosen by the disaffected citizens to head their forces, and to govern in Ghent. He is the son of a brewer who had rode likewise the stormy sea of faction, and been wrecked at last in its tempests, and has hitherto passed his life in a retirement, which, warned by the examples of ambition, he is at first reluctant to quit. This natural repugnance to encounter the dangers attendant on public life, he communicates to Van den Bosch—who had been commissioned to present the weighty matter for his consideration—in the figurative style of speech allowed to the hero, by way of eminence, throughout the book:

> "Your vessel, Van den Bosch, hath felt the storm:
> She rolls dismasted in an ugly swell,
> And you would make a jury-mast of me,
> Whereon to spread the tatters of your canvass.
> And what am I?—Why, I am as the oak,
> Which stood apart, far down the vale of life,
> Growing retired beneath a quiet sky.
> Wherefore should this be added to the wreck?"

The honest Van den Bosch, unable to apprehend the drift of his friend's metaphors, is obliged to request an explanation:

> "*Van den Bosch.* I pray you, speak it in the Burgher's tongue;

to which Artevelde replies:

> "The question, to be plain, is briefly this;
> Shall I, who, chary of tranquillity,
> Not busy in this factious city's broils,
> Nor frequent in the market place, eschewed
> The even battle—shall I join the rout?"

Two hours are allowed to determine whether he will accept or decline the dangerous post offered him, and in the meantime he visits Adriana, the lady of his heart, for the purpose of declaring his passion. We learn here that he has resolved to venture upon

the enterprise; and the adoption of this resolution throws him into a mood of moralizing, which he indulges to the evident impatience of his gentle mistress.

To be brief, Artevelde is hailed by his fellow-citizens as "Captain of Ghent," and begins his rule with every promise of maintaining discipline and good order. He tenders his passport, "good till sunset," to Sir Walter d'Arlon, an adherent of the Earl of Flanders, and the acknowledged and accepted lover of his sister Clara; interrupts a bargain between Occo and some citizens for his blood; and detects and overthrows the traitors who have plotted against him. The Lord of Occo deserts to the standard of the Earl of Flanders, carrying with him as a captive, Adriana van Merestyn, the betrothed of Artevelde. A herald is shortly after despatched from Bruges to the rebellious city, now reduced to extremity by famine and pestilence, prescribing the terms on which clemency will be extended to the besieged.

> "That every man and woman born in Ghent,
> Shall meet him on the road, half way to Bruges,
> Barefooted and bareheaded, in their shirts,
> With halters on their necks, and there kneel down,
> And place their lives and chattels at his mercy."

The only alternative to these severe proposals, is a lingering death "at the altar's foot," or a bold and desperate sally against the forces of the Earl, which last is finally resolved upon by the men of Ghent. The undertaking is vigorously prosecuted, and they proceed to Bruges, surprise and vanquish the forces of the Earl, who is fain to take refuge in a hovel, and make themselves masters of the town. Van Artevelde recovers his stolen bride; and his sister, who had figured as a page on the field of battle, is restored to her lover d'Arlon; while the traitor Occo is led to execution, in spite of the merciful pleadings of the injured Adriana. This event closes the first part: the second opens in a different scene, and with a different set of characters, a considerable space of time being supposed to have elapsed. Philip van Artevelde is now Regent of Flanders; owns a goodly number of towns, and "wields at his single will the Flemish force, five hundred thousand swords." Nevertheless, his short-lived prosperity is already declining; he is "in the dusk and sunset of his fortunes." He receives the messengers of the Court of France in princely state, at the head of his council, and listens with majestic disdain to the summons of the herald;

> "Thou from before this town of Oudenarde,
> With all thy host shalt vanish like a mist;
> Thou shalt surrender to their rightful lord,
> The towns of Ghent, and Ypres, Cassel, Bruges,
> Of Thorout, Rousselart, Damme, Sluys, and Bergues,
> Of Harlebecque, Poperinguen, Dendermonde,
> Alost and Grammont; and with them all towns
> Of lesser name, all castles and strong houses,

Shalt thou deliver up before the Feast
Of Corpus Christi coming—which undone,
He, the said puissant king, Sir Charles of France,
With all attendance of his chivalry,
Will raise his banner and his kingdom's force,
And scattering that vile people which thou lead'st,
Will hang thee on a tree, and nail thy head
Over the gates of Ghent, the mother of ill,
That spawned thee."—

Philip, however, in all the vicissitudes of fortune, has not lost his former habit of moralizing and metaphorizing, and he indulges it here in a prodigiously long speech, which the mystified ambassador rightly interprets as indicating a hostile disposition:

"*Sir Fleureant.* This alone
Is clear, that we are charged to carry back
A warlike answer.
"*Artevelde.* You have caught my sense."

War of course ensues; Artevelde previously despatching Father John to solicit the aid of Richard of England.

It is proper to mention, that the females who moved in the first part of the drama are no longer upon the scene. Adriana is dead, and Philip has supplied her place in his affections by an Italian lady of dubious character, who is first introduced to our notice in a lyric poem called the "Lay of Elena," at the end of the first volume. It is during an interview with her, that Artevelde discovers, through her attendant, that Sir Fleureant, the French ambassador, has bribed several of his soldiers to carry incendiary letters to many of the towns in his dominions. He detects the plot in time to arrest two of the fugitives; and Sir Fleureant is thrown into prison, to await the punishment of his treachery. He is, however, liberated at the intercession of Elena, and placed at large within the camp on his parole, which he soon violates, to return to the French Court, and meditate an evil requital for Artevelde's clemency. A meeting of the French Lords of the Council, in which the discussions are conducted in a truly diplomatic style, results in the adoption of vigorous measures against Van Artevelde, in whose despite fortune seems at length to have armed herself. Van den Bosch is slain and dies in Ypres; and Philip, disheartened by the intelligence of successive disastrous events, prepares for a final struggle with his enemies. A warning of his approaching fate is given him on the eve of the fatal day, in the approved style—the sight of an apparition—which he relates with much circumlocution to Elena, stating that he has frequently of late been subject to such visitations:

"*Artevelde.* That such existences there are, I know;
For whether by the corporal organ framed,
Or painted by a brainish fantasy
Upon the inner sense, not once nor twice,
But sundry times, have I beheld such things,
Since my tenth year, and *most in this last past.*"

The vision appears in the form of his dead wife—

> —— "Suspended in the air
> She seemed, and o'er her breast her arms were crossed;
> Her feet were drawn together, pointing downwards,
> And rigid was her form, and motionless.
> From near her heart, as if the source were there,
> A stain of blood went wavering to her feet.
> So she remained, inflexible as stone,
> And I as fixedly regarded her.
> Then suddenly, and in a line oblique,
> Thy figure darted past her, whereupon,
> Though rigid still, and straight, she downward moved,
> And as she pierced the river with her feet,
> Descending steadily, the streak of blood
> Peeled off upon the water, which, as she vanished,
> Appeared all blood, and swelled and weltered sore;
> And midmost in the eddy and the whirl,
> My own face saw I, which was pale and calm
> As death could make it:—then the vision passed."—

The natural interpretation of this phenomenon was that he should come to his death near the same bridge where he witnessed it; and so it falls out:—he falls by the hand of the false knight Sir Fleureant, to whom poetical justice is dealt by Elena, who, after stabbing him, dies herself upon the body of her lover.

Such is the outline of the story, and it will be perceived that there is little to excite interest in the leading incidents. Nor are they embellished by any of those slight touches which often impart an engaging air to the most barren details; no exhibitions of intense passion, or even of strong emotion, relieve the dryness and meagreness of the plot. The development of the successive events is slow and heavy; the action, though progressive, not close; and the catastrophe far from impressive. Besides, the characters, though well discriminated, are not striking. The hero is more a reflective than an acting personage; not one we should imagine calculated to retain his sway over a factious people. As the quaint Van den Bosch tells him, he "talks and talks" quite too much. He is cold and phlegmatic in his temperament; passionless in love, as he is deliberate in council; altogether a being little fitted for the purposes of a dramatic poet; as may be said with even greater truth of the other characters, their Flemish bluffness or stupidity being too prominent to render them very desirable associates in a walk through the gardens of poetry. The character of Elena might have been made interesting, had there been imparted to her the fervour and intensity of feeling natural to her southern clime; and which we are led to expect in the beautiful and high-wrought picture of her in the poetical interlude; but in the drama she appears a very different being, of a less impassioned, and far more reflective cast. The author seems to have been solicitous to exclude almost every species of ornament from his pages, and exhibit his creations in the naked simplicity of truth, in order to

avoid the errors into which many recent poets have fallen, in catering too luxuriantly for the fancy. But it should not be forgotten, that the province of poetry is to please and move, as well as to instruct; and that the benefit derived from the acquisition of wholesome truth is agreeably enhanced by a corresponding effect upon the fancy and the heart. The poet, if not "of imagination all compact," should possess sufficient to refine and sublime every thing that he touches; presenting a picture, lifelike indeed, but arrayed in a colouring richer and warmer than that of ordinary life. The common occurrences of every day existence could not excite or amuse us in a book; we need, to arrest our attention, something of deeper and more piquant interest; something that may give a holiday to our thoughts, and elevate and absorb, without rendering them unfit for a recurrence to passing affairs.

The faults we have found with Philip van Artevelde have been hitherto those of a negative kind; a deficiency in those qualities which would be most likely to render it attractive and popular; but we have others, though minor ones, to point out. The language, generally terse, vigorous, and smooth, is frequently coarse to a surprising and unnecessary degree, and occasionally transcends the bounds of positive endurance. The Lady Clara often expresses herself in phrases which would be most unseemly in the mouth of a sailor; and the little regard paid by the other personages to ordinary decorum in their dialogues, deserves decided and strong reprehension. Many passages, less liable to objection, but still highly offensive to good taste, are obtruded upon the reader, as when Artevelde addresses one of the embassy from the Earl of Flanders:

> —— "Well, worthy Sir,
> Hast aught to say, or hast not got thy priming,
> That thus thou gaspest like a droughty pump?
> "*Van den Bosch.* Nay, 'tis black bile that chokes him. Come, up with it!
> Be't but a gallon, it shall ease thy stomach."

And Van Kortz to a fellow knave:

> "Go, pudding-heart!
> Take thy huge offal and white liver hence,
> Or in a twinkling of this true blue steel,
> I shall be butchering thee from nape to rump."

And Cecile to her mistress:

> "Note but his look;
> His rind's the colour of a mouldy walnut;
> Troth! his complexion is no wholesomer
> Than a sick frog's:"—

with various similar passages, which do not tend to develop character or advance the plot, and might have been much better dispensed with in an imaginative work. Father John's description of the sickness in the hospitals of Ghent, and the symptoms of the

patients, is minute to a degree that entirely destroys the effect intended to be produced by his dismal details:

> "First the face
> Is red and flushed, with large and fiery eyes;
> Then it is dropsical, and deathy pale.
> Sometimes such shudderings seize upon the frame,
> That the bed shakes beneath it, and with that
> The breath is checked with sobbings as from cold.
> Then comes a thick dark crust upon the lips,
> And tongue, and teeth; the fatal hiccough next."

Other portions of the book are graphic and forcible, without being amenable to the charge of grossness. Of this kind is Gilbert Matthews' opinion of the situation of the besieged city:

> "I deem of Ghent as of a fly in winter,
> That in a gleam of sunshine creeping forth,
> Kicks with stiff legs a feeble stroke or two,
> And falls upon its back."

The story told by Van Stockenstrom, of the boiling of live crawfish, in illustration of the recklessness with which the King of France, to show kindness to his cousin the Earl of Flanders, would "canter over acres of the bodies" of the Flemish folk, is amusing, and not devoid of caustic humour.

> "The seething pan upon the fire, contained
> Six crawfish for my supper; as I stood
> Upon the ruddy hearth, my unlaced thoughts
> Fallen to a mood of idle cogitation,
> My eyes chanced fix upon the bubbling pot:
> Unconsciously awhile I gazed, as one
> Seeing that sees not; but ere long appeared
> A tumbling and a labouring in the pot,
> More than of boiling water; whereupon,
> Looking with eyes inquisitive, I saw
> The crawfish rolling one upon another,
> Bouncing and tossing all their legs abroad,
> That writhed and twisted, as mixed each with each
> They whirled about the pan. God's love! quoth I,
> These crawfish are alive! Yea, Sir, she answered,
> They are not good but when they're sodden quick.
> I said no more, but turned me from the hearth,
> Feeling a sickness here; and inwardly
> I cried heighho! that, for one man's supper,
> Six of God's creatures should be boiled alive!"

We must absolutely protest against our author's love scenes. Twice is Artevelde introduced in the character of a suitor; in both cases evidently fully persuaded of his power over the affections of the lady, and determined on taking his own time to come to a point. His first love, Adriana, gets impatient, and remonstrates against his tediousness:

> "Tell me you love me, or you love me not!"

but Elena, better versed in such matters, knows that it is unfemi-

nine to hasten to a conclusion. She even affects not to understand Philip, when at his old trick of metaphorizing:

"*Artevelde.* The world, when men and women meet,
Is rich in sage remark, nor stints to strew
With roses and with myrtles, fields of death.
Think you that they will grow?
"*Elena.* My lord, your pardon:
You speak in such enigmas, I am lost,
And cannot comprehend you."

Artevelde, however, makes but an evil return for her forbearance, by launching into the most enthusiastic praise of his departed wife; taxing his fancy for words and images to paint her various endowments and excellencies, her beauty and her purity: and taking care to suggest the moral difference between her and the lovely but fallen being to whom he is enumerating her perfections. We are at a loss to account for Philip's cruelty in this instance, unless it were occasioned by his desire to experiment upon the patience and good temper of his fair auditor. Be that as it may, she stands the test, and contrives admirably to conceal any chagrin she may have felt at her rival's praises, which could not fail to place herself in so humiliating a light. We believe this the first instance on record of this novel style of wooing:—but perhaps Artevelde's indifference may be owing in a measure to his confidence in the influence of his ascendant star; for that he is a fatalist, is evident from many passages like the following:

"Both, both of us are puppets, Van den Bosch;
Part of the curious clock-work of this world,
We scold, and squeak, and crack each other's crowns;
And if by twitches, moved by wires we see not,
I were to toss thee from this steeple's top,
I should be but the instrument—no more."—

That our remarks may not be considered as invidious, we will proceed to cite some of the beauties of "Philip van Artevelde," of which, as we before observed, it is by no means destitute. In the reflective vein which runs through his poetry, the author has imitated Schiller's Wallenstein. Many passages are remarkable for sound, discriminating thought, clothed in excellent language, not the less pleasing from the absence of elaborate ornament. We believe the truth and beauty of the following lines have seldom been equalled.

"He was one
Of many thousand such, that die betimes,
Whose story is a fragment, known to few.
Then comes the man who has the luck to live,
And he's a prodigy. Compute the chances,
And deem there's ne'er a one in dangerous times
Who wins the race of glory, but than him
A thousand men more gloriously endowed
Have fallen upon the course; a thousand others

Have had their fortunes foundered by a chance,
Whilst lighter barks pushed past them; to whom add
A smaller tally, of the singular few,
Who, gifted with predominating powers,
Bear yet a temperate will, and keep the peace.
The world knows nothing of its greatest men."

With all this we cordially concur; there is more, much more in the force of circumstance that lifts men to renown, by developing their powers and displaying them to the world, than we are generally apt to think. Let no man exult in the consciousness of superior and acknowledged abilities, when a thousand, more richly gifted than himself, may have been defrauded, by adventitious events, of the justly merited meed of fame.

In the ensuing extracts the imagery is appropriate and beautiful:—

"The heart of man, walk it which way it will,
Sequestered or frequented, smooth or rough,
Down the deep valley, amongst tinkling flocks,
Or 'mid the clang of trumpets, and the march
Of clattering ordnance, still must have its halt,
Its hour of truce, its instant of repose,
Its inn of rest; and craving still must seek
The food of its affections—still must slake
Its constant thirst of what is fresh and pure,
And pleasant to behold."

* * * *

"Lightly is life laid down amongst us now,
And lightly is death mourned; a dusk star blinks
As fleets the rack, but look again, and lo!
In a wide solitude of wintry sky
Twinkles the reilluminated star,
And all is out of sight that smirched the ray.
We have not time to mourn.
"*Father John.* The worse for us!
He that lacks time to mourn, lacks time to mend.
Eternity mourns that. 'Tis an ill cure
For life's worst ills, to have no time to feel them.
Where sorrow 's held obtrusive and turned out,
There wisdom will not enter, nor true power,
Nor aught that dignifies humanity.
Yet such the barrenness of busy life!
From shelf to shelf Ambition clambers up,
To reach the nakedest pinnacle of all,
Whilst Magnanimity, absolved from toil,
Reposes self included at the base."—*Vol. I. p.* 65.

These passages, however, must not be considered as fair average specimens; they are among the choicest gems of the book, which contains few of equal lustre. The narrative of Clara's visit to the starving Ukenheim and his family, is unrivalled in our recollection for simple and striking pathos; and to show the good humour with which we dwell upon the better portions, we will quote the greater part of it:

"By a low couch, curtained with cloth of frieze,
Sat Ukenheim, a famine stricken man,

With either bony fist upon his knees,
And his long back upright. His eyes were fixed
And moved not, though some gentle words I spake:
Until a little urchin of a child
That called him father, crept to where he sat
And plucked him by the sleeve, and with its small
And skinny finger pointed: then he rose,
And with a low obeisance, and a smile
That looked like watery moonlight on his face,
So weak and pale a smile, he bade me welcome.
I told him that a lading of wheat flour
Was on its way, whereat, to my surprise,
His countenance fell, and he had almost wept.
"*Artevelde.* Poor soul! and wherefore?
"*Clara.* That I soon perceived,
He plucked aside the curtain of the couch,
And there two children's bodies lay composed.
They seemed like twins of some ten years of age,
And they had died so nearly both together,
He scarce could say which first: and being dead
He put them, for some fanciful affection,
Each with its arm about the other's neck,
So that a fairer sight I had not seen
Than those two children, with their little faces
So thin and wan, so calm and sad and sweet.
I looked upon them long, and for awhile
I wished myself their sister, and to lie
With them in death as they did with each other;
I thought that there was nothing in the world
I could have loved so much; and then I wept;
And when he saw I wept, his own tears fell,
And he was sorely shaken and convulsed,
Through weakness of his frame and his great grief.
"*Artevelde.* It was a thousand pities he deferred
So long to ask our aid.
"*Clara.* It was indeed.
But whatsoe'er had been his former pride,
He seemed a humbled and heart broken man.
He thanked me much for what I said was sent;
But I knew well his thanks were for my tears.
He looked again upon the children's couch,
And said, low down, they wanted nothing now.
So, to turn off his eyes,
I drew the small survivor of the three
Before him, and he snatched it up, and soon
Seemed quite forgetful and absorbed. With that
I stole away."——

The author has here evidently had Dante's celebrated picture in view, though the touches are considerably softened.

The style of the work is plain and unaffected; the language of the higher persons of the drama, with occasional exceptions, sufficiently elevated; the versification varied and smooth. Some liberties, however, are taken with the structure of blank verse:—we are not unfrequently treated to such lines as the following:—

"A huge congestion of unmethodized matter;"

"For my particular ransom, though, to say truth,"

and so forth;—the result of carelessness; reminding us of a line in modern poetry, which runs thus—

> "Joined latitudinally, covered with a platform."

We must also condemn, as inadmissible in verse, Mr. Taylor's pronunciation of the word "towards," which he divides into two syllables, accenting the last. For instance;

> "Bore less good-will *towards* the Earl's affairs."
>
> "*Towards* King Charles's camp upon the mount," &c., &c.

It so happens that we have an especial aversion to the above pronunciation of the word. It is classed in our mind with "*obleege*," "how have you *ben*," and other similar barbarisms; and we regret that so respectable a publication as the one before us should sanction it. This may seem hypercriticism; but even such a trifle is worth notice, if notice can prevent its repetition.

To conclude—though we consider Philip van Artevelde a work entitled to attention from the singularity of its character, and from the fact that it is an experiment upon the literary taste of the community, we do not think it destined to extensive popularity; nor imagine it calculated, by the force of unadorned excellence, to reform a taste enervated by the luxuries in poetry which have abounded in the present century. Its merits are more as a reflective than as a dramatic poem; it lacks some of the strongest requisites to success in compositions of the dramatic order. Yet it has beauties sufficient to display the ability of its author to accomplish greater things; and we trust he will ere long confirm our judgment, by the production of a work possessing even in a higher degree the excellencies, without the faults and deficiencies of the present one.

Art. II.—INDIA.

1.—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India.* By Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod, *late Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States.* Volume second. Quarto. London: 1832.

2.—*Travels into Bokhara; being the account of a Journey from India to Cabool and Persia; also, Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, from the Sea to Lahore—performed under the orders of the Supreme Government of India, in* 1831, 1832, *and* 1833. By Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, F. R. S., *of the East India Company's Service; Assistant Political Resident in Cutch, and late on a Mission to the Court of Lahore.* American Edition. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia: 1835.

The adventures of the celebrated George Thomas* among the Rajpoots, afford about as much previous information concerning that interesting and romantic race, as the accounts given by Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and others, of the expedition of Alexander the Great to India, furnish of the Indus, and of the regions on its shores, which that hero overran. But Colonel Tod, the first volume of whose splendid work we reviewed on a former occasion,† has filled up the great chasm in the geography and history of the first portion, to wit, of North-Western India; and Lieutenant Burnes, advancing beyond his limit, and that of Elphinstone and Pottinger—the former describing Cabul and Khorasan, and the latter the Beloochees along the Indus—has enlarged our knowledge in the same direction, opening up the navigation of that famous river itself, a region which may be said to have escaped the foot of adventure, since the time of "Macedonia's madman."

The substance of Burnes's book has been transferred to the pages of so many periodicals, and the book itself reprinted in the United States, in so cheap a form, that, whatever may be its intrinsic value, another notice here is deemed entirely superfluous, and we hasten to relieve our readers from the apprehensions which the presence of the second title at the head of this article may have led them to entertain. The "Travels into Bokhara, &c." will, for these reasons, detain us but a very little while. The critics have assigned to their author a large, but not perhaps an undue share of praise, and the only offset to his various merit, has been noted in an occasional obscurity of style, and in a total misarrangement of the several parts of the book, consisting of the Journey to Cabul, Tartary, and Persia—the Memoirs—and the

* Franklin's Memoir of George Thomas.

† American Quarterly Review, December, 1831, Article VI. Tod's India.

Voyage on the Indus—by which, as it has been said, "the end is put first; the summary of observations second; and the beginning last"—a defect, however, that has been remedied in the American edition; so that these entertaining volumes no longer deserve the description which the auctioneer gave of a Hebrew book he offered for sale—"here, gentlemen, is a work, the beginning of which is at the end."

The student of ancient history will remember, that more than 2000 years ago Alexander led his Macedonian phalanx across the Indus, and conquered Porus, on the banks of the Hydaspes (now the Jelun)—that he established colonies, and founded towns, one of which he called Bucephala, in honour of his horse killed on the River Hydaspes—that he projected a triumphant march to the Ganges, which he was forced by his discontented troops to relinquish—that he erected twelve "Altars" on the Hyphasis, (now the Begah,) the extreme eastern limit at which he was permitted to arrive—and that, retracing his steps, he built a fleet on the Hydaspes, with which he descended to the sea. Along the whole of this memorable route, pursued, however, in an opposite direction, Lieutenant Burnes's endeavours to identify the ancient descriptions with the places examined by himself, lend a peculiar interest to all his movements; but, after all, the great practical result obtained by his labours, has been *the ascertaining the navigability of the Indus*, which will open to the trade of Great Britain a new and vast canal, penetrating into the very heart of Asia, and realizing the commercial dreams of ancient and of modern times.

But the reasons given for omitting a minute examination of the work of Burnes, do not exist in regard to that of Colonel Tod. The Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han have never been republished here, and the few copies which have found their way to this country, have not, perhaps, been studied as they deserved, by a dozen persons. This is an evidence of lukewarmness and of apathy on Oriental subjects, which will not create surprise when we reflect that the United States have no vast interests at stake in India, to bring her concerns "home to our business and bosom"—no alluring prospects of aggrandizement or gain—that, to us, she is still a land of fable;—but, in regard to the British public, we cannot repress our astonishment at a fact we have recently learnt, one which alone was wanting to complete our sympathy, which is, that the publication of these superb volumes, this splendid eulogy on his Rajpoot friends, the fruit of twenty years of enthusiastic labour, has proved to the author a source of considerable pecuniary loss.

The review we gave of the first volume was rapid. Indeed, the magnitude of the work, independently of its intrinsic character, renders an examination in a periodical journal so inevitably

imperfect, that, however earnest the desire of the reviewer to afford a due exemplification of its worth, he can, from the mere want of space, do little more than assign reasons for recommending it to those who take an interest in the history of the human species; the vicissitudes of nations; the early progress of sciences; the mythologies and cosmogonies of antiquity; and the early perfection of arts, heretofore considered as of modern origin. For all these curious ends, indeed, the Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han supply large materials, which it would be neither satisfactory nor practicable to abridge, the parts are so interwoven and inseparable.

The present volume rivals the former in every way. Those who may have thought our notice of the first volume worthy of remembrance, may apply all that was said of the merits of that, to this volume. It extends to 790 pages, and in composition, spirit, and ingenuousness of narrative, there is no abatement of interest, no deficiency of information; the same strong, dignified, single, and candid mind pervading the whole; uttering wisdom with the lips of innocence, and displaying profound knowledge with the unsuspecting candour of youth; instructing with the directness and frankness of friendship; furnishing counsel without seeming to persuade; and urging upon his own countrymen, prophetic warnings, which are unregarded—making the man admired, and, as it were, a friend.

In such a man, it has been well observed, the Rajpoots have been extremely fortunate in finding their historian. Their own chronicles enter into, and form, the web of his history; their ballads, and mythic traditions—the very language of their poet-chroniclers, are all skilfully inwoven with the text. Objections, however, are not to be urged against the character of the materials thus employed, in the absence, real or supposed, of what is usually regarded as more accurate and legitimate records. Of the value of those used, the author should be permitted to speak for himself. We before observed, that the introduction to the first volume was a "curious and valuable dissertation, and that it was impossible to offer any thing more instructive on the present state of Asiatic literature"—it is with pleasure, therefore, we cite a portion of it, which we could not do in our former article, for want of space.

"Much disappointment has been felt in Europe at the sterility of the historic muse of Hindust'han. When Sir William Jones first began to explore the vast mines of Sanscrit literature, great hopes were entertained that the history of the world would acquire considerable accessions from this source. The sanguine expectations that were then formed have not been realized; and, as it usually happens, excitement has been succeeded by apathy and indifference. It is now generally regarded as an axiom, that India possesses no national history; to which we may oppose the remark of a French Orientalist, who ingeniously asks, whence Abulfuzil obtained the materials for his outlines of ancient Hindu history? Mr. Wilson has, indeed, done much to obviate this prejudice, by his translation of the Raj Tarringini, or History of Cashmer, which clearly demonstrates that regular historical composition

was an art not unknown in Hindust'han, and affords satisfactory ground for concluding that these productions were once less rare than at present, and that further exertion may bring more relics to light. Although the labours of Colebrooke, Wilkins, Wilson, and others of our own countrymen, emulated by many learned men in France and Germany, have revealed to Europe some of the hidden lore of India, still it is not pretended that we have done much more than pass the threshold of Indian science; and we are consequently not competent to speak decisively of its extent or its character. Immense libraries, in various parts of India, are still intact, which have survived the devastations of the Islamite. The collections of Jessulmér and Puttun, for example, escaped the scrutiny of even the lynx-eyed Alla, who conquered both these kingdoms, and who would have shown as little mercy to those literary treasures, as Omar displayed towards the Alexandrine library. Many other minor collections, consisting of thousands of volumes each, exist in Central and Western India, some of which are the private property of princes, and others belong to the Jain communities.*

"If we consider the political changes and convulsions which have happened in Hindust'han since Mahmood's invasion, and the intolerant bigotry of many of his successors, we shall be able to account for the paucity of its national works on history, without being driven to the improbable conclusion, that the Hindus were ignorant of an art which has been cultivated in other countries from almost the earliest ages. Is it to be imagined that a nation so highly civilized as the Hindus, amongst whom the exact sciences flourished in perfection, by whom the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, were not only cultivated but taught and defined by the nicest and most elaborate rules, were totally unacquainted with the simple art of recording the events of their history, the characters of their princes, and the acts of their reigns? Where such traces of *mind* exist, we can hardly believe that there was a want of competent recorders of events, which synchronical authorities tell us were worthy of commemoration. The cities of Hastinapoor and Indraprest'ha, of Anhulwara and Somanat'ha, the triumphal columns of Dehli and Cheetore, the shrines of Aboo and Girnar, the cave temples of Elephanta and Ellora, are so many attestations of the same fact; nor can we imagine that the age in which these works were erected was without an historian. Yet from the Mahabharat, or Great War, to Alexander's invasion, and from that grand event to the era of Mahmood of Ghizni, scarcely a paragraph of pure native Hindu history (except as before stated,) has hitherto been revealed to the curiosity of western scholars. In the heroic history of Pirthi-raj, the last of the Hindu sovereigns of Dehli, written by his bard Chund, we find notices which authorize the inference that works similar to his own were then extant, relating to the period between Mahmood and Shabudin (A. D. 1000—1193;) but these have disappeared.

"After eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors totally ignorant of the classical language of the Hindus: after almost every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigoted, and exasperated foes, it is too much to expect that the literature of the country should not have sustained, in common with other important interests, irretrievable losses. My own animadversions upon the

* "Some copies of these Jain MSS. from Jessulmér, which were written from five to eight centuries back, I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. Of the vast numbers of these MS. books in the libraries of Puttun and Jessulmér, many are of the most remote antiquity, and in a character no longer understood by their possessors, or only by the Supreme Pontiff, and his initiated librarians. There is one volume held so sacred for its magical contents, that it is suspended by a chain in the Temple of Chintamun, at the last named capital in the desert, and is only taken down to have its covering renewed, or at the inauguration of a pontiff. Tradition assigns its authorship to Somaditya Sooru Acharya, a pontiff of past days, before the Islamite had crossed the waters of the Indus." "The character is doubtless the nail-headed Pali: and could we introduce the ingenious, indefatigable, and modest Mons. E. Burnouf, with his able coadjutor Dr. Lassen, into the Temple, we might learn something of this Sybilline volume, without their incurring the risk of loss of sight, which befel the last individual, a female Yati of the Jains, who sacrilegiously endeavoured to acquire its contents."

defective condition of the annals of Rajwarra, have more than once been checked by a very just remark:—'When our princes were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and compelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be forced to abandon the very meal preparing for them, was that a time to think of historical records?'

"Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of composition of precisely the same character as the historical works of Greece and Rome, commit the very egregious error of overlooking the peculiarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other races, and which strongly discriminate their intellectual productions of every kind from those of the west. Their philosophy, their poetry, their architecture, are marked with traits of originality; and the same may be expected to pervade their history, which, like the arts enumerated, took a character from its intimate association with the religion of the people. It must be recollected, moreover, that until a more correct taste was imparted to the literature of England and of France, by the study of classical models, the chronicles of both these countries, and indeed of all the polished nations of Europe, were, at a much more recent date, as crude, as wild, and as barren as those of the early Rajpoots.

"In the absence of regular and legitimate historical records, there are, however, other native works (they may indeed be said to abound,) which, in the hands of a skilful and patient investigator, would afford no despicable materials for the history of India. The first of these are the Purans, and genealogical legends of the princes, which, obscured as they are by mythological details, allegory, and improbable circumstances, contain many facts that serve as beacons to direct the research of the historian. What Hume remarks of the annals and annalists of the Saxon Heptarchy, may be applied with equal truth to those of the Rajpoot *Seven States*:—'they abound in names, but are extremely barren of events; or they are related so much without circumstances and causes, that the most profound and eloquent writer must despair of rendering them either instructive or entertaining to the reader. The monks' (for which we may read 'Brahmins') 'who lived remote from public affairs, considered the civil transactions as subservient to the ecclesiastical, and were strongly affected with credulity, with the love of wonder, and with a propensity to imposture.'

"The heroic poems of India constitute another resource for history. Bards may be regarded as the primitive historians of mankind. Before fiction began to engross the attention of poets, or rather before the province of history was dignified by a class of writers who made it a distinct department of literature, the functions of the bard were doubtless employed in recording real events, and in commemorating real personages. In India, Calliope has been worshipped by the bards from the days of Vyasu, the contemporary of Job, to the time of Benidása, the present chronicler of Méwar. The poets are the chief, though not the sole, historians of Western India; neither is there any deficiency of them, though they speak in a peculiar tongue, which requires to be translated into the sober language of probability. To compensate for their magniloquence and obscurity, their pen is free; the despotism of the Rajpoot princes does not extend to the poet's lay, which flows unconfined except by the shackles of the *chund bhojoonga*, or 'serpentine stanza;' no slight restraint, it must be confessed, upon the freedom of the historic muse. On the other hand, there is a sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, a barter of 'solid pudding against empty praise,' whereby the fidelity of the poetic chronicle is somewhat impaired. This sale of 'fame,' as the bards term it, by the court-laureates, and historiographers of Rajast'han, will continue until there shall arise in the community a class sufficiently enlightened and independent to look for no other recompense for literary labour than public distinction.

"Still, however, these chroniclers dare utter truths, sometimes most unpalatable to their masters. When offended, or actuated by a virtuous indignation against immorality, they are fearless of consequences; and wo to the individual who provokes them! Many a resolution has sunk under the lash of their satire, which has condemned to eternal ridicule names that might otherwise have escaped notoriety. The *sis*, or poison of the bard, is more dreaded by the Rajpoot than the steel of the foe.

"The absence of all mystery or reserve with regard to public affairs in the Rajpoot principalities, in which every individual takes an interest, from the noble to the porter at the city gates, is of great advantage to the chronicler of events. When matters of moment in the disorganized state of the country rendered it imperative

to observe secrecy, the Rana of Méwar being applied to on the necessity of concealing them, rejoined as follows:—'This is *Chaomookhi-raj;* (government of four mouths, alluding to the quadriform image of the tutelary divinity,) Eklinga the sovereign, I his vicegerent; in him I trust, and I have no secrets from my children.' To this publicity may be partly ascribed the inefficiency of every general alliance against common foes; but it gives a kind of patriarchal character to the government, and inspires, if not loyalty and patriotism in their most exalted sense, feelings at least much akin to them.

"A material drawback upon the value of these bardic histories, is that they are confined almost exclusively to the martial exploits of their heroes, and to the '*rung-rin-bhom*,' or 'field of slaughter.' Writing for the amusement of a warlike race, the authors disregard civil matters, and the arts and pursuits of peaceful life; love and war are their favourite themes. Chund, the last of the great bards of India, tells us indeed, in his preface, 'that he will give rules for governing empires; the laws of grammar and composition; lessons in diplomacy, home and foreign, &c.:' and he fulfils his promise, by interspersing precepts on these points in various episodes throughout his work.

"Again: the bard, although he is admitted to the knowledge of all the secret springs which direct each measure of the government, enters too deeply into the intrigues as well as the levities of the court, to be qualified to pronounce a sober judgment upon its acts.

"Nevertheless, although open to all these objections, the works of the native bards afford many valuable data, in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners; many of which being carelessly introduced, are thence to be regarded as the least suspicious kind of historical evidence. In the heroic history of Pirthi-raj, by Chund, there occur many geographical as well as historical details, in the description of his sovereign's wars, of which the bard was an eye witness, having been his friend, his herald, his ambassador, and finally discharging the melancholy office of accessory to his death, that he might save him from dishonour. The poetical histories of Chund were collected by the great Umra Sing of Méwar, a patron of literature, as well as a warrior and a legislator.

"Another species of historical records is found in the accounts given by the Brahmins of the endowments of the temples, their dilapidation and repairs, which furnish occasions for the introduction of historical and chronological details. In the legends respecting places of pilgrimage and religious resort, profane events are blended with superstitious rights and ordinances, local ceremonies and customs. The controversies of the Jains furnish, also, much historical information, especially with reference to Guzzerat and Nehrwala, during the Chaulac dynasty. From a close and attentive examination of the Jain records, which embody all that those ancient sectarians knew of science, many chasms in Hindu history might be filled up. The party spirit of the rival sects of India was, doubtless, adverse to the purity of history; and the very ground upon which the Brahmins built their ascendancy, was the ignorance of the people. There appears to have been in India as well as in Egypt, in early times, a coalition between the hierarchy and the state, with the view of keeping the mass of the nation in darkness and subjugation.

"These different records, works of a mixt historical and geographical character, which I know to exist; *rasahs*, or poetical legends of princes, which are common; local *pursnas*, religious comments, and traditionary couplets; with authorities of a less dubious character, namely, inscriptions 'cut on the rock,' coins, copper-plate grants, containing charters of immunities, and expressing many singular features of civil government, constitute, as I have already observed, no despicable materials for the historian, who would, moreover, be assisted by the synchronisms which are capable of being established with ancient Pagan and later Mahometan writers."

It is absolutely necessary, for a due appreciation of this work, while perusing the second volume, to refer frequently to the first; and it would be advisable, especially on this occasion, as it would be on all occasions of historical reading, to recur constantly to the map. For this work preceding knowledge had not furnished

such a guide; but the work itself contains it, and opens a tract to the geographer, which was before a Terra Incognita.

The work affords materials for chronological comparison, as well as for comparison with those vast migrations to which all known history refers, from the great mother of nations, east and north of the Oxus, known by the generic names of the Scyths, Getes, Cimbri, Celts, Pelagians, &c., of whom traces are to be distinctly marked from the great Caucasus or Imaus, the modern Hinder Koosh and Himalaya, to Armenia and the Palus Mæotis —to the Euphrates and the Tigris—to Syria, Egypt, and Phenicia—Greece, Italy, Spain, Gaul, and the British Isles. It aids in determining those historical facts, by a contemporaneous, and apparently spontaneous common movement, often also reiterated, and constantly deriving new characteristics from the periodical admixtures of migrating people.

Matter is also furnished, though not so ample in its compass, relative to and in corroboration of the mythology and cosmogonies of nations ancient and modern. In the two races, denominated *Suryas* and *Chandravanas*, we find grounds for those apparent phantasies which the orientalists habitually employ when a chief claims to be a descendant of the sun or moon; and the curious inquirer is induced to investigate whether there was any connexion between their allegorical derivations, and the traditions of the Peruvians and Muscayas of the new world. This subject is not so thoroughly examined as would have been desirable; but it is probable it will find a full discussion in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of London; and, lest the coldness of the memory to things so remote and abstruse, may have obscured our perception, we shall refer to those systems, with which that of the Suryas and Chandravanas may be brought into comparison. The reference will serve also for common illustration.

The Hindu system of Menu, unfolded in the four Vedas, Shastras, and numerous Puranas, or commentaries.

The Phenician, found in the remains of the Phenician *ancient history*, that being, most probably, the signification of *Sanchoniathon*, usually mistaken for the name of an author.

The Egyptian, in the five Hermetic books.

The Chaldean or Assyrian, in the writings of Berosus.

The Persian, in the books or fragments of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster.

The Hebrew, in the Pentateuch of Moses.

The Greeks, in the Poems of Hesiod.

Besides these, the Tuscan or Etrurian, or Pelagian, identical with the Gauts; the Sidonian; the Bhuddists; the Jains; the Mexican, Tulhican, Muscayan, Peruvian, and Guatemaltecan.

It would be foreign to the present purpose to dwell upon the analogies which arise at every step taken in oriental research. A

recurrence to those topics of antiquity, without the flexibility of the antiquarian, or synonomist, places these annals in a middle path, between the authors who have written, in Greece, concerning Scythia, India, and Egypt, and those who, in modern times, have sought to break down and rebuild the chronology of Manetho, Ctesias and Herodotus;—for we find, not only multiplied marches of Scythians—swarms such as antecedent history had conducted through different routes of Asia Minor, by the Tauride, by Syria across the Hellespont, to Thrace, Greece, Crete, Magna Græcia, Etruria, Spain, Gaul, &c.; but we find those floods of people (pralya) proceeding by routes before untrodden or undescribed.

In the former volume, one of the Rajpoot nations had been selected, and its history carried out in its amplitude, so that, by concentrating its laws, usages, and manners, as one of a great class, the distinctive characteristics should be seen without distracting the perception.

The second volume pursues a similar course, in displaying the separate tribes or families, devoting a special section, of more or less chapters, to each, as their importance appeared to the author to demand. Of these, the *Marwars* take the place first in order, occupying sixteen chapters, extending to the one hundred and seventy-seventh page, in which are traced the conquest and peopling of the vast region of Marwar, by a handful of strangers, detailed with chronological minuteness, to the reign of Ajit Sing, and the "Thirty Years War" waged against the most potent Moslem emperors, blending in the narrative further illustrations of manners, customs, arts, war, and policy.

The following striking anecdotes, taken from this portion of the book, illustrate the character and manners of the vassal chieftains of Jeswunt Sing, of Marwar, "whose life," says Tod, "is one of the most extraordinary in the Annals of Rajpootana." It was by their aid he was enabled to brave so long and so successfully the Great Aurunzéb.

"Nor can we do better than allow Nahur Khan, chief of the Koompawuts, to be the representative portrait of the clans of Maroo."—"The real name of this individual was Mokundás. He had personally incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, by a reply which was deemed disrespectful to a message sent by the royal *ahdy*, for which the tyrant condemned him to enter a tiger's den, and contend for his life unarmed. Without a sign of fear, he entered the arena where the savage beast was pacing, and thus contemptuously addressed him:—'Oh tiger of the *méah*,' (a term of contempt,) 'face the tiger of Jeswunt,' exhibiting to the king of the forest a pair of eyes which anger and opium had rendered little less inflamed than his own. The animal, startled by so unaccustomed a salutation, for a moment looked at his visitor, put down his head, turned round, and stalked from him. 'You see,' exclaimed the Rhatou, 'that he dare not face me, and it is contrary to the creed of a true Rajpoot to attack an enemy who dares not confront him.'—'From this singular encounter, he bore the name of Nahur Khan, the tiger lord.'

"On another occasion, from the same freedom of speech, he incurred the displeasure of the prince royal, who, with youthful levity, commanded the 'tiger lord' to attempt a feat which he deemed inconsistent with his dignity, namely, gallop at

speed under a horizontal branch of a tree, and cling to it while the steed passed on. This feat, requiring both agility and strength, appears to have been a common amusement, and it is related, in the annals of Méwar, that the chief of Bunéra broke his spine in the attempt; and there were few who did not come off with bruises and falls, in which consisted the sport. When Nahur heard the command, he indignantly replied, he 'was not a monkey'—that 'if the prince wished to see his feats, it must be where his sword had play;'—on which he was ordered against Soortán, the Deorah prince of Sirohi, for which service he had the whole Rahtore contingent at his disposal. The Deorah prince, who could not attempt to cope with it in the field, took to his native hills; but while he deemed himself secure, Mokund, with a chosen band, in the dead of night, entered the glen where the Sirohi prince reposed, stabbed the solitary sentinel, bound the prince with his own turban to his pallet, while environing him with his clansmen, he gave the alarm. The Deorahs starting from their rocky beds, collected round their prince, and were preparing for the rescue, when Nahur called aloud—'You see his life is in my hands; be assured it is safe if you are wise; but he dies on the least opposition to my determination to convey him to my prince. My sole object in giving the alarm, was that you might behold me carry off my prize.'"

Bikaner forms the second section, but consists of only three chapters, extending to page two hundred and sixteen, in which is given the history of the Jits, a remarkable people, of Scythic origin, and presumed to be the same as the Getic people celebrated in European history. Of this far-famed and widely spread race, a succinct account had been given in the first volume.*

Jessulmér forms the third section, the people of which are also of the Scythic origin, in whose epocha the bounds of India were reduced within narrower limits, which are described; and a curious, but heretofore unsuspected historical fact is revealed, which is that the Hindus had been a naval and commercial people. This section contains seven chapters, and extends to page two hundred and eighty-eight.

In this division we have presented to our notice a curious incident, in a grant from the Boota chief to Deoraj, 'of such a quantity of land as he could encompass by the thongs cut from a single buffalo's hide,' an expedient by which a large tract was gained. It will be remembered, that a similar deception was practised upon the Aboriginals of our country by the Dutch—and it is worthy of observation, at the same time, that something analogous is to be met with in the early history of a great many nations. This incident gives rise to a curious note, at page two hundred and thirty-five, which we can not withhold from the reader.

"This deception practised by the Bhatti chief to obtain land on which to erect a fortress, is not unknown in other parts of India, and in more remote regions. Bhutnair owes its name to this expedient, from the division (*Chatna*) of the hide. The etymology of *Calcutta* is the same, but should be written Khalcutta, from the cuttings of the hide (*Khal.*) Byrsa, the capital of Carthage, originates from the same story. If there existed any affinity between the ancient *Pali* language of India and the Punic or Phœnician, (as the names of its princes, and their adjuncts *bal* would indicate,) and the letters B and Ch were as little dissimilar in Punic as in Sanscrit, then *Byrsa* would become *chursa*, 'hide or skin,' which might have originated the capital of the African Mauritania, as of the Indian Márút'han. Thus Marocco may

* Page 106.

be from Márú-cá, of or belonging to Márú, the *desert*, also probably the origin of the *Murve* of Irán. The term Moor may likewise be corrupted from Mauri, an inhabitant of Márúcá, while the Sehráé of our Indian desert is the brother in name and profession of the Saracen of Arabia, from Sehra, a *desert*, and zuddun, *to assault*. The Nomadic princes of Mauritania might therefore be the *Pali* or shepherd kings of Maruthan, the great African desert. And who were these Philita or Pali kings of Barbary and Egypt? It is well known that the Berbers who inhabited Abyssinia and the south coast of the Red Sea, migrated to the northern coast, not only occupying it, as well as Mount Atlas, but pushing their tribes far into the grand Sehra, or desert. To these colonists, that coast owes its name of Barbary. From the days of Solomon and his contemporary Sishác, an intimate communication subsisted between the eastern coast of Africa and India; and I have already hazarded the opinion, that we must look to this coast of Ethiopia and Abyssinia for the Lanka of the Rameses (Rameswar,) of India; and from the former country the most skilful archæologists assert that Egypt had her mythology, and more especially that mystery, the prominent feature of both systems—*the Phallic* rites, or worship of the *lingam*. *Bérbér*, according to Bruce, means a shepherd, and as *bér* is a sheep in the language of India, *berber* is a shepherd in the most literal sense, and consequently the synonym of *Pali*. It has been asserted that this race colonized these coasts of Africa from India, about the time of Amenophis, and that they are the *Yksos*, or 'shepherd-kings' who subjugated Egypt. On this account a comparison of the ancient architectural remains of Abyssinia and Ethiopia, with those of the ancient Hindus is most desirable. It is asserted, and with appearance of truth, that the architecture of the Pyramids is distinct from the Pharonic, and that they are at once Astronomic and Phallic. In India, the symbolic pinnacle surmounting the temples of the sun-god, are always pyramidal. If the forthcoming history of the Berbers should reveal the mystery of their first settlements in Abyssinia, a great object would be obtained; and if search were made in the old cave-temples of that coast, some remains of the characters they used might aid in tracing their analogy to the ancient Pali of the east; an idea suggested by an examination of the few characters found in the grand desert inhabited by the Tuaricks, which have a certain resemblance to the Punic, and to the unknown characters attributed to the Indo-Scythic tribes of India, as on their coins and cave-temples. Wide asunder as are these regions, the mind that will strive to lessen the historical separation, may one day be successful, when the connexion between Aét'hiopia (qu.: from *áditya* and contracted *áit*, the sun?) and Surashtra, 'the land of the sun,' or Syria of India, may become more tangible. Ferishta (vide Brigg's Translation, Vol. IV. p. 408,) quoting original authorities, says, 'the inhabitants of Selandíp, or the Island of Ceylon, were accustomed to send vessels to the coast of Africa, to the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, from the earliest ages, and Hindu pilgrims resorted to Mecca and Egypt, for the purpose of paying adoration to the idols. It is related also that this people, trading from Ceylon, became converts to the true faith, at so early a period as the first Caliphs' —all which confirms the fact of early intercourse between Egypt and India."

A Sketch of the Indian Desert forms the fourth section. It describes a country as much unknown, before the appearance of this work, as the interior of Africa; and unknown, even in India, by the holders of the supreme power there. Curiosity and war had shunned it alike, as affording no riches, and inflicting death. The foundation on which the knowledge here unfolded is established, merits particular regard. The author had penetrated personally as far as Mundore, and we learn from a note, that the journals of all the routes, with others of western and central India, occupy *eleven moderate sized folio volumes*, which are deposited in the archives of the East India Company at London.

The history of this country presents several attractive points. Some account of a passage through a skirt of it, is to be found in

Elphinstone. This division of Colonel Tod's work extends to page three hundred and thirty, and is followed by an "Itinerary," from Jessulmér to Sehwan, on the right bank of the Indus, through Hydrabad, and, in return, by Omerkote to Jessulmér. This extends to page three hundred and forty-four.

Strange regions, among other things that are unusual, frequently engender strange diseases, and though famine is the most natural as well as terrible scourge of the Indian Desert, yet the *narooa*, or Guinea worm, is the most shocking. From it none is exempted; nor is it confined entirely to the Desert. The question of "*how is your narooa?*" is a general form of greeting throughout the country, so numerous are the sufferers, from the prince to the peasant. It usually attacks the limbs and integuments of the joints, and its torments are said to be excruciating past all endurance. The seat of the malady appears directly beneath and adhesive to the skin, on which it, at first, produces a small speck, which gradually increases and swells, till the whole system is inflamed. The worm then begins to move, and as it attains the strength apparently necessary for its self extrication, its motions are unceasing, and day and night it gnaws the unhappy patient, who only exists in the hope of hourly seeing the head of the animal pierce the cuticle. "This," says Tod, "is the moment for action; the skilful *narooa*-doctor is sent for, who seizes upon the head of the worm, and winding it round a needle or straw, employs it as a windlass, which is daily set in motion, at a certain hour, when they wind out as much line as they can, without the risk of breaking it. Unhappy the wretch whom this disaster befalls, when, happening to fall into a feverish slumber, he kicks the windlass, and snaps the living thread, which creates tenfold inflammation and suppuration! On the other hand, if by patience and skill it is extracted entire, he recovers. I should almost imagine, when the patriarch of Uz exclaims, 'My flesh is clothed with worms: my skin is broken, and become loathsome. When I lie down, I say, when shall I arise, and the night be gone?'—that he must have been afflicted with the narooa, than which none of the ills that flesh is heir to can be more agonizing."

The fifth section is composed of the Annals of Ambér, or Dhoondar, familiarly called Jeipoor. Its history is both curious and novel. The people are of a race called *Cushwa*, assumed to be from *Cush*, second son of *Rama*, king of Khosula, whose capital was the very celebrated *Ayoda*—the modern *Oude*. A family which traces its lineage from Rama, may be allowed "the boast of heraldry." In commemoration of their descent from the Cushites of India, who celebrate the annual feast of the sun with great solemnity, at the present time, the Surya-rat'ha, or chariot of the sun, is drawn by eight horses, and perambulates the capital, after a descendant of Ramesa has been seated in it.

Jeipoor was the country of a modern royal philosopher, of just celebrity, Jey Sing, the founder of the new capital, called after him Jeipoor, a man eminent alike as a statesman, legislator, and man of science. He was a practical astronomer, and his admirable structures, machines, and instruments, for astronomical and other uses, continue to be the admiration of all scientific travellers. They are particularly described in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches. Of the political history of this distinguished man, the work before us gives an interesting account. This section contains eight chapters, and extends to page four hundred and thirty-eight.

The Annals of *Haravati* begin the sixth section, and consist of eleven chapters, extending to page five hundred and four, and is followed by an account of *Kotah* Boondi, extending to page five hundred and ninety-one.

This portion of the work has uncommon interest. The elaborate history of Zalim Sing, the Regent of Kotah, covering the surface of nearly one hundred pages, forms, perhaps, the most striking biographical episode in the whole work. But a compression of it within our limits, is impossible, and we accordingly solicit attention to another sketch, in many of its features still more remarkable, and possessing a more romantic and spirit-stirring character. This too must be greatly condensed from the original, where it is spread over many pages. The story of Omeda, besides its intrinsic interest, exhibits a fair specimen of the unexampled vicissitudes which so frequently chequer a Rajpoot's path through life. The father, whose name was Bood'h Sing, a distinguished warrior, had married a sister of the celebrated Jey Sing, Raja of Ambér. An issue, supposititious, as it would appear, led the incensed husband to reveal his spouse's conduct to her brother, by whom the lady, who was present, was instantly questioned. Indignant at the suspicion, or exasperated by detection, the Rajpootni snatched a dagger from her brother's girdle, and taunting her lord as "the son of a tailor," would have slain him on the spot—but he fled. The brother, glad of an ambitious pretext, resolved to avenge his sister by conquering Boondi. Bood'h Sing, with three hundred followers, a Spartan band, hastened to the place, where, in a desperate struggle, his troop was nearly destroyed. Beset by enemies, Bood'h Sing, after many fruitless attempts to recover his patrimony, in which torrents of Hara blood were shed, died in exile, leaving two sons, Omeda Sing and Deep Sing, who were soon forced, by the unmanly vengeance of their enemy of Ambér, from the shelter of the maternal roof. On the death of the Rajah of Ambér, however, in 1744, Omeda, then only thirteen years of age, at the head of his clansmen, attacked and captured the towns of Patun and Gainolli.

When it was heard that the son of Bood'h Sing was "*awake*,"

the ancient Haras flocked to his standard. The son and successor on the throne of Ambér, pursued the hostile policy of his sire, and Esuri Sing sent a body of Nanukpuntis to crush the boy Omeda, who, having gained the hearts of all by his youthful valour and distress, attacked the Jeipoor army with great slaughter. An army of eighteen thousand men was next sent against him, and Omeda, flushed with success and encouragement, resolved to stake all upon a general engagement. On the eve of attack he went to propitiate the "Lady of Sitoon" the tutelary divinity of his race, and as he knelt before the altar of Asápúrná (the fulfiller of hope,) his eyes falling on the turrets of Boondi, then held by a traitor, he swore to conquer or to die.

Near the pass of Dublana the foe was marshalled, to receive Omeda, who led his Haras to the charge in a compact phalanx. Its physical and moral impression was irresistible, and a vista was cut through the dense host. Again the enemy formed, and again, in spite of showers of cannon shot, the sword still did its office, but every charge was fatal to Omeda's bravest men. Many a valiant chief was already slain, and the steed of Omeda was struck by a cannon-ball, the intestines protruding from the wound. The chieftains implored him to forbear, observing that if he survived, Boondi must be theirs; but, *if he was slain, there was an end of all their hopes.* With grief he submitted, and at the Sowalli Pass, as he dismounted to breath his faithful steed, loosening the girth, it expired. Omeda sat down and wept. Hunja was worthy of the tribute. He was a steed of Irák, the gift of the king to his father, whom he had borne on many a bloody day. Nor was this natural ebullition of the young Hara a transient feeling. Hunja's memory was held in veneration, and the first act of Omeda, when he recovered the throne, was to erect a statue to the steed which bore him so nobly on the day of Dublana. It stands in the square of the city, and receives the reverence of each Hara, who links his history with one of their brightest achievements, though obscured by momentary defeat.

Omeda reached Indurgurh, whose chieftain, in league with Ambér, not only refused his prince a horse, but warned him off the domain, demanding "if he meant to be the ruin of Indurgurh as well as Boondi?" The young prince, stung by his perfidiousness and inhospitality, departed. Soon after he dismissed his kinsmen, and begging their swords when fortune might prove kinder, retreated to the ravines of Chumbul. The Kotah prince, as the enemy of Esuri, was the friend of Omeda, and espoused his cause. The "lion's hope" (Omeda, hope, and Sing, a lion,) was fulfilled, and Omeda was seated on the throne of his fathers.

The puppet usurper of Boond'hi fled to his suzerain at Ambér —a mighty host was again in motion to re-expel the Hara—it succeeded, and Omeda, once more a wanderer, alternately asking

aid of Méwar and Marwar, waged unceasing war for his paternal domains.

In one of his incursions he encountered the widowed queen of his father, the cause of all their miseries, who had returned disgusted with herself and the world, lamenting too late the ruin she had brought on her husband, herself, and the family she had entered. Omeda's visit added fresh pangs to her remorse. "His sufferings, his heroism, brightened by adversity, originating with her nefarious desire to stifle his claims of primogeniture by a spurious adoption, awakened sentiments of remorse, of sympathy, and sorrow. Determined to make some amends, she adopted the resolution of going to the Dekhan, to solicit aid for the son of Bood'h Sing. When she arrived on the banks of the Nerbudda, a pillar was pointed out to her on which was inscribed a prohibition to any of her race to cross this stream." "Like a true Rajpootni, she broke the tablet in pieces, and threw it into the stream, observing with a jesuitical casuistry, that there was no longer any impediment, when no ordinance existed. Having passed the Rubicon, she proceeded forthwith to the camp of Mulhar Rao Holcar. The sister of Jey Sing, the most potent Hindu prince of India, became a suppliant to this *goatherd* leader of a horde of plunderers, nay, adopted him as her brother to effect the redemption of Boondi for the exiled Omeda."

Without dwelling on the particulars of her negotiation, or the influence she exercised upon the result, it is sufficient to state that Esuri was ultimately not only obliged to sign a deed for the surrender of Boondi, and the renunciation of all claims for himself and descendants, but, in full acknowledgment of his rights, to place the *tika* on the forehead of Omeda. While rejoicings were making to celebrate the installation of Omeda, the funeral pyre was kindled at Ambér to consume the mortal remains of his foe. Rajah Esuri Sing could not survive his disgrace, and had terminated his existence and hostility with poison!

But the patrimony thus again regained in 1794, after fourteen years of exile, during which a traitor had pressed the royal "cushion of Boondi," was found deprived of many of its ornaments, and almost reduced to its intrinsic worth, "a heap of cotton." Omeda's active mind was engrossed with the restoration of the prosperity of his country, almost ruined by the periodical visitations of the Mahrattas, who came like flights of locusts over the plains. Although he had been reinstated by them, they never would have acquired such a tenacious hold upon the lands, had the bold arm and sage mind of Omeda continued to guide the vessel of state during the rest of his natural life; but his premature and strange political death intervened.

An act of revenge, however, stained the reputation of Omeda, who might else have been painted as one of the bravest, wisest, and

most faultless characters Rajpoot history records. Eight years had elapsed since the recovery of his dominions, and it might have been supposed that wrongs were forgotten, or rather forgiven, for human nature can scarcely forget so treacherous an act as that of his vassal of Indurgurh, on the defeat of Dublana. But Deo Sing of Indurgurh hated the man whom he had wronged, added new injuries, and at length offered Omeda an insult (by calumniating his sister, who had "sent the cocoa-nut," a symbol of matrimonial alliance, to Madhu Sing,) such as never could be forgiven by a Rajpoot.

In 1757, Omeda went to pay his devotions at the shrine of Beejaseni Mata. Being in the vicinity of Indurgurh, he invited its chief to join the assembled vassals with their families; and though dissuaded, Deo Sing obeyed, accompanied by his son and grandson. All were cut off at one fell swoop, and the line of the traitor was extinct: as if the air of heaven should not be contaminated by the smoke of their ashes, Omeda commanded that the bodies of the calumnious traitor and his issue should be thrown into the lake!

Fifteen years elapsed, during which the continual scenes of disorder around him furnished ample occupation for his thoughts. Yet, in the midst of all, would intrude the remembrance of this single act of vengeance. Though no voice was lifted up against the deed, though he had a moral conviction that a traitor's death was the due of Deo Sing, and custom sanctified the crime, his soul, generous as it was brave, revolted at it. To appease his conscience, he determined to abdicate the throne, and pass the rest of his days in penitential rites, and traversing, in the pilgrim's garb, the vast regions of India, to visit the sacred shrines of his faith.

In 1771, the ceremony of "joograj," which terminated the political existence of Omeda, was performed. An image of the prince was burnt on a pyre, and the hair and whiskers of Ajít, his successor, were offered to the *manes;* lamentation and mourning, as if Omeda were really dead, followed for twelve days, after which Ajít Sing was proclaimed prince of the Haras of Boondi. The abdicated Omeda, with the title of *Srijí* (by which alone he was henceforth known,) retired to a holy spot in the valley named after one of the fountains of the Ganges, Kédárnáth. To this hallowed place the warlike pilgrim brought "the fruit and flower of many a province," and had the gratification to find these exotics, whether the hardy offspring of the snow-clad Himalaya, or the verge of ocean in the tropic, fructify and flourish amidst the rocks of his abode. It was curious even to one ignorant of the moral vicissitudes which produced the spectacle, to behold the pine of Thibet, the cane of Malacca, and other exotics, planted by a princely ascetic, flourishing around his hermitage.

It was from conviction that a life of meditation alone could yield consolation and repose, that Omeda resigned the Hara sceptre; and in assuming the pilgrim's staff, he did not lay aside any feeling becoming his rank or birth. There was no pusillanimity, no puling bigotry, but the same lofty mind which redeemed his birthright, accompanied him wherever he bent his steps to seek knowledge in the society of devout and holy men. His mind also, was too feelingly alive to the wonders of creation, to bury himself in the fane of Kanya, or the sacred baths of the Ganges; and he determined to see all those holy places commemorated in the ancient epics of his nation, and the never ending theme of the wandering devotee. In this he was, perhaps, influenced by his natural love of adventure, and it was a balm to his mind when he found that arms and religion were not only compatible, but that his pious resolution to force a way through the difficulties which beset the pilgrim's path, enhanced his merit. Accordingly the royal ascetic went forth, not habited in a hermit's garb, but clad in armour. Even in this there was penance, not ostentation, and he buckled on his person one of every species of offensive and defensive weapons then in use:—a quilted tunic, that would resist a sabre cut—a matchlock, a lance, a sword, a dagger, and their appurtenances of knives, pouches, and priming horn;—a battle-axe, a javelin, a discus, and a bow, and quiver full of arrows; and it is affirmed that, such was his muscular power even at three score and ten years, he could place the whole of this panoply within his shield, and with one arm not only raise it, but hold it for some seconds extended.

With a small band of gallant clansmen, during a long series of years, he traversed every region from the glacial fountains of the Ganges to the southern promontory of Ramaiser; and from the hot wells of Seeta in Arracan, and the Moloch of Orissa, to the shrine of the Hindu Apollo at "the world's end." Within these limits of Hinduism, Omeda saw every place of holy resort, of curiosity, or of learning; and whenever he revisited his paternal domains, his return was greeted, not only by his own tribe, but by every prince and Rajpoot, who deemed his abode hallowed if the princely pilgrim halted there on his route. He was regarded as an oracle, while the treasures of knowledge which his observation had accumulated, rendered every word he spoke worthy of being recorded. The Haras revere his memory. To them his word was a law, and every relic of him continues to be held in veneration. Almost his last journey was to the extremity of his nation—the temples of the Delta of the Indus, and the shrine of the Hindu-Cybele, the terrific Agni-devi of Hingláz, on the shores of Mekran, even beyond the Rubicon of the Hindus. As he returned by Dwarica, he was beset by a troop of bandit Kábás, but the veteran, uniting the arm of flesh to that of faith, conquered the

band, making their leader prisoner, who, as the price of his ransom, took an oath never again to molest the pilgrims to Dwarica.

A tragical occurrence occasioned the death of his son, and suspended the pilgrimage of Omeda; but this eventful catastrophe must be omitted. Bishen Sing, the sole offspring of Ajít, who succeeded to the *gadi*, was then an infant, and Sri-ji was compelled to abide for a time at the seat of government, to superintend the education of his grandchild. Having arranged the affairs of the infant Rao, he recommenced his peregrinations, being often absent four years at a time, until within a few years of his death, when the feebleness of age confined him to his hermitage of Kedarnath.

At this period, strange to relate, in old age, when a life of austerity had confirmed a renunciation which reflection had prompted, the venerable warrior became an object of distrust to his grandson. Miscreants, who dreaded to see wisdom near the throne, had the audacity to add insult to a prohibition of Sri-ji's return to Boondi, commanding him "to eat sweetmeats and tell his beads at Benares." The messenger added that his ashes should not mingle with his father's. But such was the sanctity he had acquired, that the sentence was no sooner known than the neighbouring princes became suitors for his society. The heroism of his youth, the dignified piety of his age, inspired the kindred mind of Pertap Sing of Ambér with feelings different from those of his tribe. He addressed Sri-ji as a son, and a servant, requesting permission to "*dursun-kar*" (worship him), and to convey him to his capital. The mark of homage was declined, but the invitation accepted. He was received with honour; and so strongly did the virtuous and gallant Pertap feel the indignity put upon the abdicated prince, that he told him, if "any remnant of worldly association yet lurked within him," he would, in person, at the head of all the troops of Ambér, place him on the throne, both of Boondi and Kotah. Sri-ji's reply was consistent with his magnanimity—"They are both mine already—on the one is my nephew, on the other my grandchild."

The celebrated Zalim Sing of Kotah, to whom allusion was made before we entered upon the story of Omeda, appeared on the scene as a mediator; he repaired to Boondi, exposed the futility of Bishen Sing's fears, and Omeda was reconducted to his capital. The meeting was such as might have been expected—it drew tears from all eyes: "My child," said the pilgrim warrior, presenting his sword, "take this; apply it yourself if you think I can have any bad intentions towards you, but let not the base defame me." The young Rao wept aloud as he entreated forgiveness. Sri-ji refused, however, to enter the halls of Boondi during the remainder of his life, which ended about eight years after this event, when his grandchild *entreated* "he would close his eyes within the walls of his fathers." A remnant of that feeling insepa-

rable from humanity, made the dying Omeda offer no objection, and he was removed in a litter to the palace, where he that night breathed his last. Thus, in the year 1804, Omeda Sing closed a varied and checquered life: the sun of his morning rose amid clouds of adversity, soon to burst forth in a radiant prosperity; but scarcely had it attained its meridian glory, ere crime dimmed its splendour, and it descended in solitude and sorrow.

The Personal Narrative, so interesting in the first volume, is now resumed, and occupies the remaining portion of the second. It is divided into thirteen chapters. In the first part the narrative terminated at Oodipoor, after a complete circuit of Marwar and Ambér; this second part resumes it at Oodipoor, the 29th of January 1820, and forms a complete descriptive Itinerary, diversified, like that of the first volume, with historical analogies, and exquisite illustrative engravings, and sketches of architectural remains of great splendour, rivalling Egypt and Greece in beauty and pure taste, differing from, yet emulating the most perfect models of ancient or modern art—while mythological inquiries, etymological discussion, though not so ample as before, and amusing anecdotes, complete the work.

Although we remarked, when examining the former volume, that that was neither the place nor the time to form a suitable estimation of the whole work, proposing, in our minds, to take, on the present occasion, a summary view of all the ground; yet such is the crowd of matter which the survey presses forward, that we are forced to relinquish our pleasing task, with mingled feelings of despair and regret. Towards the high minded author, our hearts incline with the strongest sentiments of attachment and respect; nor shall we ever hear or see his name, that the best recollections will not be awakened. We close with an appropriate quotation from the "Introduction" to the second volume. "In conclusion," says he, "I adopt the peroration of the ingenuous, pious, and liberal Abulfazil, when completing his History of the Provinces of India:—'Praise be unto God, that by the assistance of his Divine Grace, I have completed the History of the *Rajpoots*. The account cost me a great deal of trouble in collecting, and I found such difficulty in ascertaining dates, and in reconciling the contradictions in the several histories of the princes of *Rajpootana*, that I had nearly resolved to relinquish the task altogether—but who can resist the decrees of Fate? I trust that those who have been able to obtain better information, will not dwell upon my errors, but that, upon the whole, I may meet with approbation.'"

Art. III.—AUDUBON'S ORNITHOLOGY.

1.—*Ornithological Biography, or an account of the habits of the Birds of the United States of America; accompanied by descriptions of the objects represented in the work entitled "The Birds of America," and interspersed with delineations of American scenery and manners.* By John James Audubon, *F. R. S., S. L. & E., Fellow of the Linnean and Zoological Societies of London; Member of the Lyceum of New York, of the Natural History Society of Paris, the Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburg; Honorary Member of the Society of Natural History of Manchester, and of the Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture; Member of the American Philosophical Society, of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia, of the Natural History Societies of Boston, of Charleston in South Carolina, &c. &c.* Volume second. Edinburg: 1835.

2.—*Birds of America, from Drawings made in the United States and its Territories.* By J. J. Audubon, Esq., *F. R. S., &c., Citizen of the United States.* Volume second. London: 1834.

In viewing the economy of nature, as admirably demonstrated in the construction and distribution of her wonderful productions, as well as those unerring laws by which they are perpetuated, it would appear to be one of her principal designs, to leave no spot of the globe we inhabit consigned to perpetual sterility; no season of the year, no period of the day, which does not cordially respond to the feelings, propensities, or habits, of some living being. Whether we direct our regards to the darkling bosom and impenetrable depths of the mighty expanse of waters, or to the desert rock which juts its mossy head amid the deathly silence of the untrodden wastes of Sahara. Whether we contemplate the scarcely visible monade, sporting in the meridian ray, or the bird of Jove, with his bold wing and penetrating eye, as he soars aloft in "his pride of towering height." Whether we roam over the flower enamelled valleys of the tropics, scale the forest crowned summits of the Himila, or ascend to the cheerless peaks of the Northern Alps, where, snatched from the dominion of eternal snows, the chaste saxifraga blooms unseen*—every where do we perceive

* Those beautiful and hardy plants, the *Saxifraga nivalis* and *S. hipnoides*, unfold their delicate flowers *beneath the snow;* the former especially has been observed to flower in this situation as far north as the eye of civilized man has penetrated. The *Epigea repens* (ground laurel), not uncommon in New Jersey, may be seen in early spring in full bloom beneath the snow; the flower is pleasantly fragrant.

By way of contrast, we may here notice, that Sonnerat, in his Voyages and Travels, says that he has observed fish and plants flourishing in hot springs in the Indian Archipelago, where the temperature of the water is near that of the boiling point, or 69° of Reaumur, or 188° F. (*Vide Sonnini's Buff.* vol. ii. p. 384.) Colonel

that prolific nature has strewed with liberal hand animated and perpetual monuments of her reign; all equally the objects of the Creator's care, as they are so many proofs of creative wisdom and power. If we extend our views to the animated millions of the microscopic world, the inquiry appears endless, and our comprehension of them hopeless;* yet each department of nature has had its philosophical admirer and historian, and there remain but few orders of organized material that have not been studied, classified, and described. All things emanate from the hand of the Deity with the impress of perfection; and as nothing has been made in vain, there is no one being so little or so mean as not to have attracted the notice and elicited the observations of some philosophic mind. Viewed in the abstract, the discovery of a small, and, in common estimation, an insignificant species, appears at first sight a matter of small moment; yet it is only by such isolated observations, and minute details, that we can expect to complete the harmonious whole—and in order to render nature intelligible, it is necessary to fix the individuality of all her productions.

No human being is so selfish, so apathetic, so destitute of instinctive curiosity, as not to feel some interest in the animated objects by which he is every where surrounded from the moment of his birth, and which are so indissolubly connected with his earliest recollections, so admirably calculated to furnish him during life with the purest objects of contemplation, with pleasures without alloy, and exerting a direct tendency to ennoble and dignify the nature of man, by continually reminding him of the august source of all perfection.

Of the numerous creatures which attract his admiration or excite his fears, by far the greater portion display their appetites and affections, or develop their instincts, during the day time only. Those from which emanate brilliancy of colour, or harmony of sound, being almost without exception diurnal in their habits. The horizon of the distant east is no sooner streaked with the harbinger of day, than all is commencing activity, bustle and display. The noble steed, rising from his verdant couch, extends his strengthened limbs, shakes the dew-drops from his flowing mane, and bounds over the prairie with a spirit free as the breath of heaven; while the distant hills resound to the crowing of the cock,

Long has made somewhat similar remarks respecting the hot springs of Washita, the temperature of which being 152° F.

We might also refer to the existence of animalcules in snow, and living fish of peculiar species entombed in the very bowels of the earth in subterranean lakes, and which are occasionally brought to light by volcanic eruptions.

* Leuwenhoeck calculated that the milt of a single fish contains a greater number of animalculi than there are human beings on the surface of our globe, supposing even that the various countries are as populous as the greater part of Europe.

the lowing of the herds, and the bleating of the lamb. And now that the glorious orb has poured his quickening influence over the new born day, the feathered choristers tune their matin songs, life is on the breeze, and every leaf is vocal with the voice of love.

Predaceous animals, together with a few others characterized by extreme timidity, are chiefly those of nocturnal habits; these, armed by nature with the instruments of destruction, their bosoms heaving with the instinctive thirst of blood, issuing from their sepulchral haunts, are hurried on to the commission of deeds of stratagem and spoil; their voice, discordant and harsh, is the ebullition of infuriate lust, which may be propitiated only by the blood of the helpless victim: with the tiger, the hyena, and the wolf, are ever associated ideas of rapine, terror, and blood.

"When nature sleeps and all is hushed," and the shepherd's whistle shoots across the interminable heath, to give warning that the wolf is upon his walk, the owl and the bat stretch their noiseless wing, and, in administering to the necessities of nature, find health and enjoyment in the pursuit of game. Haunted castles, ruined battlements, falling towers, and noisome caverns, are the choice abodes of these nocturnal marauders; and to such associations are these animals indebted for the unamiable character they have obtained among their biped historians; but from their physical or noxious powers man has nothing in reality to fear—on the contrary, much innocent amusement is afforded by the observation of their natural habits, when, at the close of the day, the busy hum of animated nature is settling into repose, soft evening approaching and spreading her gossamer mantle over the objects of external sense, the dense foliage, the mountain swell, and the ethereal blue, commingle in the crepuscule.

From the foregoing very brief and limited view of the economy of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, we are led to reflect with no small degree of surprise on the almost Vandal lethargy with which the mass of mankind appear to view the immense and endless resources derivable from the study of natural history. This pursuit is recommended to us not only by the solid advantages it possesses on the score of utility, but by the sentiments of truth, and purity of thought, with which the mind is so strongly imbued in the contemplation of the unsophisticated works of nature, fresh from the hand of creative power. It is true, indeed, that the different periods of the fluctuating history of the human species, furnish us with some bright examples of the reverse picture; and ever since the days of the patriarchs, rare geniuses have from time to time appeared upon the stage, who, gifted with the highest intellectual endowments, appear to have been expressly formed by nature for the interpretation of her laws. Passing by for the present the names of a galaxy of worthies who have long rested with

the glorious *dead*, we may confidently refer, as a *living* example, to him, the titles of whose works stand at the head of this article; who, for untiring zeal, singleness of purpose, and devotedness of heart, has never been surpassed by any devotee of that goddess who disclaims all *cabinet* courtship, and who may be wooed with success only at the foot of those altars sacred to her own cause.

The name of *Audubon*, already enrolled in the records of imperishable fame, will descend unsullied to the remotest posterity; will live and flourish, when the insignificant few of his contemporaries, whose jealousies urged them to reckless efforts to despoil him of his dearly purchased honours, shall long have been consigned to the oblivion of things that never were. Our readers are, most of them, doubtless, familiar with the first volumes of both of his unrivalled works, the "Birds of America," and the interesting letter press entitled "Ornithological Biography." It is the object of the following pages to introduce to our author's compatriots the second volumes of those works. We enter upon this subject fully impressed with the difficulty of the task, aware that trans-Atlantic arbiters of taste and science have already wielded abler pens in the same cause. On opening his volumes of Ornithological Biography, the reader is charmed with the vein of active benevolence displayed towards the objects of his research, whom our author is ever disposed to view with a partial eye, as the companions of his early youth, and as friends of maturer age: not less striking is the fervent piety which breathes through all his pages, together with a keen sensibility to favours conferred, evinced in his frequent and liberal acknowledgments to his early patrons.

The volume before us, like its predecessor, is by no means confined to the dry details of the scientific descriptions of the objects so beautifully depicted in his great work; each species being preceded by a most graphic account of the habits of the individuals, presented in a style so familiar, easy, and accurate, as to bring the reader into the actual presence of, and render him personally acquainted with the most attractive portion of the animal creation; thus furnishing a feast of reason adapted equally to the taste of the uninitiated and to the most profound. Each consecutive number, consisting of five plates, is followed by an episode, containing novel and interesting views of the manners and customs of the thinly settled portions of our country, liberally interspersed with curious anecdotes, derived from his intercourse with semi-civilized man, and occasional representations of natural scenery, unsurpassed in beauty in the dreams of romance. These little histories, which were originally introduced into his volumes of text with the view of relieving the monotony of scientific details, or for the amusement of the general reader, have now become important scraps of our author's Biography, and are perused with pleasure and profit by all descriptions of persons; they are in fact replete

with information of a most important nature in several departments of science, besides enabling us to estimate at their true value the labours and almost unparalleled exertions of a successful and enthusiastic devotee in science. The present volume presents us with the following attractions of this kind—The Runaway—The Lost One—The Force of the Waters—The Squatters of the Mississippi—The Squatters of Labrador—Death of a Pirate—A Ball in Newfoundland—The Live-oakers—Spring-garden—St. John's River in Florida—The Florida Keys—The Turtlers—The Burning of the Forests—A Moose hunt—Journey in New Brunswick and Maine—The Bay of Fundy—Cod Fishing—The Merchant of Savannah—Kentucky Barbicue on the Fourth of July.

Among so many interesting chapters possessing each its peculiar attractions, it is no easy matter to make a selection. The "abjurers of strong liquors" will be gratified with our author's notice of the temperance and morality of the Maine Lumberers; all must be pleased with his highly graphic and interesting history of the Squatters of the Mississippi. His occasional observations on various animals, not the immediate objects of his research, have added numerous and highly important facts to the North American Fauna: his remarks on the ground squirrel we found original and interesting, and we can refer our zoological readers with great confidence to page 370 of the present volume, for the very best, if not the only complete account extant of the curious habits of the four species of "sea turtle" which inhabit the coasts of the United States. In its perusal we were equally surprised and delighted at the great mass of valuable and interesting material that his untiring research had enabled him to accumulate from personal investigation. Mr. A. has thus supplied a most important desideratum in the natural history of these animals. Nor is the descriptive talent of our author limited to the illustration of *animal* life; the flowers and shrubs which he has so beautifully and accurately delineated in all the freshness of living nature, he always regards with that enthusiasm which their indissoluble association with the cherished objects of his research is so well calculated to inspire.

The "sweet briar," about which the Yellow-breasted Chat is seen to perform its whimsical gesticulations, is thus pleasingly noticed, page 226:—

"This shrub is very generally distributed in the United States. I have found it from Louisiana to the extremities of Nova Scotia, along the Atlantic coast, and as far in the interior as I have travelled. The delicious odour of its leaves never fails to gratify the person who brushes through patches of it, while the delicate tints of its flowers remind one of the loveliness of female beauty in its purest and most blooming state. Truly a "*sweet home*" must be the nest that is placed in an eglantine bower, and happy must be the bird that in the midst of fragrance is cheered by the warble of her ever loving mate."

Similar proofs of a chaste imagination not unfrequently embellish his pages, together with occasional scraps of poetic prose,

that would do honour to the lyre of Ossian. We were struck with the following lines occurring at page 571, when noticing his first approach to the shores of Labrador, during his pilgrimage to that inclement land, in July 1833.

"The thick fog rolled around us impelled by the chill breeze of the east. Mountains high and bleak we knew were near, but as yet the landscape was concealed from our view: at length the mist disperses, reft by the northern blasts, the sun appears riding among the fleeting vapours, and now the curtain rises, when lo! what a magnificent prospect presents itself! Craggy cliffs, with masses of snow still hanging on their sides, and from whose summits, under sheets of ice, cataracts rush in fury towards the plain. The dismal table lands form a striking contrast with the beautiful verdure below. Turning toward the south-west, where lay my cherished land, I beheld the precipitous shores of Newfoundland, with masses of ice between, fixed to the foundations of the deep, their ever changing prismatic tints dazzling the eye. But hark! the song of the shore-lark fills the air as the warbler mounts on high."

But it is quite impossible to convey to our readers an adequate idea of the intrinsic beauties of these episodal illustrations, by an isolated extract from any one of them. Justice to our author requires that we should quote at least one in his own style; we have chosen that which occurs at page 397—"The Burning of the Forests." The simple language of the woodsman is truly affecting.

"With what pleasure have I seated myself by the blazing fire of some lonely cabin, when, faint with fatigue, and chilled with the piercing blast, I had forced my way to it through the drifted snows that covered the face of the country as with a mantle! The affectionate mother is hushing her dear babe to repose, while a group of sturdy children surround their father, who has just returned from the chase, and deposited on the rough flooring of his hut the varied game which he has procured. The great back-log, that with some difficulty has been rolled into the ample chimney, urged, as it were, by lighted pieces of pine, sends forth a blaze of light over the happy family. The dogs of the hunter are already licking away the trickling waters of the thawing icicles that sparkle over their shaggy coats, and the comfort-loving cat is busied in passing her furry paws over each ear, or with her rough tongue smoothing her glossy coat.

"How delightful to me has it been, when, kindly received and hospitably treated under such a roof, by persons whose means were as scanty as their generosity was great, I have entered into conversation with them respecting subjects of interest to me, and received gratifying information. When the humble but plentiful repast was ended, the mother would take from the shelf the Book of books, and mildly request the attention of her family while the father read aloud a chapter. Then to Heaven would ascend their humble prayers, and a good-night would be bidden to all friends far and near. How comfortably have I laid my wearied frame on the buffalo hide, and covered me with the furry skin of some huge bear! How pleasing have been my dreams of home and happiness, as I there lay secure from danger, and sheltered from the inclemency of the weather.

"I recollect that once while in the State of Maine, I passed such a night as I have described. Next morning the face of nature was obscured by the heavy rains that fell in torrents, and my generous host begged me to remain in such pressing terms, that I was well content to accept his offer. Breakfast over, the business of the day commenced: the spinning wheels went round, and the boys employed themselves, one in searching for knowledge, another in attempting to solve some ticklish arithmetical problem. In a corner lay the dogs dreaming of plunder, while close to the ashes stood grimalkin seriously purring in concert with the wheels. The hunter and I seated ourselves each on a stool, while the matron looked after her domestic arrangements.

"'Puss,' quoth the Dame, 'get away; you told me last night of this day's rain,

and I fear you may now give us worse news with tricky paws.' Puss accordingly went off, leaped on a bed, and rolling herself in a ball, composed herself for a comfortable nap. I asked the husband what his wife meant by what she had just said. 'The goodwoman,' said he, 'has some curious notions at times, and she believes, I think, in the ways of animals of all kinds. Now, her talk to the cat refers to the fires of the woods around us, and although they have happened long ago, she fears them quite as much as ever, and indeed she and I, and all of us, have good reason to dread them, as they have brought us many calamities.' Having read of the great fires to which my host alluded, and frequently observed with sorrow the mournful state of the forests, I felt anxious to know something of the causes by which these direful effects had been produced. I therefore requested him to give me an account of the events resulting from those fires which he had witnessed. Willingly he at once went on nearly as follows:—

"'About twenty-five years ago, the larch or hackmitack trees were nearly all killed by insects. This took place in what hereabouts is called the 'black soft growth' land, that is the spruce, pine, and all other firs. The destruction of the trees was effected by the insects cutting the leaves, and you must know, that although other trees are not killed by the loss of their leaves, the evergreens always are. Some few years after this destruction of the larch, the same insects attacked the spruces, pines, and other firs, in such a manner, that before half a dozen years were over, they began to fall, and, tumbling in all directions, they covered the whole country with matted masses. You may suppose that, when partially dried or seasoned, they would prove capital fuel, as well as supplies for the devouring flames which accidentally, or perhaps by intention, afterwards raged over the country, and continued burning at intervals for years, in many places stopping all communication by the roads, the resinous nature of the firs being of course best fitted to ensure and keep up the burning of the deep beds of dry leaves or of the other trees.'—Here I begged him to give me some idea of the form of the insects which had caused such havoc.

"'The insects,' said he, 'were, in their caterpillar form, about three-quarters of an inch in length, and as green as the leaves of the trees they fed on, when they committed their ravages. I must tell you also, that in most of the places over which the fire passed, a new growth of wood has already sprung up, of what we lumberers call hard wood, which consists of all other sorts but pine or fir; and I have always remarked that wherever the first natural growth of a forest is destroyed, either by the axe, the hurricane, or the fire, there springs up spontaneously another of quite a different kind.' I again stopped my host to inquire if he knew the method or nature of the first kindling of the fires.

"'Why, Sir,' said he, 'there are different opinions about this. Many believe that the Indians did it, either to be the better able to kill the game, or to punish their enemies the Pale-faces. My opinion, however, is different; and I derive it from my experience in the woods as a lumberer. I have always thought that the fires began by the accidental fall of a dry trunk against another, when their rubbing together, especially as many of them are covered with resin, would produce fire. The dry leaves on the ground are at once kindled, next the twigs and branches, when nothing but the intervention of the Almighty could stop the progress of the fire.

"'In some instances, owing to the wind, the destructive element approached the dwellings of the inhabitants of the woods so rapidly that it was difficult for them to escape. In some parts, indeed, hundreds of families were obliged to flee from their homes, leaving all they had behind them, and here and there some of the affrighted fugitives were burnt alive.'

"At this moment a rush of wind came down the chimney, blowing the blaze of the fire towards the room. The wife and daughter, imagining for a moment that the woods were again on fire, made for the door, but the husband, explaining the cause of their terror, they resumed their work.

"'Poor things,' said the lumberer, 'I dare say that what I have told you brings sad recollections to the minds of my wife and eldest daughter, who, with myself, had to fly from our home, at the time of the great fires.' I felt so interested in his relation of the causes of the burnings, that I asked him to describe to me the particulars of his misfortunes at the time. 'If Prudence and Polly,' said he 'looking towards his wife and daughter, will promise to sit still, should another puff of smoke

come down the chimney, I will do so.' The good natured smile with which he accompanied this remark, elicited a return from the women, and he proceeded:—

"'It is a difficult thing, Sir, to describe, but I will do my best to make your time pass pleasantly. We were sound asleep one night, in a cabin about a hundred miles from this, when about two hours before day, the snorting of the horses and lowing of the cattle which I had ranging in the woods suddenly wakened us. I took yon rifle, and went to the door to see what beast had caused the hubbub, when I was struck by the glare of light reflected on all the trees before me, as far as I could see through the woods. My horses were leaping about, snorting loudly, and the cattle ran among them with their tails raised straight over their backs. On going to the back of the house, I plainly heard the crackling made by the burning brushwood, and saw the flames coming towards us in a far extended line. I ran to the house, told my wife to dress herself and the child as quickly as possible, and take the little money we had, while I managed to catch and saddle the two best horses. All this was done in a very short time, for I guessed that every moment was precious to us.

"'We then mounted, and made off from the fire. My wife, who is an excellent rider, stuck close to me; my daughter, who was then a small child, I took in one arm. When making off as I said, I looked back and saw that the frightful blaze was close upon us, and had already laid hold of the house. By good luck, there was a horn attached to my hunting clothes, and I blew it, to bring after us, if possible, the remainder of my live stock, as well as the dogs. The cattle followed for a while; but, before an hour had elapsed, they all ran as if mad through the woods, and that, Sir, was the last of them. My dogs, too, although at all other times extremely tractable, ran after the deer that in bodies sprung before us, as if fully aware of the death that was so rapidly approaching.

"'We heard blasts from the horns of our neighbours, as we proceeded, and knew that they were in the same predicament. Intent on striving to the utmost to preserve our lives, I thought of a large lake, some miles off, which might possibly check the flames; and, urging my wife to whip up her horse, we set off at full speed, making the best way we could over the fallen trees and the brush heaps, which lay like so many articles placed on purpose to keep up the terrific fires that advanced with a broad front upon us.

"'By this time we could feel the heat; and we were afraid that our horses would drop every instant. A singular kind of breeze was passing over our heads, and the glare of the atmosphere shone over the day light. I was sensible of a slight faintness, and my wife looked pale. The heat had produced such a flush in the child's face, that when she turned towards either of us, our grief and perplexity were greatly increased. Ten miles, you know, are soon gone over on swift horses; but, notwithstanding this, when we reached the borders of the lake, covered with sweat and quite exhausted, our hearts failed us. The heat of the smoke was insufferable, and sheets of blazing fire flew over us in a manner beyond belief. We reached the shores, however, coasted the lake for a while, and got round to the lee side. There we gave up our horses, which we never saw again. Down among the rushes we plunged by the edge of the water, and laid ourselves flat, to wait the chance of escaping from being burnt or devoured. The water refreshed us, and we enjoyed the coolness.

"'On went the fire, rushing and crashing through the woods. Such a sight may we never see! The heavens themselves, I thought, were frightened, for all above us was a red glare, mixed with clouds of smoke, rolling and sweeping away. Our bodies were cool enough, but our heads were scorching, and the child, who now seemed to understand the matter, cried so as nearly to break our hearts.

"'The day passed on, and we became hungry. Many wild beasts came plunging into the water beside us, and others swam across to our side and stood still. Although faint and weary, I managed to shoot a porcupine, and we all tasted its flesh. The night passed I cannot tell you how. Smouldering fires covered the ground, and the trees stood like pillars of fire, or fell across each other. The stifling and sickening smoke still rushed over us, and the burnt cinders and ashes fell thick about us. How we got through that night I really cannot tell, for about some of it I remember nothing.' Here the hunter paused, and took breath. The recital of his adventure seemed to have exhausted him. His wife proposed that we should have a bowl of milk, and the daughter having handed it to us, we each took a draught.

"'Now,' said he, 'I will proceed. Towards morning, although the heat did not

abate, the smoke became less, and blasts of fresh air sometimes made their way to us. When morning came, all was calm, but a dismal smoke still filled the air, and the smell seemed worse than ever. We were now cooled enough, and shivered as if in an ague fit; so we removed from the water, and went up to a burning log, where we warmed ourselves. What was to become of us I did not know. My wife hugged the child to her breast, and wept bitterly; but God had preserved us through the worst of the danger, and the flames had gone past, so I thought it would be both ungrateful to Him, and unmanly to despair now. Hunger once more pressed upon us, but this was easily remedied. Several deer were still standing in the water, up to the head, and I shot one of them. Some of its flesh was soon roasted; and, after eating it, we felt wonderfully strengthened.

"'By this time the blaze of the fire was beyond our sight, although the ground was still burning in many places, and it was dangerous to go among the burnt trees. After resting a while, and trimming ourselves, we prepared to commence our march. Taking up the child, I led the way over the hot ground and rocks; and, after two weary days and nights, during which we shifted in the best manner we could, we at last reached the 'hard woods,' which had been free of the fire. Soon after we came to a house, where we were kindly treated for a while. Since then, Sir, I have worked hard and constantly as a lumberer; but, thanks be to God, here we are safe, sound, and happy!'"

But returning to the more immediate object of the work before us, or the biographical description of the one hundred and two species figured in Vol. II. of his "Birds of America." Our author notifies his patrons that in his scientific arrangement he has adopted, with occasional slight alterations, the nomenclature of his friend Charles Lucien Bonaparte. Since the publication of his last volumes he has received many gratifying proofs of the increasing confidence and esteem of his native countrymen, and at present numbers sixty-three American names on his subscription list, including all the most eminent scientific and literary institutions in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, &c., who are all proud to enrol his name on their lists of members.

Several of the state legislatures, emulating the liberal example set by the United States Congress, have extended to him their patronage. That he may meet with similar encouragement in every state of our Union, is the cordial wish of every one truly solicitous for the scientific reputation of our country; and is no more than so much genius, enterprise, and virtue is entitled to. Narrow and heartless must be the policy of such of his contemporaries whose rancorous jealousies could urge them on to the defamation and persecution of an author, who has been honoured with the unlimited confidence of many of the most enlightened men of every civilized community.

To Audubon, success in an enterprise so near and dear to his heart, in which all his earthly hopes and happiness are centred; and in which he has already exhausted the brightest era in life's short span, is far from being an object of ambition, or a professional luxury *only*—his *all* is embarked in the frail vessel of public patronage, and with it he must needs sink or swim. It has already been justly remarked,—"Our author is not alone in life, and is a man of strong family affections. But happily those nearest his

heart are as enthusiastic in the love of natural science as himself, and are all willing to sink or swim with the beloved husband and venerated father. He has derived all along much assistance from their talents and accomplishments, and now that one-half of the illustrations is published, the list of subscribers already gives assurance of success. America may well be proud of him, and he gratefully records the kindness he has experienced from so many of her most distinguished sons. In his own fame he is just and generous to all who excel in the same studies; not a particle of jealousy is in his composition." During his last visit to the United States in 1832 and 1833, our author once more overrun the whole Atlantic sea board, in order to perfect his knowledge of the birds of America, which, besides the addition to our Fauna of several new species, resulted in the accumulation of numerous facts and observations, which add greatly to the value and interest of his ulterior operations.

And where, we would ask, is there another naturalist, who, like Audubon, can follow up the minute details of his subjects, and complete their entire history from personal observations, not carried on in the cabinet, poring over the exploded lucubrations of his predecessors, but pushed to the very extremities of our widely extended country, from the Gulf of Mexico to the sea of Labrador, from the Atlantic to the far West.

In preparing the materials for the present volumes, he assures us that he has continued to limit himself to the particulars which he has been able to gather in the course of a life chiefly spent in studying the birds of his native land, where he has had abundant opportunities of contemplating their manners, and in admiring the manifestations of the glorious perfections of their Omnipotent Creator!

"There, amid the tall grass of the far extended prairies of the west, in the solemn forests of the north, on the heights of the midland mountains, by the shores of the boundless ocean, and on the bosom of the vast lakes and magnificent rivers, have I sought to search out the things which have been hidden since the creation of this wondrous world, or seen only by the naked Indian, who has, for unknown ages, dwelt in the gorgeous but melancholy wilderness. Who is the stranger to my own dear country, that can form an adequate conception of the extent of its primeval woods—of the glory of those columnar trunks, that for centuries have waved in the breeze and resisted the shock of the tempest—of the vast bays of our Atlantic coasts, replenished by thousands of streams, differing in magnitude, as differ the stars that sparkle in the expanse of the pure heavens—of the diversity of aspect in our western plains, our sandy southern shores, interspersed with reedy swamps, and the cliffs that protect our eastern coasts—of the rapid currents of the Mexican Gulf, and the rushing tide-streams of the Bay of Fundy—of our ocean-lakes, our mighty rivers, our thundering cataracts, our majestic mountains, rearing their snowy heads into the calm regions of the clear, cold sky.

"Would that I could delineate to you the varied features of that loved land! But, unwilling, as I always am, to attempt the description of objects beyond my comprehension, you will, I hope, allow me to tell you all that I know of those which I have admired in youth and studied in manhood—for the acquisition of which I have braved the enervating heats of the south, and the cramping colds of the north,

penetrated the tangled cane-swamp, thrid the dubious trail of the silent forest, paddled my frail canoe in the creeks of the marshy shore, and swept in my gallant bark o'er the swelling waves of the ocean."

From what has already been stated, it will be perceived that our animated author is seldom caught in the *croaking* mood; he nevertheless opens the second volume with the description of the *Raven*—a bird sacred to fabulous history, and possessing no very amiable character; he loses nothing, certainly, in sitting for his portrait before a master hand. We now recognise in him, dispositions and habits as respectable as they are venerable, and which fully entitle him to the honour here reserved for him. But the limited space to which our observations are necessarily restricted, will not permit us to enlarge on the many remarkable beauties and curious features which present themselves in this department of the work; nor do we deem it necessary to adhere very closely to any particular order or arrangement. We may safely refer to his description of the Turkey-buzzard, as peculiarly graphic, and in many points highly important in a physiological view.

Mr. Audubon has been highly censured for some original observations on the power of smelling in this species, and published formerly in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburg. There were not wanting some closet naturalists, who, wedded to old prejudices, boldly impugned the veracity of his statements. Their entire correctness, however, and strict unison with nature, has been subsequently proved beyond the possibility of contradiction, by the institution of a series of laboured and careful experiments, performed under the auspices of disinterested persons, and witnessed by many of the most eminent men of science, and most of the professors in the Medical School of Charleston, S. C. Every one whose mind is open to conviction, is now satisfied of the fact first announced by Mr. Audubon, that the turkey-buzzard is directed to his food by the power of vision, and not by the faculty of smelling, which exists indeed in rather an inferior degree in these animals;—thus casting back upon its source the foul aspersions of ignorance or malice.

In the history of the Goshawk, at page 243, we are furnished with a curious instance of animal cunning, or "savoir faire."

"Towards evening of the same day, I saw one abandoning its course to give chase to a large flock of Crow black-birds, then crossing the river. The hawk approached them with the swiftness of an arrow, when the black-birds rushed together so closely that the flock looked like a dusky ball passing through the air; on reaching the mass, he, with the greatest ease, seized first one, then another, and another, giving each a squeeze with his talons, and suffering it to drop upon the water. In this manner he had procured four or five before the poor birds reached the woods, into which they instantly plunged, when he gave up the chase, swept over the water in graceful curves, and picked up the fruits of his industry, carrying each bird singly to the shore.

"Reader, is this instinct or reason?"

We answer, *reason* certainly: instances of similar action to the

above are innumerable in the brute. creation; and if similar demonstrations of rational and thinking faculties are observed to occur both in man and brute, on what principle of logic are we to designate them by different names?

"The comparison of two ideas brought together into the brain is called *reason.* The relation perceived by the comparison is called *judgment;* the integrity of which depends upon the healthy constitution of the brain." *Haller.*

Close observation of the habits and manners of the animal creation has convinced us, that the operations of the brain, the material instrument of thought both in men and animals, where similar faculties co-exist, are similar in kind; and the intellectual faculties in both differing only in number and intensity—differences depending on the physical organization, and demonstrable by the scalpel of the anatomist. Who has not observed the facility with which wild animals are ensnared in new countries when first visited by the "lord of the creation?" and yet how soon does their *experience* teach them the numerous dangers to which they are exposed under the obdurate rule of man: they gradually become more cautious and wary, until at length they are enabled, by counter contrivances, to oppose the most cunning devices, and finally to baffle all our ingenuity. This knowledge, the fruit of experience, appears to be communicable from the old to the young!

But, to return to our author—whose reasonings have always facts and observations for a basis. His accurate, and, we may say, *personal* acquaintance with the feathered tribes, we have enjoyed frequent and various opportunities of testing. Sometimes at great distances, by their mode of flight; again, when nearer, yet out of sight, "by the tones of their voice," or the melody of their song, were the various species recognised.

But the case of the *white headed eagle* furnishes a striking instance of his critical acumen, and must convince the most sceptical. At page 163 we have the following remarks on this bird:

"I have no doubt that in a state of confinement this species sometimes requires a long series of years before it attains the full adult plumage, by which it is so distinctly characterized. There is now one living in the suburbs of Philadelphia, which was eight years in coming to this state of maturity. Almost every person who saw it in its brown dress, called it either a new species or a Golden Eagle! Nay, some said that it must be the pretended *Bird of Washington!* A friend took me to see it; I felt assured as to the species, and told him that its head and bill would become white, and that its size, which was rather larger than common, was not such as to indicate a new species."

This fine specimen, which is still living at Mr. M'Aran's garden, had been actually described as a new species by a naturalist of Philadelphia. Yet we are assured by those who witnessed the experiment, that the unerring *aquiline eye* of our author detected the species, and pronounced, with the certainty of brotherly recog-

nition, that an old acquaintance stood before him, ere he had approached within several feet of the object; and although at the time not the least indication of a coming change of plumage was apparent, he asserted that it could not be long before the usual characters would be developed. In less than two years his predictions were verified.

In the classification of birds, the distribution of them into various sections, genera, and species, is frequently attended with difficulty, so close is the resemblance of nearly allied species in many instances. For example, the *Vireos* of Vieillot differ from the *Muscicapæ* of authors only in the possession of a shorter and thinner bill; but this is a character which equally occurs occasionally in the same species of different sexes and ages; how then are we to determine whether this section be founded in general and permanent characters, or in accidental variety? certainly not by book descriptions, or by the examination of dried specimens, but by an appeal to nature, in order to ascertain what are the effects produced on the *habits* of the animal by certain peculiarities of structure. The case in question is beautifully illustrated by our author at page 287.

"One of the principal differences between the habits of this and some other species which are now called Vireos, and the Flycatchers, is, that the former procure their food principally by moving about and along the branches or twigs of the trees, by light hops, alternately changing sides, reaching and securing their prey by an elastic extension of the legs and neck, without the continual snapping or clicking of the bill so common among the Muscicapæ on such occasions, and that they seldom make sorties on the wing to any distance, for the purpose of seizing the insects on which they usually feed. This habit is retained until autumn, when, insects being scarce, the Vireo sallies forth to a short distance in pursuit of them, as they may chance to pass near the tree on which, in the silent mood of a Flycatcher, it stands erect, using the watchful side-glances peculiar to its tribe, as it anxiously expects the passage of its prey. Another difference is, that Vireos are generally more musical, lively and gay, than Flycatchers, so that their society is more welcome to man; and, as if fully conscious of their superiority in this respect, and knowing that they commit no depredations upon his fruit or bees, calculated to arouse his anger, they often suffer him to approach with a carelessness that evidently proves the simplicity of their nature. The third great difference between the Vireos and Flycatchers is, that the former seldom, if ever, go down from the trees to the water, for the purpose of drinking; while the latter are often seen gliding closely over rivers and pools, from which they sip their drink. The Vireos quench their thirst with the drops of dew or rain that adhere to the leaves or twigs. I might add, that the quivering motion of the wings in Flycatchers when alighted, is not exhibited by the Vireos, at least has never been observed by me. On the other hand, the affinity existing between the Vireos and Muscicapæ is indicated by their being equally possessed of the power of regurgitation."

So exclusive a devotee of nature as our author is known to be, may be excused if he occasionally displays his want of book knowledge. This is sometimes though very rarely to be regretted, when following his instructive pages. In his amusing history of our common Crow, p. 321, we were struck with the following paragraph in reference to the above remark.

"I never saw a pet Crow in the United States, and therefore cannot say with how much accuracy they may imitate the human voice, or, indeed, if they possess the

power of imitation at all, which I very much doubt, as in their natural state they never evince any talents for mimicry; nor can I say if it possess the thieving propensities attributed by authors to the European Crow."

In the Medical and Physical Journal of Philadelphia, edited many years since by the late Professor B. S. Barton, there is to be found a most complete and detailed account of the habits of the crow in a domestic state, by that distinguished botanist the late Mr. William Bartram, who for several years cherished a pet crow at his Botanic Garden in the vicinity of this city; the animal possessed the freedom of the garden, and never manifested the least inclination to leave his patron. The whole history of this bird's life, as familiarly detailed by Bartram, is fully worthy of a reprint; we have always admired it as one of the very best specimens of animal biography on record. Among the host of pet animals which at different periods of life it was our delight to cherish, we have numbered the crow, and have frequently observed other specimens in bondage in and about our city; from which we can assure our author, that the species in question possesses every just claim to his character as a thief, a mimic, and incorrigible knave; as well as a noisy, insatiable glutton, preferring animal to vegetable diet.

But however kindly the feelings entertained by our author toward the feathered companions of his solitude, he appears never to have been addicted to making living pets of them in bondage. When living birds came into his possession, he either soon restored them to freedom, or transfixed them with iron pins, according to the necessity of the case. The struggle between feeling and interest to which he was sometimes subjected on such occasions, is well illustrated in his account of the living specimen of the Golden Eagle with which he was presented by the proprietor of the Boston Museum.

"He was immediately conveyed to my place of residence, covered by a blanket, to save him, in his adversity, from the gaze of the people. I placed the cage so as to afford me a good view of the captive, and I must acknowledge, that as I watched his eye, and observed his looks of proud disdain, I felt towards him not so generously as I ought to have done. At times I was half inclined to restore him to his freedom, that he might return to his native mountains; nay, I several times thought how pleasing it would be to see him spread out his broad wings and sail away towards the rocks of his wild haunts; but then, reader, some one seemed to whisper that I ought to take the portrait of the magnificent bird, and I abandoned the more generous design of setting him at liberty, for the express purpose of showing you his semblance." p. 464.

As an instance of the undisturbed felicity and domestic comfort which is reserved to some families of birds of good fortune, we might refer to his history of the "Wood Pewee;" and as equally illustrative of the opposite picture, to his description of the Black Snake attacking the nest of the "Thrasher," which but too truly represents the sad misfortunes to which these unoffending creatures are liable. But we should be at a loss where and when to end,

did we attempt to specify all the more interesting traits developed in this charming volume; our limits restrict us to a single chapter, and we have made choice of that which immortalizes the "American Sparrow Hawk," on account of its brevity, and because, as a specimen of this kind of writing, it may be considered as unsurpassed by any other. p. 246.

"We have few more beautiful hawks in the United States than this active little species, and I am sure, none half so abundant. It is found in every district from Louisiana to Maine, as well as from the Atlantic shores to the western regions. Every one knows the Sparrow-Hawk, the very mention of its name never fails to bring to mind some anecdote connected with its habits, and, as it commits no depredations on poultry, few disturb it, so that the natural increase of the species experiences no check from man. During the winter months especially it may be seen in the Southern States about every old field, orchard, barn-yard, or kitchen-garden, but seldom indeed in the interior of the forest.

"Beautifully erect, it stands on the highest fence-stake, the broken top of a tree, the summit of a grain stack, or the corner of the barn, patiently and silently waiting until it spy a mole, a field-mouse, a cricket, or a grasshopper, on which to pounce. If disappointed in its expectation, it leaves its stand and removes to another, flying low and swiftly until within a few yards of the spot on which it wishes to alight, when all of a sudden, and in the most graceful manner, it rises towards it and settles with incomparable firmness of manner, merely suffering its beautiful tail to vibrate gently for a while, its wings being closed with the swiftness of thought. Its keen eye perceives something beneath, when down it darts, secures the object in its talons, returns to its stand, and devours its prey piece by piece. This done, the little hunter rises in the air, describes a few circles, moves on directly, balances itself steadily by a tremulous motion of its wings, darts towards the earth, but, as if disappointed, checks its course, reascends and proceeds. Some unlucky finch crosses the field beneath it. The Hawk has marked it, and, anxious to secure its prize, sweeps after it; the chase is soon ended, for the poor affrighted and panting bird becomes the prey of the ruthless hunter, who, unconscious of wrong, carries it off to some elevated branch of a tall tree, plucks it neatly, tears the flesh asunder, and having eaten all that it can pick, allows the skeleton and wings to fall to the ground, where they may apprize the traveller that a murder has been committed.

"Thus, reader, are the winter months spent by this little marauder. When spring returns to enliven the earth, each male bird seeks for its mate, whose coyness is not less innocent than that of the gentle dove. Pursued from place to place, the female at length yields to the importunity of her dear tormentor, when side by side they sail, screaming aloud their love notes, which if not musical, are doubtless at least delightful to the parties concerned. With tremulous wings they search for a place in which to deposite their eggs secure from danger, and now they have found it.

"On that tall mouldering headless trunk, the hawks have alighted side by side. See how they caress each other! Mark! The female enters the deserted Woodpecker's hole, where she remains some time measuring its breadth and depth. Now she appears, exultingly calls her mate, and tells him there could not be a fitter place. Full of joy they gambol through the air, chase all intruders away, watch the Grakles and other birds to which the hole might be equally pleasing, and so pass the time, until the female has deposited her eggs, six, perhaps even seven in number, round, and beautifully spotted. The birds sit alternately, each feeding the other and watching with silent care. After a while the young appear, covered with white down. They grow apace, and now are ready to go abroad, when their parents entice them forth. Some launch into the air at once, others, not so strong, now and then fall to the ground; but all continue to be well provided with food, until they are able to shift for themselves. Together they search for grasshoppers, crickets, and such young birds as, less experienced than themselves, fall an easy prey. The family still resort to the same field, each bird making choice of a stand, the top of a tree, or that of the Great Mullein. At times they remove to the ground, then fly

off in a body, separate, and again betake themselves to their stands. Their strength increases, their flight improves, and the field-mouse seldom gains her retreat before the little Falcon secures it for a meal.

"The trees, of late so richly green, now disclose the fading tints of autumn; the cricket becomes mute, the grasshopper withers on the fences, the mouse retreats to her winter quarters, dismal clouds obscure the eastern horizon, the sun assumes a sickly dimness, hoar frosts cover the ground, and the long night encroaches on the domains of light. No longer are heard the feathered choristers of the woods, who throng towards more congenial climes, and in their rear rushes the Sparrow Hawk.

"Its flight is rather irregular, nor can it be called protracted. It flies over a field, but seldom farther at a time; even in barren lands, a few hundred yards are all the extent it chooses to go before it alights. During the love season alone it may be seen sailing for half an hour, which is, I believe, the longest time I ever saw one on the wing. When chasing a bird, it passes along with considerable celerity, but never attains the speed of the Sharp-shinned Hawk or of other species. When teazing an Eagle or a Turkey Buzzard, its strength seems to fail in a few minutes, and if itself chased by a stronger hawk, it soon retires into some thicket for protection. Its migrations are pursued by day, and with much apparent nonchalance.

"The cry of this bird so much resembles that of the European Kestrel, to which it seems allied, that, were it rather stronger in intonation, it might be mistaken for it. At times it emits its notes while perched, but principally when on the wing, and more continually before and after the birth of its young, the weaker cries of which it imitates when they have left the nest and follow their parents.

"The Sparrow Hawk does not much regard the height of the place in which it deposites its eggs, provided it be otherwise suitable, but I never saw it construct a nest for itself. It prefers the hole of a Woodpecker, but now and then is satisfied with an abandoned crow's nest. So prolific is it, that I do not recollect having ever found fewer than five eggs or young in the nest, and, as I have already said, the number sometimes amounts to seven. The eggs are nearly globular, of a deep buff-colour, blotched all over with dark brown and black. This Hawk sometimes raises two broods in the season, in the Southern States, where in fact it may be said to be a constant resident; but in the Middle and Eastern States, seldom if ever more than one. Nay, I have thought that in the South the eggs of a laying are more numerous than in the North, although of this I am not quite certain.

"So much attached are they to their stand, that they will return to it and sit there by preference for months in succession. My friend Bachman informed me, that, through this circumstance, he has caught as many as seven in the same field, each from its favourite stump.

"Although the greater number of these Hawks remove southward at the approach of winter, some remain even in the State of New York during the severest weather of that season. These keep in the immediate neighbourhood of barns, where now and then they secure a rat or a mouse for their support. Sometimes this species is severely handled by the larger Hawks. One of them who had caught a Sparrow, and was flying off with it, was suddenly observed by a Red-tailed Hawk, which in a few minutes made it drop its prey: this contented the pursuer and enabled the pursued to escape.

"Theodore Lincoln, Esq. of Dennisville, Maine, informed me that the Sparrow Hawk is in the habit of attacking the Republican Swallow, while sitting on its eggs, deliberately tearing the bottle-neck-like entrance of its curious nest, and seizing the occupant for its prey. This is as fit a place as any to inform you, that the father of that gentleman, who has resided at Dennisville upwards of forty years, found the swallow just mentioned abundant there, on his arrival in that then wild portion of the country.

"In the Floridas the Sparrow Hawk pairs as early as February, in the Middle States about April, and in the northern parts of Maine seldom before June. Few are seen in Nova Scotia, and none in Newfoundland, or on the western coast of Labrador. Although abundant in the interior of East Florida, I did not observe one on any of the keys which border the coast of that singular peninsula. During one of my journeys down the Mississippi, I frequently observed some of these birds

standing on low dead branches over the water, from which they would pick up the beetles that had accidentally fallen into the stream.

"No bird can be more easily raised and kept than this beautiful Hawk. I once found a young male that had dropped from the nest before it was able to fly. Its cries for food attracted my notice, and I discovered it lying near a log. It was large, and covered with soft white down, through which the young feathers protruded. Its little blue bill and yet grey eyes made it look not unlike an owl. I took it home, named it Nero, and provided it with small birds, at which it would scramble fiercely, although yet unable to tear their flesh, in which I assisted it. In a few weeks it grew very beautiful, and became so voracious, requiring a great number of birds daily, that I turned it out, to see how it would shift for itself. This proved a gratification to both of us: it soon hunted for grasshoppers and other insects, and on returning from my walks I now and then threw a dead bird high in the air, which it never failed to perceive from its stand, and towards which it launched with such quickness as sometimes to catch it before it fell to the ground. The little fellow attracted the notice of his brothers, brought up hard by, who, accompanied by their parents, at first gave it chase, and forced it to take refuge behind one of the window-shutters, where it usually passed the night, but soon became gentler towards it, as if forgiving its desertion. My bird was fastidious in the choice of food, would not touch a Woodpecker, however fresh, and as he grew older, refused to eat birds that were in the least tainted. To the last he continued kind to me, and never failed to return at night to his favourite roost behind the window-shutter. His courageous disposition often amused the family, as he would sail off from his stand, and fall on the back of a tame duck, which, setting up a loud quack, would waddle off in great alarm with the Hawk sticking to her. But, as has often happened to adventurers of similar spirit, his audacity cost him his life. A hen and her brood chanced to attract his notice, and he flew to secure one of the chickens, but met one whose parental affection inspired her with a courage greater than his own. The conflict, which was severe, ended the adventures of poor Nero.

"I have often observed birds of this species in the Southern States, and more especially in the Floridas, which were so much smaller than those met with in the Middle and Northern Districts, that I felt almost inclined to consider them different; but after studying their habits and voice, I became assured that they were the same. Another species allied to the present, and alluded to by Wilson, has never made its appearance in our Southern States."

Passing to the consideration of his great work, "*The Birds of America*," it will not be expected, after the high encomiums which have been elicited by the appearance of the first volume both in this country and in Europe, that we should occupy much of our reader's time in descanting on the merits of the beautiful volume before us; it is enough to say, that in the opinion of all sound critics, it even surpasses, in magnificence of colouring, its predecessor; nor could we, by any descriptive power of our pen, convey an adequate idea of its merits, either as a production of art or of science. The brilliant illustrations must be viewed and studied in order to be duly estimated. Each picture in itself forms a study for the artist, and had Mr. Audubon confined his labours to the completion of his drawing of the "Golden Eagle" alone, his fame as an artist would have been perpetuated. Thirteen days of intense and uninterrupted application were bestowed on this inimitable production of his practised pencil, which will be viewed with increased interest, when it is known that its execution nearly deprived science forever of the further labours of the author, who, debarred from the daily active corporeal exercise to which from

youth he had been accustomed, by the urgent demands of so large and perishable a subject, induced an attack of paralysis, which, but for the timely and well directed skill of his medical advisers in Boston, would have terminated his existence. And where then should we look for the master hand to resume and direct his pencil? Where find united in one individual the highest attributes of the historian and painter, whose unrivalled productions shall be perfectly unique both in conception and execution? A work which the Aristotle of our age has unhesitatingly declared "surpasses all others," (*Vide Cuvier's Règne Animal, Introduction to the Second Edition, p.* 34,) and who, in his "Rapport Verbal," made to the Royal Academy of Sciences on the "Natural History of the Birds of North America by Mr. Audubon," pays the following just tribute to our author's merits: "On peut le charactériser en peu de mots, en disant que c'est le monument le plus magnifique qui ait encore été élevé à l'Ornithologie." And further on remarks—"Autrefois c'étaient les naturalistes Européens qui étaient obligés de faire connâitre à l'Amerique les richesses qu' elle possédait; maintenant les Michill, les Harlan, les Wilson, les Charles Bonaparte rendent avec usure à l'Europe ce que l'Amerique en a reçu. L' Histoire des Oiseaux des Etats Unis de Wilson égalait déjà en élégance nos plus beaux ouvrages d'Ornithologie. Si celui de M. Audubon se termine il faudra convenir que ce sera l'Amerique qui, pour la magnificence de l'exécution, aura surpassé l'ancien monde."

Nor have the men of science of Great Britain been less liberal in their encomiums, and all their most noted scientific journals have frequently paid just tribute to Audubon's well earned fame. Passing by for the present the able reviews and critical notices of such distinguished authors as Bonaparte, Swainson, Wilson, Jameson, &c., we shall content ourselves with citing an extract from the Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal, of an article which, though anonymous, we know to be the production of a naturalist of Scotland, whose name stands unrivalled among European ornithologists, and who is at the present moment occupied in executing the most masterly drawings of the birds of England, in illustration of an elaborate work now preparing for the press. We have enjoyed an opportunity of examining his port-folio, and are satisfied that the productions of his pencil are surpassed only by *some* of Audubon's.

"It is not enough to say that our author has invented a new style in the representation of natural objects; for so true are his pictures, that he who has once seen and examined them, can never again look with pleasure on the finest productions of living artists. To paint like Audubon, will henceforth mean, to represent nature as she is. The birds are represented such as nature created them, of their full dimensions, glowing in all the beauty of their unsullied plumage, and presenting the forms, attitudes, and motions peculiar to the species. In no case do they appear before us in the stiff and formal attitudes in which we find them in other works,

perched upon an unmeaning stump or stone. On the contrary, they are seen in all imaginable positions, pursuing their usual avocations. The fore-shortenings and varieties of attitude which induce painters generally to present side views only, seem to have been accounted nothing out of the ordinary course of drawing, with so much delicacy, grace, and vigour have the most difficult positions been managed. A peculiar charm has been given to these representations, by the circumstances, that the trees, plants, and flowers of the districts in which they occur, are all represented, generally with surprising accuracy, and always with great taste. The flowing festoons of climbing shrubs and creepers, hung with broad leaves, garlands of flowers and clustered berries, the lichen-crusted branches of the forest trees, and the decayed stumps on which the woodpeckers seek their food, are in themselves objects of admiration."

This is just praise, and, emanating from a source beyond suspicion, is entitled to the highest respect, and must be viewed as decisive.

But amidst the universal pæans which resound far and near, to the merits of lofty genius and well tried talents, "what notes of discord are those which disturb the general joy, and silence the acclamations of victory? They are the notes of *John Hook*, hoarsely bawling through the *American* camp, beef! beef! beef!" (*Vid. Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry*, p. 374.)

'Tis true, the unassuming, confiding, and modest historian of nature has his enemies, and perhaps there is no one whose brilliant productions are more calculated to excite *envy;* but, fortunately, the intellectual force of our author's opponents falls far short of the activity and zeal which they have brought to bear in so unjust a cause. Otherwise we should have experienced a degree of mortification in confessing that these opponents are chiefly limited to Mr. Audubon's native countrymen. As it is, their vain efforts would be calculated to excite amusement, were it not for the malice by which in most instances they are characterized. In alluding to some of their unfounded charges, we shall assume the forbearance of Mr. Audubon, who has at all times abstained from mentioning the names of those who have so unjustly persecuted and reviled him. In this respect he has not only displayed a Christian virtue, but may find his account in having thus deprived those *names* of the only chance which they ever possessed of descending to posterity along with his imperishable works.

It is not requisite now to enter into any disquisitions to refute long exploded errors: in every instance it will be found, on close examination, that all the specified charges put forth to fix the stigma of mendacity to the name of our author, or to convict him of the base attempt to palm upon the public the spurious productions of a vitiated imagination, for grave truths in natural history, have invariably arisen out of the ignorance or malice of the accusers.

Thus the extraordinary and curious facts in the physiology and habits of the turkey-buzzard, so faithfully observed and accurately detailed by Mr. Audubon, were not only received with disdain,

by his opponents, but were publicly cited as sufficient evidence of the ignorance and presumption of our author. At the present time, after the repeated and satisfactory experiments, instituted expressly to determine the disputed points, by numerous and highly reputable and disinterested witnesses, no one who entertains the least regard for his own reputation or honour, would presume to express a doubt. Not less satisfactory have proved the results of subsequent investigations, by competent observers, on the "habit of climbing of the rattle-snake," together with the occasional disposition of this animal to enter the water to swim—both of which facts had been repeatedly cited to reflect on the veracity of our author—and were even urged during a successful canvass for the election of Mr. Audubon as a member of the American Philosophical Society, as sufficient reasons for excluding him from its honours; but the mere positive assertions of inexperience and prejudice, failed before the published testimony of such observers as Gen. Jessup, Gen. Gibson, Col. Abert, Lieutenant Swift, &c., of the United States Army.

Long ere this, on a similar occasion, before the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, objections still more untenable were much insisted on by the same opponents, and as regards their substantiation, with like success. It was here gravely asserted, and by a member of the medical profession too, that the candidate could not be considered as a man of veracity, and was therefore unworthy of the honours of this society. And what were the grounds truly upon which this serious charge rested? Mr. Audubon, forsooth, had colloquially stated that he had, during his residence in Mississippi, "fattened a tame *Merganser* on corn!" "Now," continued the orator of the evening, "every body knows that this cannot be a correct statement, inasmuch as it is well ascertained that the *Merganser* is strictly *carnivorous* in its habits."

But it was very significantly asked by the friends of the candidate, if the habits of an animal are not occasionally changed by domestication: they also quoted facts in illustration of this point. The academicians were reminded—

1st, that Spallanzani, in his treatise on *digestion*, noticed the case of an eagle which he forced to feed on *bread alone*.

2d, That Captain Cook, in his voyages, has stated that he has seen the Albatross fattened on corn meal; a diet by which the taste of the flesh was much improved.

3d, That cattle, during severe winters, in our eastern states, were frequently fed principally on *salted fish*.

4th, That Pliny, in his account of the advance of the Roman army through Persia, notices the poor fare of the soldiers, who were condemned to eat the miserable mutton of the country, the sheep having been fed on *fish*, &c., &c.

Such was the nature of the unfounded charges urged at this

time to prejudice the members against the reputation of a candidate, then fifteen hundred miles distant, and who, with the exception of Charles Bonaparte, was not intimately known to any of the members, many of whom had never seen him.

There were nineteen votes present, seven of whom gave a negative voice—a majority just sufficient to exclude the candidate. As a curious circumstance connected with this election, it may be stated that not one of those members who opposed Mr. Audubon's election, now take any part in the concerns of the Academy of Natural Sciences:—they have ceased to attend its meetings.

But the tables have since changed: time, and a further acquaintance with Mr. Audubon, have convinced the Academy of its error; the members subsequently not only conferred upon him this honour, but at the same time subscribed for a copy of his work. Copies were about the same time subscribed for by the American Philosophical Society, and the New York Lyceum.

We should not here have referred to this circumstance, had not very unfair use been made of it by a writer in "Loudon's Magazine of Natural History," to the prejudice of our author.

In the "History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, by William Dunlap," Mr. Audubon's name has been introduced to the public in a most unfavourable light. It appears to us strange, that Mr. Dunlap could find no better authority for the biographical sketch of so distinguished an artist, than the vulgar and illiterate aspersions of a writer whom he himself acknowledges to be "*jealous* of, perhaps even *inimical* to Mr. Audubon." The statements of this writer are untrue in many respects, and he has the presumption to suppose, that on his bare assertion, his readers will believe that Mr. Audubon's figures, in his great work, are occasionally copies from Wilson, "reversed and magnified!"

Granting that each of these authors have faithfully copied nature, in what respects could their representations differ except in size or position?

If the writer in question really did make use of such rude and grossly insulting language, on Mr. Audubon's first interview with him, when a stranger, and in his own house too! as we are led to believe he did from *his own confessions*, it is no wonder that he feared to receive in return what he so richly deserved.—"He measured me with his eye; and I thought he would have knocked me down."—*Vide* p. 404.

The whole chapter is disgraceful even to a volume characterized, (to use the words of an article in a previous number of this Review,) "by the *quantity* rather than the *quality*" of its material, and we rose from the perusal of the quoted article with the comfortable conviction, that Mr. Audubon had "nothing to hope or to fear, from the praise or censure" of its authors.

Still more recently, we have another specimen of "the milk of human kindness" which flows in the veins of a very *disinterested* ultra-montane writer. We refer to the "Western Monthly Magazine" for July 1834. Whatever may be the discursive talents of the editor, he has shown himself not quite "a second Daniel" in the present matter. In the article alluded to, he gives himself no trouble in citing the proofs of his assertions, which are entirely gratuitous; but, like his brother censors, has found it more convenient to deal in wholesale accusations: and it is no small recommendation of the first volume of the "Ornithological Biography," that this gentle critic was unable to detect in it greater blemishes than such as follow. He asserts the "Death of Mason" to be "altogether fabulous;" that the "Booming Flood of the Mississippi" is "overdrawn, and calculated to deceive;" that by his description of the "Hurricane" he "forfeits all claim to the reader's credence," and that "Boon was not the discoverer of Kentucky, nor was this pioneer of gigantic stature."—*Vide p.* 347. Such imputations, from a source by no means authentic in natural science, demands from us but a single comment, viz. that a near relative of the Editor, in Philadelphia, had republished, and was anxious to sell, *Wilson's Ornithology!!*

This active little band of brotherly censors have not confined their exertions to our own country; and they have found a most faithful correspondent and ally in the person of a certain Yorkshire "Wanderer," who has passed the greater portion of his life in fruitless efforts to run away from his own shadow. He has published a work in England, on "Wandering," in the preface of which he assures us, that "Sir Joseph Banks predicted that he would write a book," which would "improve and extend materially the bounds of natural science." We have waded through its pages, in vain, to discover the fruition of this prophecy. At page 37, we meet, in his own language, expressions admirably well calculated to enable the reader to estimate, at their true value, these abortive pages.—"Ludicrous extravagances! pleasing to those fond of the marvellous; and excellent matter for a distempered brain!" This able and active little censor, having of course nothing but the advancement of science at heart, and desirous to purify the pages of Natural History from the baneful *fables* which too frequently disfigure it, commenced an early warfare, ay! "war to the knife," with the Author of the "Ornithological Biography," whom he appears to have viewed from the commencement as a poacher on the manor which he considered peculiarly his own! He appears to be well supplied with materials for detraction, which will not appear strange, when it is known that one of the American band of censors has feasted at Walton Hall! How utterly fruitless would be the effort to undeceive him, and save him from the effects of the hallucination under which he la-

bours as regards the true character of Mr. Audubon, is well exemplified by a confession of his own, occurring at page 101 of his book, viz. "When you once fancy that the thing you are looking at is really what you take it for, the more you look at it the more you are convinced that it is so." But his entire fitness for the high responsibilities of the office he has assumed, will be best illustrated by a few quotations from the cherished production of his own pen:—"The Wanderings," &c.

At page 9, we have what he would persuade you to believe are his own original observations on the Anatomy of the Sloth—which animal he describes as possessing "*four stomachs*," and having "only one inferior aperture, as in birds;" also, as having "*no soles to his feet*," and possessing "*forty-six ribs*," &c. Had our "Censor" really ever examined the internal structure of the Sloth, he could not thus have attempted to palm upon the public, as original observations made in the forests of Guiana, these old exploded errors, stolen from Buffon's Natural History. Zootomists are not to be informed now-a-days, that the sloth possesses "soles to his feet," even though they be covered with hair—nor do they admit him to have "four stomachs," or an inferior aperture "as in birds;" nor does the number of ribs ever exceed thirty-two!

At page 11, he confesses his entire credence in all the fabulous stories of the blood-sucking vampyre; though he candidly allows that he could never detect the creature in the act, nor by any contrivance induce him to perform the operation on himself.

At page 13, he represents the Chameleon as "busily employed in chasing insects round the trunks of the neighbouring trees," a statement that the very structure of this reptile falsifies. He further ranks the Boa Constrictor among the "deadly" snakes, because he is able to crush his game in his folds. We have heard him relate other "snake stories," still more improbable.—His story of his conflict with the Boa, is a mean fabrication—we have heard him relate this pretended battle in terms directly opposite to his printed statement!

At page 183, there is a Munchausen account of the death of an alligator.—"The Indian sent his arrow into the cayman's eye, and *killed it dead*." The tenacity of life in this animal is proverbial; they will live for hours after the brain is destroyed. But above all, our Wanderer stretched the point beyond even the bounds of his own "Wanderings," when he attempted to deceive the Naturalists of England, by presenting to their examination the rotten head of a monkey, stuffed into a resemblance of the human face!—a contemptible piece of trifling, which will for ever deprive the author of the trick, of all claims to the respectful consideration of his learned compatriots.—At page 293, occurs the following notice of this "New Species."—

"I also procured an animal which has caused not a little speculation and astonishment. In my opinion his thick coat of hair and great length of tail, put his species out of all question; but then his face and head cause the inspector to pause for a moment before he ventures to pass his opinion of the classification. He was a large animal, and as I was pressed for daylight, and morever felt no inclination to have the whole weight of his body on my back, I contented myself with his head and shoulders, which I cut off, and have brought them with me to Europe."

The figure of this "calumny on nature," stands as the author's portrait at the head of his volume. He assures us that "it is certainly a striking likeness of the *original*."

This Wanderer, whose mental aberrations, as manifested in his numerous violent and scurrilous publications, since his efforts to resume settled habits, and which have indeed rendered him an object rather of pity than of anger, has recently addressed a letter to Professor Jameson of Edinburgh, containing statements which, for bold assertion and insolent assumption of facts, is rarely surpassed by the unfortunate inmates of Bedlam.

Take the following per exemplum:

"I challenge the *whole world* to produce one solitary instance of any animal being poisoned by the scratch of a rattle-snake's fang, or any other poisonous snake's fang. The formation of the fang itself shows beyond all doubt whatever, that this cannot possibly be the case." The "Wanderer" against "the whole world!" A position, by the way, not unusual for him to stand in; dogmatism being the natural offspring of arrogance and ignorance.

Nevertheless, we can assure him, and can bring other eye witnesses to support the statement, that we have seen the rattle-snake inflict a poisonous wound by a scratch with his fang. Indeed, from the known structure of the poison apparatus, this result must follow such a wound, as a matter of course. The poison bag communicating with the hollow fang, is covered by strong muscular fibres, which enable the animal to eject its contents to the distance of several feet, in the act of wounding its prey; indeed the very act of erecting the fang, produces muscular pressure on the bag. We ourselves have had our face bespattered with poison by the efforts of a snake to strike at it through a wire cage.

The object of this "famous letter" was to invalidate some of Mr. Audubon's contributions to general science, and after all, concerns only an old story about the length of time the poison of the rattle-snake may be retained in the fang after the death of the animal, an account of which Mr. Audubon gives as he received it, on what he thought at the time authentic testimony; but which is equally a matter of indifference to Mr. A. or to the public, be the story true or be it false: the story is, however, religiously believed throughout a whole county.

We now trust we have said enough to convince our readers, that no reliance whatever is to be placed on the testimony of this "unholy alliance," who have united for the express purpose of

hunting down the unimpeachable reputation of a genius they are unable to cope with.

In bringing this article to a close, we may be permitted to make one more appeal to the liberality of the American public in our author's behalf. The citizens of Boston, New York, Charleston, and Savannah, have already handsomely displayed their high sense of his merits, and have contributed to his work in a manner worthy of its object; whilst in our favoured city, "the Athens of America," his patronage has extended to five subscriptions only!!

Of the citizens of Philadelphia, where the study of the arts in all their practical bearings, is pursued with avidity, and which ranks among its votaries some of the most distinguished cultivators of science, the most enlightened and liberal benefactors of man, it need scarcely be asked, shall the home of philanthropy yield to the rivals whom she has furnished with the first incitements to exertion?

We truly rejoice in the prospect, that recent demonstrations make it evident, that Americans will not view with indifference the scientific efforts of one of her most gifted sons.

ART. IV.—*Constantinople and its Environs. In a series of Letters, exhibiting the actual state of the manners, customs, and habits, of the Turks, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks, as modified by the policy of Sultan Mahmoud.* By AN AMERICAN, *long resident at Constantinople.* 2 vols. pp. 603. Harper & Brothers. New York: 1835.

"THE famous Empire of the Turks," says Knolles, "the present terror of the world, hath, amongst other things, nothing more wonderful and strange, than the poor beginning of itself; so small and obscure, as that it is not well known unto themselves, or agreed upon even among the best writers of their histories, from whence this barbarous nation, that now triumpheth over the best part of the world, first crept out, or took their beginning."

There seems nothing very remarkable in this obscurity. The origin of almost every nation except our own is buried in fable, and traditions little better than fable. Historians never think them worthy of notice until they become illustrious, and by that time their early beginnings are for the most part forgotten. It is then, that, as in the case of individuals, the vanity of mankind indulges itself in the imagination or invention of a glorious pedigree, which being founded on the basis of wealth and power, is received with a willing credulity, more especially as the deep obscurity of their origin precludes the possibility of exposure or contradiction.

The origin of the Turks has been, at different times and by various writers, ascribed to the Trojans, the Persians, the Arabians, and the Jews of the Ten Tribes of Israel, whose mysterious disappearance has afforded a field for some of the most ingenious theories that ever perplexed mankind. The prevailing opinion at present is, that they came originally from Scythia, that extraordinary region, which seems to have been the beehive of the world, and to have sent forth its yearly swarms, to conquer or to exterminate the nations of the south.

Whencesoever they derived their origin, it would seem that they first excited the attention of historians some time between the years 755 and 844 of the Christian æra, for they differ thus much as to the precise period. Similar uncertainty prevails with respect to the track they pursued, and the causes of their emigration. Blondus and Platina ascribe it to famine; Sabellicus, agreeing with the traditions of the Turks themselves, affirms they were driven from home by their more powerful and warlike neighbours; while others maintain that they were invited by the King of Persia to aid him in his wars with the Sultan of Babylon and the people of India. By some it is stated they came by the way of Mount Caucasus; by others through the straits of the Caspian Sea.

Their earliest exploits were in aid of Mahomet, Sultan of Persia, under a leader called by the Greek historians Tangrolipix, who, as usually happens in such cases, after ridding the Sultan of his enemies, drove him from his throne, and usurped his place. Those who confer, and those who receive benefits, seldom agree in the estimate of their value, and hence the usual result is the assumption of arrogant pretension on one hand, the sin of ingratitude on the other.

Tangrolipix having established himself on the throne of Persia, proceeded in his career of conquest. He overthrew the Caliph of Babylon, and annexed his territories to his own. After this he made war on the Arabians, who defeated his army under Musa, his cousin, who, retreating into Media, requested of the Lieutenant of the Greek Emperor a free passage through the dominions of his master. This was contemptuously refused, in consequence of which Musa turned his arms against the Greeks, whom he easily defeated, taking the Lieutenant of the Emperor prisoner.

Returning to Tangrolipix, he gave him such an account of the beauty and fertility of Media, which he said was only defended by women, as induced him, after being again beaten by the Arabians, to turn his arms against that quarter. His army, under one of his nephews, Asan, surnamed the Deaf, was at first defeated by the Lieutenant of the Greek Emperor, and Asan slain; but being augmented to a hundred thousand men, and placed under the brother of Tangrolipix, called Habram Alim, the Lieutenant declined a

meeting until he received reinforcements. These being at length sent him, he faced the Turks, was defeated in a great battle, and taken prisoner. The Greek Emperor sent great sums to ransom his Lieutenant, which were rejected by Tangrolipix, who generously set him at liberty, requesting him never again to bear arms against the Turks.

The Lieutenant returned to Constantinople, accompanied by an Ambassador, a person of great distinction among the Turks, who "proudlie demanded of the Emperour to become tributarie unto the Sultan, and to be at peace with him forever. Which his unresonable demand was by the Emperour with no lesse disdaine scornfully rejected, and the Embassadour so dismissed: which contempt of his Embassadour the Sultan taking in evill part, as also not a little moved with the death of his Nephew and losse of his armie, with all his power invaded the Roman provinces."*

Such was the commencement of those bloody relations between the Christians and Turks, which, after enduring through ages of inveterate hostility, finally terminated in the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet the Great, and the extinction of the Greek Empire in the year 1453. From that period the seat of the Ottoman Empire was removed from Broussa in Asia Minor, to the most beautiful situation in all Europe, or indeed in the world. From that time, too, the Turks became the scourge and the terror of Christendom. The dominion of the successor of Mahomet extended over a great portion of Asia; comprehended large tributary empires in Africa, together with one of the finest kingdoms of Europe; and but for the valour of Charles Martel, the field of Aquitaine might have substituted the Crescent instead of the Cross, as the emblem of the religion of Europe.

The Turks are not only intimately connected with the History, but also with the Romance of the Middle Ages. There is scarcely a page of the one, or a tale of the other, that is not filled with details of the excesses of Turkish ferocity, and the outrages of Paynim magicians, monsters, and knights. These were almost uniformly followers of Mahomet, whom the historians and romance writers of that period seem to have confounded with the rabble of Pagans, who believed in a plurality of Gods. For ages the Turks were the terror of Christian Europe, and indeed of all Christendom; and it is the province of fear to exaggerate. Hence it is, that the memory as well as the imagination of the people of that quarter of the globe, and their descendants in this, teem with memorials and ideas of the splendour, the power, the despotism, and the cruelty of the Ottoman Sultans, as well as the rapacity and diabolical energies of their followers. Add to this, that Constantinople, standing on the southern confines of Europe, over-

* Knolles' History of the Turks. Folio edition. p. 5.

looking the plains of Asia, concentrating within herself a population derived from both quarters of the world; surrounded on all sides by the most enchanting scenery, and associated with the most important events of ancient and modern history, combines within itself almost every thing that can attract the interest of mankind, and we shall not wonder that so many travellers have made it the subject of their admiration, their mistakes, and their prejudices.

Among all those that have come under our notice, the author of the Letters from Constantinople, is the most lively, graphic, and clear in his descriptions; the most free from ill nature and prejudice in his sentiments; the most familiar and satisfactory in his pictures of the vast variety of objects, scenery, and character, exhibited by what he aptly calls "the modern Babel." A residence of several years in a station which gave him advantages for inquiry and observation beyond what can possibly fall to the lot of ordinary travellers; a clear eye, a quick perception, an easy flow of language; and a disposition to see and decide for himself; all combine in the author of these letters. They are published without his name, but no one can doubt for a moment that they are the production of the gallant Commodore Porter. We shall proceed to sustain our opinion of this most pleasing and interesting work, by laying before the reader sufficient proofs that we neither speak at random, nor are influenced by undue partiality for our distinguished countryman.

The writer of these letters describes nothing but what he has seen, and he does this with a vivacity and clearness which places every object before his readers with a distinctness that we scarcely remember in any other writer. Nothing is studied; on the contrary there is a carelessness of the ornaments of style and the rounding of sentences, which, while it demonstrates their genuineness, vouches for their candour and truth, and proves them the genuine offspring of unstudied impulse. The social habits and domestic relations of the Turks, and of the various nations forming portions of the population of Constantinople and its environs, who still exist as separate people, and have never been incorporated with the Turks, but still cherish and preserve their peculiar dress, manners, and religion, form one of the principal topics of this correspondence. The Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, most especially, are not only frequently presented to the reader in slight but masterly off-hand sketches, but have each one article devoted to them exclusively, in which the character and occupations they sustain, and the relations they stand in with the Ottoman Empire, are given more clearly and satisfactorily, than in any work with which we are acquainted.

The descriptions of individual objects, whether of art or nature, and also those of general combinations of objects, as they present

themselves from various points of observation, in and about Constantinople; the Seraglio, the Mosques, the Giant's Mountain, the Grave Yard at Scutari, the Islands, the Sea of Marmora, the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, forming, according to the uniform testimony of all travellers, a scene to which the whole world affords no parallel, are all given at various times, under the excitement of the moment, in a series of sketches the more beautiful for being the result of spontaneous feeling. Add to these, biographical notices of distinguished officers of the Turkish court; lively and amusing anecdotes illustrating character and manners, and most especially a number of familiar details of the appearance, habits, dress, policy, and disposition of Sultan Mahmoud, and the reader will perceive at once, that the work is rich in interest as well as novelty.

The letters commence with a visit of the writer to the site of ancient Troy, that renowned city, whose very existence has been questioned, nay, even denied by modern sceptics, at the head of whom stands the learned Jacob Bryant. For our parts, we confess we could almost as soon doubt that there was ever such a city as Babylon, as that Troy was an erection of the imagination of Homer. We were happy, therefore, in the testimony of Commodore Porter, that there still subsist ample indications, that the foundation of the most renowned poem of the world, was not laid solely in the imagination of its author. If no such city as Troy ever existed, and if this could now be demonstrated, the Iliad of Homer would lose almost as much of its interest and dignity, as would the Paradise Lost of Milton, were it to be robbed of its glorious basis, the general belief of the Christian world. One of the great obligations of learning and sagacity, is to establish truth, as well as to overturn falsehoods. We extract a portion of the letter appertaining to this subject:—

"On leaving the Aga we mounted our horses, and, guided by a Greek, proceeded to the site of ancient Troy, a distance of nine or ten miles, without meeting a human being or a habitation. The greater part of this distance was a barren, uncultivated waste, covered with scrub oaks from four to five feet high, from which they gather the gall nut.

"Our guide pointed out to us what he called the walls of Troy, a piece of stone masonry level with the ground, about three feet thick and eight or nine feet long. Also some stones, which were evidently the ruins of some half a dozen houses, quite small, and from their shape, position, and number, compared with other establishments I have seen, I have no doubt of their having belonged to farm-houses, perhaps of no very ancient date.

"From thence we proceeded to the sources of the Scamander, at one of which we found a granite column about ten feet in length, protecting one side of the fountain; while, on the other, there were large slabs of beautiful white marble, which, from their size, shape, and the mortices in their edges, had in ancient times served as a lining for it.

"A quarter of a mile from this stands a Turkish village, attached to which is a graveyard, and the graves are marked with the shafts of small marble and granite columns, from their appearance very ancient. On a hill, adjoining the village, we found a number of marble and granite columns, standing erect, of a considerable size, with only about one-third of their length above the ground. I should judge,

from what was visible of them, their whole length must have been from twenty-five to thirty feet. We found here also marble door-sills, such as are met with in Pompeii; and other marbles which were used by the ancients to encrust and decorate the exterior of their houses.

"These are said to be the remains of the palace of Priam, on the site of which now stands a miserable Turkish block-house, built of unburnt bricks. Near this is a private burying-ground, entirely enclosed with large and beautiful slabs of white marble, every way similar to those we found at the fountain. There was near this also an enormous square block of granite, evidently of great antiquity, with a hole in the upper side in the form of our mortices, a foot in diameter, and about the same in depth. The inhabitants of the village use it to pound their grain in, and for aught I know, it may have been used for the same purpose in the days of Priam. There were close by this granite block some large pieces of white marble, placed there for the Turks who visit the mosque to mount their horses from.

"What I have described is all that is visible of ancient Troy. I asked our guide what they were supposed to be? he told me Genoese ruins, and this is their reply universally; for they have no idea of a higher antiquity than the period when the Genoese occupied part of Turkey and the islands. History informs us, that Alexander built Alexandria Troas, which the natives call Eske Stamboul. This is situated on the sea shore, opposite Tenedos; but we had not time to visit it. In erecting the public buildings there, he no doubt recollected that at Troy there were columns and other valuable specimens of granite and marble at hand, which accounts for the few remaining at Troy.

"When Constantinople was building, we know that they supplied themselves with the marbles, &c. of Eske Stamboul, so that scarcely any thing but the walls of the latter remain to mark its situation. To look for the materials of these ancient cities, you must visit the mosques, and other public buildings of Constantinople, and the batteries of the Dardanelles; in which latter you will find large piles of marble and granite balls, of from 500 to 800 pounds, made from the columns of Eske Stamboul, to suit the enormous cannon mounted in them.

"This is all I have seen and know of ancient Troy; and as all travellers whose accounts I have read, declare that there is no indication at the spot pointed out that such a city ever existed, I can testify that there is abundance of proof to corroborate the description given by Homer, whose whole story has been pronounced by some to be nothing more than a beautiful fable."—Vol. i. pp. 16—19.

The jealousy of the Turks, and the absolute seclusion of their women, has long been the theme of all history, romance, and of those romances called travels. That the Turkish husband is a tyrant, and his wife a slave, is as much a matter of belief, as that Mahomet was an arch impostor. We hope the latter is more true than the former, for the following extract will show decisively, that the Turkish women are at least once in every week allowed a degree of liberty, such as even Christian husbands might think rather beyond the limits of a sober discretion. We join in the wonder of the writer that he himself should have been the first to discover and announce such a phenomenon as female freedom in Turkey.

"Talking of women reminds me of a scene I witnessed last Friday, the Turkish Sunday. I will try to describe it, but I fear that I shall not succeed better than I did in my description of the Bosphorus. But take it such as it is.

"An old gentleman who lives at a village about five miles below me, on the other side of the Bosphorus, called Candalir, asked me to come over to take breakfast with him, and promised me a distant view from the top of the hill, of an assemblage of the females of the Turkish families of Constantinople and the neighbouring towns, as they gather together in the Valley of the Sweet Waters of Asia, every Friday, and there pass the day, amusing themselves variously. He said we could

not approach them, but that the sight at a distance was worth seeing. I accordingly went to his house, where I was introduced to his wife, his eight or ten married daughters, and their from six to eight children apiece; and after enjoying the magnificent view from the hill at the back of his garden, proceeded to my kaick, and embarked for the Valley of Sweet Waters, about a mile above us.

"A kaick is a long narrow light boat like an Indian canoe, but turning up at each end; highly ornamented by carved work and gilding, and rowed (that is the diplomatic ones) by three sturdy Mussulmen dressed in white coarse shirts and trowsers, their muscular arms bare to the shoulders, a small red skull-cap with a blue tassel on their heads, and each rowing two pair of oars.

"The larger kind carry from four to five passengers, seated on carpets in the bottom of the after part of the boat, and they skim along with a velocity which is almost incredible. They are beautiful things and perfect in their kind. At Buyuderè, a man's rank is as well known by the number of his oars, as by the number of strokes on the bell.

"On our way to the valley, we were joined by numberless kaicks filled with women, and in addition to the usual complement, as many children as they could stow away among them, and they appeared to take very good care that no room should be lost. Women are generally economical, and are so in Turkey, at least when boat hire is in question, so far as I could judge by appearances.

"We entered with them a narrow fresh-water river, up which we proceeded for about a mile, when we came to a light and airy wooden bridge thrown across the stream, near which was a landing place, and at it a multitude of kaicks, from the rank of three banks down to one.

"A string of carriages, filled with women and children, was at the moment crossing the bridge to the place near where we had landed, which was the entrance to an extensive grove, consisting of trees of the largest kind; some in clusters of three, four, and five; others spreading their branches to an immense distance, affording ample space and shelter from the sun for thousands. Here and there were seats, and a marble fountain, of clear and cold water, supplied the means of refreshment.

"The Turkish carriage is a curious vehicle. It is something in shape, like our Jersey wagons without springs or seats, and is drawn by two fat and beautiful light gray oxen, most gorgeously decorated on their flanks, backs, and shoulders, with gold, and a rich fringe-work made of silk. On the face from the horns to the nose is a piece somewhat in the form of a shield, composed of innumerable small looking glasses, set in gold and silk work. The carriage is called an araba, it is probable from the rich arabesques, with which the exterior as well as the interior is covered, highly ornamented with gold, and rich paint work. It has a bow top covered with a rich woollen or silk cloth, generally red, with white silk or linen curtains neatly fringed. The entrance is at the back by means of a small ladder, and the persons within are seated in the Turkish manner, on rich and soft cushions. Each of those vehicles contained from six to eight Turkish ladies dressed in oriental richness; the curtains of most of them were open; many of the ladies had their faces exposed, at least long enough to give me a full view of them. They were of various ages, most of them from fifteen to three or four-and-twenty, and the major part of them extremely beautiful. Charmed with this unexpected, and singularly beautiful and picturesque spectacle, I followed the direction of the carriages up the valley, where I saw seated in groups on rich Turkey carpets, spread on the grass in the shade of the wide-spreading trees, many hundreds of young and beautiful Turkish women amusing themselves variously. Their carriages were drawn up in lines near them; the oxen, under the charge of the keeper, were grazing on the smooth green lawn which was in the centre of the grove; the children, richly clad and beautiful as angels, chasing the butterflies and grasshoppers, while bands of wandering minstrels, generally Greeks, enchanted with their music and love songs groups of "lights of the harem;" here and there a wandering Bohemian, or Hungarian, recounting some love adventure, or an Egyptian fortune-teller, examining the palms, and exciting the hopes of some believing fair one.

"Among other exhibitions for the amusement of the domestics and the children, was a large grisly bear which had been taught to dance, to wrestle, &c., &c., led by a savage from the north, more wild and grisly than his companion.

"Not a Turk was visible in this whole scene, except a small guard of soldiers at

the landing place, to keep order among the boatmen. The women were as free as the air they breathed, and as unrestrained; I went among them, made signs to them, for I could not speak; my companions (I had two,) talked to them, there was scarcely a face among them worth seeing, that I had not a full view of, and never in my life did I so much regret the want of a tongue to express myself.

"It is difficult to reconcile oneself to the Turkish female dress. That of the men is loose, flowing, and rich; and from the quantity of materials of which it is composed, gives to the man an air of magnificence, from the apparent increase of all his dimensions. The idea is meant, apparently, to be kept up as regards the female figure, but they lose that airy neatness, and sprightliness of action, which distinguishes a Christian woman, or one dressed in the Christian style. An Armenian woman in the Turkish dress, is altogether a different being from an Armenian divested of her load of cloth, boots, and slippers, coming off at every moment as she walks.

"The Turkish female dress consists of first a piece of fine muslin which covers the head down to the eyebrows; another in some cases as transparent as air, which covers the face from the nose down, and conceals the neck and bosom; one or two fine and rich vests open at the breast, which is hid by the aforesaid transparent veil; loose trowsers gathered above the hips, and below the knee; a rich sash passing several times around the waist; thin yellow morocco boots, which reach to the calf of the leg, and yellow slippers; a long silk garment with sleeves, falling to the ankles, and over all a full cloak of the finest broadcloth, trailing on the ground, with a square cape of equal length and long sleeves. This, with a multitude of massive gold bracelets, rings, chains, and a profusion of jewels, and you have a tolerably fair picture of a Turkish lady of rank, such as I saw, and of the family of the Reis Effendi, corresponding with our Secretary of State, whose wife and family I had the honour to salute, and to receive from them a salute in return: that is to say, the right hand laid on the breast, the head gently reclined; then the right hand shifted to the top of the head; the salutation is grace itself the way they do it.

"Speaking of the dress; it is a great encumbrance to them in walking. The cloak is eternally dropping off one shoulder or the other; then it has to be hitched up; by the time it is fixed, off comes a slipper; in stooping to see where it is, (for they can't look down without stooping, from the quantity of clothing which interposes between their eyes and the ground,) off drops the cloak from their shoulders; now both arms and hands are required to draw it on, which they do by catching hold of the sides of the cloak, and throwing their arms open in an elevated direction, thus exposing all their under garments and finery. When you see a Turkish woman walking, it appears as if she had as much as she could do to keep herself together.

"Yet for all this, the scene of the Valley of Sweet Waters was lovely, and the situation in which I was placed, singular. I have no recollection of any traveller mentioning this place, or noticing the extreme license given to Turkish women on their Sunday. They scarcely seemed to be aware of the impropriety of a departure from their usual concealment in our presence; they gazed at us, and we gazed at them with equal curiosity. What struck me most, was their brilliant black eyes, their beautifully arched eyebrows, and their long and glossy black hair almost reaching the ground.

"The delicate fairness of their skins, is owing doubtless to their confinement to their homes: of their figures I could not judge. Some of them have thrown off their clumsy yellow boots, and substituted the silk open work stockings and slippers: handsomer ankles, and smaller and more beautiful feet, I have never seen. When a man buys a wife, if rich, he undoubtedly chooses a handsome one. The Turks are a noble race of men, and the women being generally of Circassian origin, it is not surprising that the daughters of the Turks should be beautiful.

"About one o'clock, a boat laden with hampers of meats, and bales of wine of every description, arrived at the landing, and soon after, the wife and daughters of my friend, who is of Greek, Venetian, or Genoese parentage, and whose ancestors came to this country some centuries ago. He and all his family speak Greek, French, and Turkish; the ladies quite intelligent, accomplished, handsome, and fashionable.

"We spread our carpet, over which we laid our tablecloth, with knives, forks,

plates, spoons, &c., in the European style, and under the shade of a noble tree commenced our repast.

"This was a subject of wonder; groups collected around us, and every thing appeared to astonish them; eating with the spoon instead of the fingers! cutting the meat instead of tearing it! drinking wine, and to one another! and above all, the gentlemen waiting on, and helping the ladies, instead of making the ladies wait on them!! It was wonderful; many among them exclaimed, 'Mash Allah,' God is Great!! Dancing bear, Greeks, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Gipsies were all deserted to go and see *Christians eat.*

"About four o'clock the company began to move off, some in their arabas, (those of the Asiatic side,) those of the European side in their kaicks. The oxen were geared up, and the company seated, and in motion without scarcely a word spoken.

"We followed their example, and embarking in our kaicks, descended the Bosphorus about half a mile, to a Kiosk of the Sultan's, near which is a splendid Persian fountain of white marble, and very highly ornamented. Here is a grove of nearly equal extent to the one we had left, and an extensive verdant meadow where the Sultan turns out his horses to graze and play.

"Here we found the same company, but with augmented numbers, seated in groups under the trees, taking coffee, sherbet, and ice creams, which were sold by persons hawking them about. There were many persons also, who sold sweetmeats; and pedlers, with fancy things, ribands, laces, &c.

"I remained there until sundown; how long the others remained I know not, but was told that it is not unusual for them to remain until midnight; and that sometimes the Sultan visits the place with the officers of his court, and his band of music, (which is an excellent one, and taught after the European manner.) In such cases they do not break up until towards daylight.

"Not long since he paid a visit to this village at about eleven o'clock at night, with a long string of barges, filled with his gentlemen and guards, and preceded by his band, slowly moving along in front of the long stone quay, and playing some of the music of the first masters, in the best style. From thence he went back to his Kiosk, near the fountain and plain, where he remained with the company until two o'clock in the morning, when he returned to Constantinople.

"The day to me was a day of real enjoyment. I can safely say that it was a day of *uninterrupted* enjoyment, nothing whatever occurred to mar in the slightest degree the pleasures of it; every thing was new, unexpected, and surprising. I had got into an entire new world. I had seen the Turkish character in a new point of view, the film had dropped from my eyes, and I saw things with my own optics, not as described by others. The few hours I was among them were worth volumes of the creations of the imagination of book-making travellers.

"The Turkish women are as free as any women in the world; they do not receive the attentions of the men it is true, and perhaps they do not wish to be under the restraint, to which their presence would subject them. They have their customs, we have ours. They conceal their faces; our women expose those parts which modesty should cover.

"Does this constitute their happiness? where is the Christian husband, who is so confiding in the prudence and the virtue of his wife and daughters, as to permit their absence whole days and nights, without inquiring where they had been, and what they had been about? but this is permitted by Turkish husbands and fathers; for every Friday and Friday night, when the weather permits, the same scenes I have described take place at the Valley of Sweet Waters, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus."—Vol. i. pp. 23—33.

Many of the personal anecdotes of Sultan Mahmoud, are exceedingly curious and interesting, not only as illustrating his character and habits, but as proving that the custom of roaming about in disguise, and relaxing with his attendants, has been handed down from the days of Haroun Alraschid to the present time. They remind us of the Arabian Nights, and furnish additional proofs, if any were wanting, of the singular union of the utmost latitude

of fictitious extravagance in adventures, coupled with the truest pictures of manners and customs, in that delightful work. We have room only for the following:—

"On leaving the arm bazaar, we entered another, open at the top, and on the opposite side of the way, I discovered an aged Turk, sitting cross-legged on one of the platforms, in conversation with a common soldier; he was meanly clad, and I supposed him to be the shopkeeper. I thought I had seen him before, but could not call to mind where. I asked my Armenian interpreter who that was; he whispered in my ear, 'It is the caimacan, and the Sultan is not far off.' The caimacan is of the higher order of confidential ministers, and is the one who has the honour of placing at the foot of the throne letters for the Sultan. It was to him the letter from the President to the Sultan was delivered by our minister. I believe I described to you the interview with him.

"The old man looked at me as though he had some slight recollection of me; I raised my hat to him, and saluted him in the Turkish style; before returning my salute, he touched his companion, the soldier, and whispered to him; the latter turned round and looked at me, and whispered in turn; the caimacan then returned my salute with a familiar smile.

"I was told by my interpreter, that if I would remain where I was I should soon see the Grand Seignor. I asked where he was; he replied, In the khan, the entrance of which was near the caimacan. He had hardly done speaking, when several soldiers came out of the door of the khan, and one among them, having on a coarse gray capote, with his chaplet in his hands, counting his beads, appeared, from taking the lead of them, to be of the rank of corporal.

"'That is the Grand Seignor,' said my interpreter. 'Who, the man with the black beard, the soldier's capote, and beads in hand?' The caimacan left his shop-board, and joined the Sultan. When directly opposite to me, he whispered in the Sultan's ear, loud enough to be heard by me: the Sultan, and all his suite, turned round and looked me full in the face. I had a fine opportunity of seeing him. His face is what may be called handsome, florid, and the expression is that of good nature; he is forty-seven years of age, and were not his beard dyed of a jetty black, I should have supposed him to be of that age. He is somewhat round shouldered, which is generally the case with Turks of the higher order, brought on from the postures in which they sit, and has an ungraceful, rolling, sauntering kind of walk. All his followers, near his person, were in the habits of common soldiers, and without arms, except about a half dozen of his pages, some distance in the rear, in light blue frock coats, with their swords and diamond badges. The Sultan is about five feet nine inches high, and of good proportions.

"There was a very old man, bent double with age, sitting on a shop-board, at a corner a little above where I stood; the shop was untenanted. The Sultan, in passing him, said, 'how do you do, my old friend?' his reply was, 'very well, but this is Ramazan, and you know I have got no money.' The Sultan smiled, and made some reply, which was not explained to me, and then spoke to one of the persons in the soldiers' dress, who gave the old man 120 piasters, a little more than six and a half dollars.

"The Sultan continued on to a public square near the palace of the seraskier. I kept along in his neighbourhood. There were thousands of men, women, and children, more of women than of men, many of them with their faces nearly uncovered, and most of them with their veils so thin they might as well be without them. I described to you before the kind of veils they wear; many of the higher orders were in Arabas, which I have also described.

"On the side of this square, near the walls of the palace, the seraskier has erected a great number of beautiful little shops, which are very tastefully fitted up, and rented out as fancy stores, coffee-shops, &c. &c. Among them is a room reserved for the Sultan, which he entered. I had been invited in just before his arrival at the door; there was a neat kind of throne of cushions placed for him. I left it an instant before he entered, and there I left him.

"So much for the bazaars and Sultan Mahmoud. Had you before an idea of either?"—Vol. i. pp. 113—116.

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"Mr. Eckford was advised to build a despatch boat, which was to beat every thing on the Bosphorus in sailing. When she was finished, I went on board of her, on her first trial, and we beat up to the truly magnificent new palace of Beler-beg, just finished, and the present residence of the Sultan.

"He was apparently much pleased with her working and sailing, and from his window directed Mr. Eckford to make two or three tacks, which was done; after which, he directed the vessel to come to the quay in front of the Golden Gate of the palace. The order was soon obeyed, when he descended to the vessel, accompanied by two pachas, his aids, the Hakim Baché, and a humorous fellow, a privileged character, and a sort of buffoon, whose business it is to keep the Sultan in good humour. This is the same man who formerly steered, and I believe now steers the Sultan's boat. He is a terrible fellow for swearing, breaks out on the boatmen in the most profane language, and the reprimand of the Sultan has no effect in restraining him. On one occasion, the Sultan bet with him some thousand piasters, that he could not cross the Bosphorus without swearing at the boatmen. The money was staked on both sides, and they started, the Sultan having previously given to the boatmen a hint that he wished them to be as awkward as possible. First, one began to '*catch crabs*,' then another, and the greatest confusion was produced in rowing, each one pulling his own stroke without regard to time or regularity. The steersman bit his lips, shook his fist, stamped his feet and groaned, but all to no purpose, it only increased the confusion. He was bursting, he could stand it no longer; and poured out a torrent of impiety and abuse, such as never before assailed imperial ears. 'You have lost your bet,' said the Sultan calmly, and pocketed the money.

"This old fellow ran about every part of the vessel, peeping into every hole and corner, continually beckoning, and calling to the Sultan to come and look.

"As the Sultan approached the vessel, the old hakim appeared to be explaining to him something about the dances he had seen. They both appeared to be in fine humour, and every now and then, the doctor would touch the Sultan's arm, and desire him to look at him, when he would try to imitate the steps of the European dances.

"The Sultan came to the distance of about three paces from the vessel, when he stopped, and assuming all the majesty of the sovereign of a great empire, he cast his eyes around among us, and immediately asked who I was? They told him. He then inquired who my nephew was, and on being informed called Mr. Eckford to him, and gave him a snuff-box set with diamonds. I landed with my nephew, and walked to a little distance, when every person on board, down to the very lowest, was called on shore, and each one in turn, received a present in money.

"I had a fine opportunity of seeing the Sultan. He has a noble countenance, though an eye that cannot bear your earnest look for an instant. His features are regular and handsome, and he has a fine rosy complexion, but a little brown, from frequent exposure to the sun. His form is erect, about five feet ten inches high, a little inclined to corpulency. His beard is rather short, but full, and of a deep shining black. It is said to be stained, which I think is probable. His head was covered with the red fez, without any other ornament than the full blue silk tassel, which hung from the top and fell behind. He wore a straight-breasted, light-blue silk jacket with a collar closely buttoned up to the chin, on the breast of which was a small diamond badge.

"His trowsers were of crimson silk, rather full, and gathered round the waist, descending to the ankle, where they were quite tight, and showed off to great advantage, a handsome foot, covered by a silk stocking, and a remarkably neat European shoe, tied with a black riband.

"The whole dress was simple and very becoming. It resembled, except in the fez, such as gentlemen of the United States put on their sons between the ages of six and eight. The jacket was rather short waisted.

"The whole personal appearance of the Sultan was very clean, and what surprised me was, that it was much more so than that of the young pachas, and the others who attended him. In fact, there was a slight air of dandyism about him."—Vol. ii. pp. 7—10.

The Journal of the author's visit to Broussa, the ancient capital of the Turkish Empire, is particularly interesting, as well as full

of amusement. The following description of a "Canoss," or "Cavaisse," gives a capital idea of that important personage. The picture of the Turk in his shop, and the shop itself, furnishes a fine contrast to the bustling activity of one of our shopkeepers.

"Our party consisted of the minister, Mr. Goodell, and myself, of course. Mustapha, his canoss, Stephano, my valet *de pied*, and de chambre, for I have my servants to do double duty, and have therefore reduced the number one half. A serrugé, or man to serve as guide, and to take care of the horses, which were six in number, including the one which carried our beds and baggage. Mustapha, in the plenitude of his pride, as the leader and protector of so respectable a cavalcade, had, two days previously, caused his silver mounted pistols, ataghan, dagger, and fire tongs, to be newly burnished, and placed in the highest state of order, and also his baton of office, which is an ebony staff of three and a half feet in length, with a large brass knob, as big as the head of a good sized andiron, and a corresponding ferule of at least a foot long.

"By the bye, I must tell you what it takes to make a 'canoss.' First, a grave and respectable looking Turk, with a formidable pair of mustachios, but no beard; a fiery suit of red clothes, with open sleeves to the outside jacket, which, when hanging at the side, give him the appearance of a man with two pair of arms, or doubly armed, as he in fact is. A broad leathern belt, which passes three or four times round his body, and over this a rich woollen one, or sometimes a cashmire. In the leathern belt are inserted, first, the aforesaid 'ataghan' and dagger; next a pair of heavy and long pistols, a pair of steel tongs, inserted in a brass sheath, and intended for the purpose of handling coals wherewith to light his pipe or his neighbour's; a scratching stick, a machine about two feet long, terminating like a half closed hand, for the purpose of scratching the back; a watch, with a long and broad silver chain loaded with all sorts of trinkets, and pendent nearly to the knee, or what answers as well, a chain without the watch. In this belt is also thrust a richly embroidered purse, sometimes with, but more frequently without money. In the present instance, Mustapha had two hundred piasters of my money. All these things are stowed away in front, and appear, as a Yankee would say, 'a pretty considerable load.' Behind, suspended by a golden cord, and contained in a richly embroidered case, is the Koran; and by its side, tucked into the ample belt, is a rich sack, highly ornamented, containing half an 'Oke' of the choicest smoking tobacco; also a bag containing his fire-works, to wit, flint, steel, and spunk. His right hand holds the staff of office, before described, as bright as gold, and heavy enough to knock down an ox; and in his left, is a pipe, almost as long as an Arab's spear. These things, with half a dozen amulets about the neck, to keep off 'the evil eye,' a pair of ample red Turkish breeches, a sturdy, well-formed pair of legs, naked from the knee downward; a high red cap, with a full blue tassel, to cover the head, and a pair of loose red morocco slippers to cover the lower extremities, and you have a 'canoss,' armed and equipped at all points. It would do your heart good to see him strut under this load of furniture, not one particle of which would he be induced on any account to leave behind him. Being the best dressed, most completely equipped, and formidable looking personage of the company, Mustapha was sure of receiving the homage of all the villages through which we passed, and I am sorry to say, that on one occasion, I caught him in the act of occupying the very best room and bed in the village, while I occupied the open porch or gallery of the house, with nothing but a thin mattress between me and the hard oak open floor. But I must do him the justice to say, that the fault originated in the mistake of the villagers, who supposed him, as they afterward informed me, to be an aga."—Vol. i. pp. 202—204.

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"Nothing can be more gloomy than the appearance of things on entering a Turkish village. It is as quiet as the grave; the streets are narrow; the doors all shut and locked; the windows all latticed; not a human being to be seen in the filthy streets; a growling half-starved dog, or a bitch with her hopeful progeny, which depend for their subsistence on some depository of filth, is all you meet with of animated nature. You proceed through the inhospitable outskirts, despairing of

meeting wherewith to satisfy the calls of nature, or a place of shelter, when you at length arrive at perhaps half a dozen filthy little shops of six feet square, in each of which you discover a solitary, squatting, smoking, silent Turk. He may glance his eyes at you, but will not turn his head; that would be too much trouble. Now investigate the contents of these shops, and you will find as follows: five or perhaps six girths for pack horses, made of goat's hair; half a dozen halters for horses; fifteen or twenty pounds of rancid Russian butter; a small box containing from one to two pounds of salt, and half a pound of ground pepper. A few bars of curd cheese, looking very much like Marseilles soap, not much better in taste, and not so good for digestion. One quart of black, salt olives; half a pound of sewing twine cut into needle-fulls; one clothes line, half a dozen loaves of brown bread, and two bunches of onions with a string of garlick. Nine times out of ten, you will find this to be the stock in trade of a Turkish village shop keeper; and over this, in his pitiful box, will he sit and smoke, day after day, without seeking a purchaser, or apparently caring whether one comes or not. If one calls and asks if he has any particular article, his reply is simply, without raising his eyes, 'yoke,' no. 'Can you inform me where I may procure the article?' 'Yoke.' It is of no use to try to get any thing more out of him. He is as silent as the grave. If he has the article asked for, he hands it to you, and names the price. When the money is laid on the counter, he merely brushes it with his hand through the hole in the till, and then relapses into his former apathy. No compliments, no thanks for favours received, no 'call again if you please.' Not the slightest emotion can be discovered. He never raises his eyes to see who his customer is or was; he sees nothing but the article sold, and the money, and he would disdain to expend a breath, or perform an action, that was not indispensable to the conclusion of the bargain."—Vol. i. pp. 217—219.

The Commodore's account of the Frank doctors, who infest various portions of the Turkish Empire, and the consternation they create among the good people, is amusing; and the geological fact in relation to mount Olympus, highly curious.

"The country is filled with adventurers calling themselves Frank doctors, who exist by their wits, and gull the Turks by cramming them with bread pills, and at the same time, their own pockets with piasters. If they branch out a little in their assumed profession, they are sure to have more sick than well in their track. Latterly, however, the Turks have become suspicious of them, and will not acknowledge themselves sick, for fear of being dosed with their poison. At every village through which we passed, we inquired into the health of the inhabitants, and we could find no one sick during our whole journey! They took us for 'hakims,' (or doctors) and our appearance alone drove away disease. I was informed that the whole three who accosted me, had not among them a single patient, and that no one in Broussa had dared to be sick since they had made their appearance there. I saw them together at the gate of the khan as I entered. It was after a short conference, in which, I have no doubt, they passed sentence of death on me, that they accosted me as I have described. I have often felicitated myself since, on my good fortune in escaping from their clutches."—Vol. i. pp. 248, 249.

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"I observed at Broussa a marine formation that greatly surprised me, although I do not know why it should have done so, when so many organic remains are to be found in every part of the known world, and on the most elevated mountains, as evidence that every part of this globe has been covered, at one time or other, not with water alone, but with *oceanic* water.

"Organic remains of the West India snapper, a fish not known now on this side the Atlantic, have been shown to me, which were dug up enclosed in a species of stone, between slate and lime-stone, in digging a well on the Balkan mountains. What, after this, should surprise us? But the whole of the foundation of the platform, before alluded to, on which the old city of Broussa was situated, and whose walls almost touch the precipice on which they are elevated, a precipice of at least one hundred feet in height, this whole bank is of coral formation. The work of the

coral worm is as plainly and as distinctly to be seen, throughout this whole mass, as if it were but the work of yesterday. To be sure Broussa is not far elevated above the ocean, yet I must say that it surprised me to find such perfect coral remains there, such even as I have found among the newly-formed coral keys of that chain which extends itself in a curve towards the west from Cape Florida. I picked out many perfect pieces of coral, and brought some specimens home. You need not doubt that this great mass was once a coral bank, and covered by the great ocean. But what a beautiful puzzle this is, for the geologists to knock their heads against! What a puzzle for those who insist that the earth was formed *as it is*, in six days, instead of six periods, or six distinct formations; to wit, as they are enumerated in the Book of Genesis,—water, earth, vegetables, fish, fowls, and animals."—Vol. i. pp. 255, 256.

The following description of a rare animal of the travelling genus, cannot but excite an acute fit of curiosity in the reader, to know what this ingenious person was travelling for. If he made as good use of his eyes and ears as of his tongue, his lordship must have brought home valuable stores of information. He should certainly come to this country, if it were only to learn the use of the nine parts of speech.

"'Besides, we have a *Milor Anglais* here, who will be at the theatre, and we expect a full house, as they all want to see him. He is now in the room,' pointing over his shoulder.

"I had determined to remain to see this extraordinary production of genius, but was struck all-aback when I was informed of the presence of his lordship, who was no less a personage than lord **********, in whose company I had dined and supped, no less than five times, since I, (or rather he) came here, without ever having exchanged a word with him, or ever having heard him address a word to any other person. I have never known him to condescend to glance his eye on any one. I have watched him carefully, and cannot to this day swear to the colour of his eyes. He appears to be a most consummate fop, wrapped up in his own importance, too good for any person's company; and the rest of the world, it would appear, have agreed to think him so too, for his lordship had not a single companion with him, except two Swiss boors who were lounging near the door.

"There were some half dozen Perotes who were watching at a distance to get a sight of the *lion*, who did not think proper to make his exit.

"The presence of this wooden lordling would have driven me from Paradise, and it did drive me from Prinkipo. Chalky was in sight, and the lively song, and the tinkling of the gay guitar came sweeping over the water. This settled the business. We left the sociable and no doubt improving traveller to himself, and soon after, were skimming the calm surface of the sea for Chalky. On passing Mijar we had an opportunity of seeing his lordship listlessly lounging on one of the wooden benches, swinging his right leg to and fro like a pendulum, in full consciousness of his dignity, and of nothing else. Lord ********** is a handsome young man, so far as I could get a look at his face, and of a good figure; but perhaps a more unsocial being does not exist."—Vol. ii. pp. 22—24.

There is much simple dignity in the following translation of a decree attached to the body of a criminal decapitated and exposed in the streets of Constantinople, setting forth the crime for which he was executed.

"The traitors Demetri, Stavri, and Yeni, passengers on board a vessel commanded by Bartholomû Ibrahim, a few days before their arrival here, murdered in the night the captain and six other mussulmen of the crew, took possession of the strong box, sunk the vessel and fled. Being arrested by the magistrate of Viras and sent here, after being examined before the tribunal of justice, they made a full confession of

their crimes. Sovereign justice demanded that they should expiate by their deaths, lives which had been stained by so much villany. It is in this manner that Stavri (one of the three) has been punished as an example to others."—Vol. ii. p. 207.

It would appear from the kindness of the Turks towards the canine species, that the term "Christian Dog," is not so reproachful as might be supposed, from its application to our ideas of that animal.

"I am more and more convinced, that for accurate and lively description, first impressions are the best. They have a freshness about them that is extremely attractive and fascinating. If you look at things too long, they grow familiar, stale, and common-place; and as the mind becomes accustomed to them, they seem too trifling to mention. It is the proper course of a traveller to describe things as he sees them, and when the impression is the strongest. The too common fault is to look beyond the legitimate object, and pry into history to know what a country was; not what it is at the present moment. Many think that they know Constantinople, because they have read the history of its emperors; but what was Constantinople in the time of Mahomed the Second, or Murad, is no longer Constantinople. Scarcely a vestige of what it was at those periods now remains. The city and its environs have been destroyed time after time; generation after generation has been swept away; manners and customs, as well as dress, have altogether changed; and the Sultan, his officers, and the mass of the people, no longer think as they did. The Turk, in surrendering the dignity of his character, has divested himself of the power of impressing others with the respect which he formerly did. There was a time, when the dogs of Constantinople were as numerous as represented by former travellers, and that time was not far back. It is within the reign of the present Sultan; and as late, I am informed, as the last war with the Russians. A great scarcity of provisions, amounting almost to famine, was then felt at Constantinople, and the great number of dogs within it, became a serious evil on account of their consumption of provision, which the pious Mussulmans felt it their duty to supply them with.

"I have already mentioned their kindness to them in carefully supplying them with water in every part of the city. They also as carefully feed them, never destroy their young, and frequently at their death, endow hospitals where dogs are fed and taken care of. This was formerly more the case than it is at present. The dogs of Constantinople appear to have a higher degree of instinct than those of any other place, and it would seem that they know where benevolence may be found. A crumb given to a dog at your own door, attaches him to your house for life, and to every individual belonging to it. I have seen many instances of this. You will find at the door or gateway of every benevolent Turk, half a dozen, or a dozen or more of these dumb but sagacious retainers, and they will not permit the dogs of another house to approach them, for fear of their encroachment on their privileges. It is the same with all the dogs of one street or quarter, which will make common cause against all the dogs of another street or quarter, when sometimes a terrible battle is the consequence. All this is true now, but not to so great an extent as it was formerly, the dogs not being so numerous; yet they are fully as numerous as the hogs once were in the streets of New York; and I should think that there are ten dogs in any street of Constantinople for one dog in any street of New York.

"During the time of the scarcity of provisions before mentioned, the Sultan ordered the dogs in Constantinople to be killed; but all the pious people, and the clergy, raised a hue and cry against the cruel and impious mandate; declaring that dogs have souls, and that it was contrary to the precepts of the Koran to destroy them. What was to be done? Their consumption of provisions was a serious evil, and not to be endured. To destroy them would occasion a revolution; and the Sultan was not in a state at that time to meet so tremendous a consequence. On consulting the divan, it was determined that there was no law to prevent their banishment across the Bosphorus to Asia, and this plan was adopted, to the no small annoyance of the good people of Scutary; the place selected for the banishment of the dogs within the walls of the city. Boats were collected at all the wharves, the dogs were put on board, and on the same day many thousands of them were wafted across the stream. The town of Scutary was filled with them; the din was horrible; they tore one an-

other to pieces; they penetrated into the houses, which the people were compelled to abandon in consequence. There was a 'fierce civil war,' among the canine race. The town was left in their possession. Remonstrances were made to the Sultan by the authorities and the people. The dogs were ravenous. Provisions could not be had to satisfy them. The shops were shut up, and all business was at a stand. The town was threatened with a famine. The Sultan was compelled to transport provisions from Constantinople to Scutary, to supply the wants of the dogs, as well as those of the inhabitants. The evil was increased, instead of being lessened. It became necessary to adopt some means to lessen the consumption of provision. Temporary barracks were built for the dogs, and hospitals for the sick ones furnished, together with persons to take charge of them. They were also provided with nurses. Soon, however, a great malady prevailed among these unfortunate animals. The hospitals were filled with sick ones from the barracks, and vast numbers soon died. The *molahs*, the *ulemas*, and the pious Mussulmans raised their hands to heaven, exclaiming '*Mash Allah*,' and submitted to the will of God.

"Since that period, the dogs of Constantinople have ceased to be very numerous, but as many of those at Scutary had the good fortune to escape the doctors' hands, they have since increased to a goodly number. A stranger landing at *Anadoli Escalise*, or the great landing place at Scutary, might for a moment think, from reading the descriptions of former travellers, that he had got among the dogs at Constantinople.

"You will see by the foregoing that even the dogs have changed; and the change can be accounted for by facts which can be proved by thousands at this day, who were witnesses of the circumstances. The narrative may appear like romance, but I am so well satisfied of the truth of what I have written, that I am willing to stake my character for veracity on it.

"The dogs at Scutary, as well as those at Constantinople, live a life of pleasure. A Turkish town may be considered a dog's paradise. But the dog whose lot is cast at Galata or Pera, is to be pitied, for he leads a miserable life. The Franks of Pera and Galata have no mercy on them. The Turks, however, do not allow them to be killed, and endeavour as far as possible to protect them from cruelty; but the poor animals have a sad time of it, where charity is not felt even for human beings, much less for dogs."—Vol. ii. pp. 295—299.

We shall conclude our extracts with the summary of the Turkish character given in the last letter of this excellent series, which strikes us as eminently just and philosophical.

"The principle of fatality, which enters so deeply into the religion of the Turks, is one great basis of their habits and character. It is without doubt one main cause of their indolence, and their indifference to death whenever they think it is decreed. They take few precautions against any thing, and this from the settled belief, that all depends on Allah, and that nothing they can do, will in the slightest degree effect the irreversible decree of fate. Hence they take little trouble about any thing; if in imminent danger, instead of striving to avoid it, they go to prayers and leave all to Allah. Nothing but the absolute necessity of supplying the wants of nature, and those luxuries of coffee and opium, which habit has rendered quite as indispensable, can move to action the common people; while those who are brought up to public employments are susceptible to no other interests but devotion to the cause of Mahomet, or personal ambition, or the desire of wealth. It is astonishing how little avarice mingles with the desires of the lower orders in Turkey; and hence, as I have before observed, they are by a thousand degrees the most honest people I have ever met with. In this respect there is not a Christian nation but might benefit by their example.

"Hospitality is another of their characteristics. It is a part of their religion, and enjoined upon them by Mahomet, who himself was indebted for safety to the hospitality of Medina. Charity is also another duty every where inculcated in the Koran. They are the most charitable people in the world, and their benefactions are the most useful and extensive. Fountains and khans, the erections of munificent Mussulmen, are every where found, in situations most conducive to the comfort and refreshment of travellers; and it is a principle never to demand, although the poor

will accept of a present as a remuneration for lodging or food. In no Christian country, but the United States, I might rather say a portion of the United States, is there so much disinterestedness in this respect. The religion of the Mussulman imposes on him the practice of charity and hospitality.

"It cannot be denied that the Ottomite is cruel, that is to say, careless of the lives of others; but so is he of his own. The truth is, that human life is not considered so inestimable among them, as it is held by the Christians. Every true Mussulman who has been constant in his devotions, as is generally the case, and above all, who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca, which is very common, is sure of Paradise after he dies, and a Paradise peculiarly agreeable to his senses as well as his imagination. He therefore cares little for dying, except for the bodily pain, and submits his neck to the scymeter or the bowstring, with the same indifference that he applies them to the necks of others. The frequency of executions, and scenes of blood in Turkey, is therefore not so much the consequence of a cruel disposition as of an indifference to life and its enjoyments, such as philosophers inculcate as the perfection of wisdom. Indeed I am compelled to say that the Turks are the most philosophical nation I have ever met with, though you know I have been a traveller all my life, and am personally familiar with the people of every quarter of the globe, white, black, tawny, and copper coloured; Scotch, Irish, English, French, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Mexicans, Jews, Turks, Armenians, Arabs, Indians, Moors, Negroes, and Hottentots.

"If you wish me to sum up the result of all my wanderings, experience, reflections, enjoyments, and sufferings, here it is in a few words. I have found that there is not that vast disparity of wisdom, intelligence and virtue, between the different nations of the earth, which the vanity of every people imagines, while it arrogates to itself the superiority. I have found every where the faculties of the human mind, and the virtues of the human heart, best adapted to the attainment of happiness in the situation in which providence hath placed us; and above all, I have discovered that as one man's meat is another man's poison, so those who set themselves up as the standards of excellence, and as models to all nations in every circumstance and situation, are for the most part supremely ignorant blockheads, or arrogant coxcombs. This I take to be all that a man gets by selling his own land to go and see that of other people."—Vol. ii. pp. 320—323.

Although our extracts have been somewhat copious, yet have we given scarcely an idea of the great variety and interest of the contents of these two volumes. The topics are of infinite variety, and all treated with a light and airy vigour, which, while it amuses the fancy, gratifies the understanding. The writer has very properly forborne to speculate on the future prospects of this vast empire, or the probabilities in favour of the final success of the system of reform undertaken by Sultan Mahmoud. The project seems to us full of difficulty, but we cannot but hope it will be eventually accomplished.

The account of the progress of the Lancasterian system of schools, incidentally given by the Commodore, materially strengthens this hope. According to his account, and coming from that quarter, it is entitled to special consideration: the missionaries have succeeded to a considerable extent, especially among the Armenians, in the establishment of these institutions. It is true, they are prohibited the introduction of any books except such as are calculated to perpetuate their ignorance and their errors; yet still we believe that education of any kind not absolutely vicious, is better than none at all, and that, upon the whole, knowledge is one of the most staunch auxiliaries of morals; we do not go so

far as to make it synonymous with virtue, because we conceive such an opinion, if acted upon, would be fraught with the most mischievous consequences; but we think experience sustains the position, that in proportion as the human mind becomes enlightened, it perceives more clearly the beauty of virtue, and the necessity of obedience to the laws of the land. Great crimes very commonly proceed from a want of perception of their enormity, as well as an insensibility, or at least an obtuse indifference to their consequences, both of which are equally the result of stupid ignorance.

In proportion as mankind acquire knowledge, they also acquire the capacity to perceive the defects of their systems of government, and the mode of remedying them. Hence, when a people become enlightened, it has invariably happened, that their governments, whether founded on the representative principle or not, have gradually conformed to the changes of the human mind, or suffered a total revolution in consequence of opposing an irresistible current. Knowledge, therefore, is the great basis of all reforms in morals, religion, and government.

If, then, a system of education be gradually introduced among the Armenians and Greeks, which shall succeed in eventually placing them above the Turks in knowledge and morals, it would seem, either that the former must assume the ascendency over the latter, or that the latter must follow the example of the former, and emulate them in the acquisition of knowledge. If it should be objected that the pride or the indolence of the Turks will conceive itself degraded by following the example of those they now despise, it may be answered, that they will no longer despise their superiors in knowledge and virtue. The pride of man is not so steeped in stupidity, as not to perceive the advantages derived from superior knowledge; and there is nothing on earth, not even wealth and power, to which it so willingly does homage, as to this legitimate sovereign of the world. The very savages of our forests respect the superiority of the civilized white man, although they withhold all outward demonstrations; for it is, we think, utterly impossible for a rational being, in any circumstances whatever, not to respect and admire, and wish to learn, those arts, and to acquire that knowledge, which his own senses teach him constitute such potent auxiliaries to human happiness.

Should, then, the tributary nations acknowledging the dominion of the Ottoman Porte, finally advance to a superior degree of knowledge, and an elevation of character, which we believe is almost its invariable concomitant, the contempt of the Turks will in all probability be changed into a respectful deference, coupled with a desire of imitation; for we hold it impossible for superior knowledge ever to forfeit the respect of ignorance, except by its own vices, follies, or arrogance. If our theory is well founded, it

would seem to follow, that an advance in knowledge in an inferior class of a nation or a community, must do one of two things —it must force those above to rise with them, or it will rise above, and place them at the bottom. Brutal force alone can prevent superior intelligence from assuming its proper elevation over ignorance, corruption, and imbecility.

There is a strong propensity in human nature, and indeed in all animals, to imitate those they think their superiors. Children imitate their parents, because they look up to them as wiser, stronger, and greater than themselves, and men have an innate disposition to make similar acknowledgments. If the proud and indolent Turk comes to perceive, that the once despised, perhaps justly despised, Armenian or Greek, is gradually becoming his superior in intelligence and dignity of character, it will not be a matter of choice, but of necessity, for him to respect his vassal in this new character. The consequence is inevitable; he cannot resist the common law of his nature. He will be roused from his apathy in self-defence, and have himself to acquire that knowledge which alone can preserve his ancient superiority; or he will make one last effort to prevent its consequences, by inventing and inflicting new oppressions. If he enters on the first noble struggle, the Empire may be regenerated; if he resorts to the other means, it may end in a dismemberment.

That Sultan Mahmoud, who is unquestionably a very extraordinary man, favours the introduction of these Lancasterian schools, and the labours of the missionaries, in so far as this can be done without awakening the fears and rousing the indignation of his bigoted subjects, is sufficiently clear. He knows of their existence, and he has the power, if he pleases, of annihilating them in an instant. His permitting them to exist, is, therefore, evidence that he views them at least without hostility. From the proofs he has already given of a desire, nay a determination, to place, if possible, his Empire on some sort of footing in respect to its military organization, with the powers of Europe, it is clear that he must, in his heart, favour the advance of his subjects in knowledge, because so capacious a mind as his cannot but perceive that this alone can enable him to accomplish his designs. Without a great advance in knowledge among his people, he cannot hope to place his Empire on a footing of equality with the potent enemies to his throne, and hence arises the singular phenomenon of an uncontrolled despot, bending all the energies of his genius and his power, to produce a reform in his government, that must necessarily and inevitably circumscribe his own unlimited authority.

It is a noble and generous ambition, that of divesting himself thus incidentally of personal power, in order to increase that of the people he governs, and we wish him success in the experiment. That he will eventally succeed, or at least prepare the way for

completing the plan he has formed, is more than we shall venture to predict. A bigoted, uncompromising religion; a proud, ignorant, and indolent people; a heterogeneous mass of subjects of various nations, tongues, and faiths; a host of dependant pachas, who acknowledge no fealty but what is wrested from them by force; a powerful and ambitious border Empire, once its rival, now its dictator, all combined, seem to indicate that the days of the great Empire of Mahomet, so long the terror and the scourge of Christendom, are numbered, and that the number is not great. Many indications are not wanting, to sanction a belief, that the very religion which forms the basis of the throne and the Empire of the Mussulman, and on which it rose to such a high magnificence of power and dimensions, is about to be buried in the ruins of the structure it raised and supported. Stranger things than this have happened in former ages, and in no age of the world was there ever exhibited greater wonders than this age has seen—greater than are predicted by the most infallible auguries. The foundations of ages seem to be shaken by moral earthquakes; the human mind is in a state of incubation, which, whether its product will be monsters or demigods, giants or pigmies, sages or coxcombs, none can tell; and to use the expression of the Commodore in one of his letters, "the ice of a thousand years is dissolving." Whether its breaking up will produce regeneration or ruin, must be left to that Providence which directs the course of human events, and prescribes bounds to the virtues as well as vices of mankind;—to their ignorance and their intelligence, their weakness and their power.

We cannot close this hasty and imperfect notice, without cordially recommending this work of a man always loved and honoured by his countrymen, to the notice of our readers, for its vivacity, its humour, its truth, and its intelligence. No book of travels that has come under our observation for many years past, and none that has ever been written on the subject of Turkey, better deserves their attention. It is full of fine descriptions of scenery; striking and accurate delineations of character and manners; amusing anecdotes, drawn from life, to the life; keen and sagacious observation, all clothed in a style at once so natural as to possess the rare charm of colloquial ease.

ART. V.—*Document Number 36—House of Representatives—State Department—Twenty-third Congress—Second Session—containing—Letter from the Secretary of State, on the subject of the Contract entered into by Edward Livingston, late Secretary of State, with Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, for the collection and publication of the Documentary History of the American Revolution; December 24, 1834. Read, and laid upon the Table.—And, Report made to the Hon. John Forsyth, Secretary of State of the United States, now publishing under an Act of Congress, by* M. ST. CLAIR CLARKE & PETER FORCE.

WHEN Sir Walter Raleigh, from his prison-window in the Tower, after having regarded some disturbance in the court beneath, and, upon inquiry, being totally unable to find two individuals, among the by-standers, earwitnesses and eyewitnesses of the transaction, who could agree in their relation of the circumstances, committed to the flames a historical manuscript which he was at that time composing, he gave a striking illustration of his conviction of the uncertainty of all history. The same conviction has been arrived at by every searcher after truth, from the time of Aristotle, who pronounced incredulity to be the source of all knowledge, down to that of Voltaire, who says, "toute certitude qui n'est pas demonstration mathématique n'est qu'une extrême probabilité: il n'y a pas d'autre certitude historique." Nor has time contributed to create or to confirm a faith in the verity of historical records. It has rather served to strengthen distrust, and to swell the already ample catalogue of "historic doubts." Without entering upon the discussion of a subject, the evidences of which may be detected upon every page of history, ancient and modern; or attempting to point out the prevailing causes of this general uncertainty, the inquiry will be limited to our own country, concerning which it may be asked, whether its history can lay claim to any exemption from the universal reproach? a question, to which the reply must be in the negative. To an American, this is a subject of deep importance, and worthy of most serious consideration; and while we affirm, with confidence, that there does not exist a single history of this country which does not literally abound with the grossest errors, some of which, as far as space will permit, it will be endeavoured briefly to point out, interest should be still more strongly awakened, when it is subjoined, as is done with equal confidence, that our country possesses all, or nearly all, (for many valuable documents have been lost beyond the possibility of recovery, among which may be noticed the records of the Board of War and the records and correspondence of the Treasury Board,) the materials necessary not only to correct the errors to which allusion has been made, but to place

its history upon an immoveable basis, and to make it, what all history ought to be, a record of facts, beyond cavil or doubt—a simple relation of what has actually occurred, clothed in the plain and noble garb of truth.

To guard against the errors of history, a learned French writer has suggested, that, as sacred history was not the work of private persons, but of men who had received from God a special commission to write, so civil history should be composed by those, whom the sovereign power of each state might select for the purpose. But we would not rest satisfied here, and our subsequent remarks will abundantly show, that the ablest persons only give a higher sanction to error, when the materials upon which they are employed are false or imperfect. There is a preliminary step indispensably necessary.—We would require a previous and complete collection of all public documents, wherever it is possible; for they constitute the only solid foundation on which perfect history can be raised. We believe, too, that such a collection, complete *ab ovo*—from the very commencement, is to be found in no country but in these United States. We have no "dark ages," no mythology, no time beyond which the memory of man doth not run. The whole story includes a period of authentic history, and falls within the sphere of sober truth. That such a collection is not only practicable, but that it is actually about to be made, and under the sanction of this government; and further, that it is even in a state of considerable advancement, are facts, we apprehend, not familiarly and generally known; and it is for this reason that we have thought it proper to invite attention to a subject which we think can not fail to engage general attention.

It is first necessary, however, for the purpose not only of sustaining, in some degree at least, the severe and sweeping charge brought against American history, but also for the purpose of drawing thence an unanswerable argument for the importance of the publication in question, distinctly to point out a few of these errors;—a few, we say, because volumes would be easily exhausted by any thing approaching to a copious enumeration.

The first point selected, with a view to illustrate what has been said, and selected because it is familiar to every American reader, is, the attempt of the Mother country, in the progress of her cumulative tyranny, to force the article of tea into the Colonies, with the ulterior purpose of establishing the contested doctrine and practice of taxation. The account of this memorable procedure stands prominent in every book; and yet, strange as it may appear, every book has given an erroneous statement of it. We have examined attentively numerous accounts, both English and American, in which two strikingly gross errors, (not to mention many subordinate and less important mistakes, which are found scattered among the passages,) stand out conspicuously

in bold relief. In all of these passages, one of the errors occurs—in the most part, both. This examination also exposes an important secret, which of itself is nowise calculated to increase confidence in historical compositions, or to inspire respect for the generality of historians;—and that is, that authors are accustomed to follow implicitly, and without investigation, what they find in preceding writers. Most books, indeed, are mere repetitions, and where the originals and models are in error, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that every new book serves only to multiply and perpetuate errors. This observation is not new; it was familiar to former times: and a comparatively modern writer, Lord Bacon perhaps, observed, in a consideration of this very subject, that if the mirror of truth could be made to pass over what has been written, burning away all that had been already said, as well as all that was false, it would quickly appear that whole libraries would be reduced to a few scanty volumes.

To appreciate duly the foregoing strictures, and to comprehend their applicability to the particular errors to which attention is now called, their sources must be visited.—They are, the Annual Register, a magazine from which all the British authorities draw their facts, and Gordon's History, the reservoir, or fountain, which has supplied error to American writers. The Annual Register states, that *the tea was landed in New York, and under the guns of a man-of-war;* and Gordon asserts, that *the tea-ship arrived at New York in December* 1773. Now the tea-ship, *and the only one sent to New York*, the Nancy, Captain Lockyer, never did approach nearer to New York than Sandy Hook, and did not arrive *there*, till the 18th of April, 1774. These are, we repeat, striking errors, which, like dark veins, discolour the marble which might have been, and ought to have been, pure.—They are unpardonable errors; for, to omit reference to the proceedings of the committee of citizens of New York, the letter of Lieutenant-Governor Colden* to his government, dated on the 4th of May, 1774, expressly states, that no application had been made to him for the landing of the tea. This letter (a document) would have corrected them both. It enclosed also a public paper, (which of course forms a part of the document,) but neither of these appears to have been consulted by the writer of the Register. As to Mr. Gordon, it appears, from his book, that he had examined the papers of the day, to December, 1773, but not further. It is probable, therefore, that his statement of the arrival of the tea-ship at New York in December 1773, was made from recollection merely, without examining into its accuracy.†

The truth is, the destruction of the tea at Boston, the return of the tea-ship from Philadelphia, and the landing and storing of the

* Parliamentary History, vol. 18, p. 119.

† Preface is worthy of attention.

tea in Charleston, South Carolina, took place about the same time, in 1773, when all the colonies were in a state of great excitement. The arrival of the tea-ship at New York was *four months afterwards.* The fever of excitement had abated, and cool reflection had supervened. The tea question in all its bearings was fully discussed, and the people adhered to their first determination—that the tea should not be landed under any circumstances. They did prevent the landing of the tea, but there was no excitement, no violence, no mob, no riot. The difference in time lends a very different aspect to the proceedings in New York, but this is a view of the subject which is not taken in any of the books. The writers who follow the Annual Register, say the tea was landed, &c., in 1773; those who follow Gordon, (and notice New York at all,) say the tea was not landed, but that the ship arrived there in 1773, and, when they give the month, say, it arrived there in December of that year.

The passage in the Annual Register, omitting that portion which does not especially bear upon this country, runs thus—

"As the time approached when the arrival of the tea-ships, for the execution of the new plan, was expected, the people assembled at different places, in great bodies, and began to take such measures as seemed most effectual to prevent the landing of the cargoes. The tea consignees, who had been appointed by the India Company, were obliged, in most places, (and in some, at the peril of property, if not of life,) to relinquish their appointments, and to enter into public engagements not to act in that capacity. Committees were appointed by the people in different towns and provinces, whom they armed with such powers as they supposed themselves enabled to bestow. They were authorized to inspect merchants' books, to propose tests, to punish those whom they considered as contumacious, by the dangerous proscription of declaring them enemies to their country, and of assembling the people when they thought necessary. In a word, their powers were as indefinite as the authority under which they acted. In the tumultuous assemblies, which were frequently held upon this occasion, numberless resolutions were passed, extremely derogatory with respect to the authority of the supreme legislature. Inflammatory handbills, and other seditious papers, were continually published; nor were the conductors of newspapers, nor the writers of pamphlets, much more guarded in their conduct, or temperate in their manner. Even at Philadelphia, which had been so long celebrated for the excellency of its police and government, and the temperate manners of its inhabitants, printed papers were dispersed, warning the pilots on the river Delaware, not to conduct any of those tea-ships into their harbour, which were only sent out for the purpose of enslaving and poisoning all the Americans; at the same time giving them clearly to understand, it was expected that they would apply their knowledge of the river, under the colour of their profession, in such a manner as would effectually secure their country from so imminent a danger. At New York, in a similar publication, those ships are said to be loaded with the fetters which had been forged for them in Great Britain, and every vengeance is denounced against all persons who dare, in any manner, contribute to the introduction of those chains. All the colonies seem to have instantly united in this point. In general the commissioners for the sale of tea having been obliged to relinquish their employment, and no other persons daring to receive the cargoes which were consigned to them, the masters of the tea-vessels, from these circumstances, as well as from a knowledge of danger, and the determined resolution of the people, readily complied with the terms which were prescribed, of returning directly to England, without entangling themselves by any entry at the custom houses. *At New York it was indeed landed under the cannon of a man-of-war. But the government there were obliged to consent to its being locked up from use.*"—*Annual Register*, 1774, *p.* 50.

Here are three errors:—The tea was neither *landed* nor *locked up*—the government was not referred to on the subject—gave no *consent* or order, and did not interfere with it, nor attempt to act in opposition to the public opinion; though at this time, April 23, 1774, it was known in New York what course the Parliament would take for the punishment of Boston for the destruction of the tea there, in the December previous.

The passage from Gordon is as follows:

"At New York, when Captain Sears and Captain M'Dougall heard that the tea was to be sent, they concluded that an opposition to it was necessary, and agreed upon contriving to unite the tea-smugglers, the merchants, and the sons of liberty in that service; and that Captain M'Dougall should write against the design of introducing and vending the tea agreeable to the ministerial plan, but should remain concealed as the author. A few of each class were called together, and the mode of opposition settled. Publications, tending to spread and increase the alarm of imminent danger to the liberties of the country, appeared periodically. As the time approached for the arrival of the tea-ships, the publications became more spirited and threatening. (Nov. 5.) A handbill, addressed to the friends of liberty and commerce, was circulated through the city, calculated to provoke resentment against all the encouragers of the tea-plan. Afterward, written papers were stuck up at the coffee house, and other places, (Nov. 8) menacing destruction to any person who should accept a commission for the sale of the East India Company's teas, or be an accessary. In rather more than a week, there was published (Nov. 18) a paper signed *Legion*, addressed to the stated pilots of the port, and all others whom it might concern, directing them how to proceed in reference to any tea-ship, and requiring them, at their peril, not to bring them any farther than the Hook. In another paper, signed the *Mohawks*, the tea-ship is said to be laden with fetters, forged for them in Great Britain; and every vengeance is denounced against all persons who dare in any manner contribute to the introduction of these chains. *In December, the London, Captain Chambers, and the tea-ship, arrived on the same day;* the former came up directly to the wharf, the other remained at the Hook, and was watched till she returned, by a vessel stationed there for that purpose. On her arrival, a committee waited on the consignees, who, agreeable to a former promise, assured them that they would neither receive nor sell the tea, as it came liable to an *American duty*. Captain Chambers ventured to bring seventeen chests on a private account, which were taken, and thrown overboard into the harbour. Had the Company's ship come to the wharf, she would probably have been burnt, for Captain Sears and five others had determined upon it, and provided themselves with combustibles for that purpose. At Philadelphia, printed papers were dispersed, warning the Delaware pilots not to conduct any of the tea-ships into harbour, as they were only sent for the purpose of enslaving and poisoning the Americans; and at the same time plainly intimating that it was expected they would apply their knowledge of the river, under the colour of their profession, so as effectually to secure their country from so imminent a danger. In most places the consignees were obliged to relinquish their appointments, and to enter into engagements not to act in that capacity, and no other persons daring to receive the cargoes consigned to them, the captains of the New York and Philadelphia ships, from these circumstances, and the knowledge of the risk they ran from the determined resolution of the people, concluded upon returning directly to Great Britain, without entangling themselves by an entry at the custom houses. But it was otherwise in the Massachusetts."*

These extracts should be followed by a brief statement of the facts, and a reference to dates and public proceedings at New

* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, 1788, vol. ii. p. 218, &c. New York, 1801.

York, without which the reader will scarcely be able to perceive how very imperfect are all the accounts, not only in the extracts, but also in the numerous authors to which a reference will presently be given; but we are compelled to rest satisfied by directing attention to some accurate documentary information on this subject, communicated by Mr. Force, in the Military and Naval Magazine of the United States, Volume V., No. 4, June, 1835—page 261, et seq.

The length of these quotations, and the abundant matter on hand for other illustration of the subject under review, forbid our entering any further upon what the host of writers following these two authorities have little more than repeated; but a reference here to a sufficiently ample list of books, will enable the reader, desirous of pursuing the inquiry, to judge whether any unfairness or unjust severity attaches to our animadversions. The catalogue will be given, as nearly as possible, in the order of time.

1779. History of the War in America, from 1764 to the time of Gen. Gage's arrival at Boston, in 1774. London, printed; Boston, reprinted, by T. & J. Fleet, 1780. pp. 75—78.

1780. Impartial History of the War in America to the end of the year 1779, pp. 107—109. London, 1780.

1781. Abbé Raynal's Revolution of America, p. 10. Salem, 1782.
Peters' General History of Connecticut, p. 385. London, 1781.
Andrews' History of the War with America, &c. Vol. ii. pp. 104—108. London, 1785.

1785. Ramsay's History. Revolution in South Carolina. Vol. ii. p. 15. Trenton, 1785.

1789. The same, Vol. ii. p. 128. Trenton, 1811.

1790. Anderson's Origin of Commerce, continued by Mr. Coombe, Vol. v. p. 220. Dublin, 1790.
Coote's History of England, Vol. ix. p. 356. London, 1802.

1794. Stedman's History of the American War, Vol. i. p. 85. London, 1794.

1795. Winterbotham's America, Vol. i. p. 458. New York, 1796.
Guthrie's Modern Geography: first American edition. Vol. ii. p. 251. April 27, 1795.

1798. History of the British Empire, from 1765 to 1783. Vol. i. p. 101. Philadelphia, 1798.

1800. Russell's History of America, Vol. ii. p. 459. London, 1800.

1805. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, Vol. iii. p. 545. London, 1805.
Mrs. Mercy Warren's History of the American Revolution, Vol. i. p. 101. Boston, 1805.

1808. Ramsay's History of the United States, Vol. i. p. 370. Philadelphia, 1818.

1809. Botta's History of the War of the Independence of the United States, Vol. i. p. 109, &c. Boston, 1826.
1811. Guthrie's System of Modern Geography: seventh edition. pp. 338, 339. London, 1811.
1813. Bigland's History of England, Vol. ii. p. 343. New York, 1814.
1819. Sanford's History of the United States before the Revolution, p. 200.
1821. Butler's Complete History of the United States of America, Vol. iii. p. 60, &c. Hartford, 1821.
1822. Paul Allen's History of the American Revolution, Vol. i. p. 167. Baltimore, 1822.
1823. Tudor's Life of Otis, p. 413. Boston, 1823.
1824. Marshall's History of the American Colonies, pp. 398, 399.
Morse's Annals of the American Revolution, p. 175.
1828. Pitkin's History of the United States, Vol. i. pp. 262, 263.
1829. Macauley's History of New York, p. 85. Albany, 1829.
T. F. Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 480, &c. Philadelphia, 1829.
Holmes's Annals of America, Vol. ii. p. 18, &c. Cambridge, 1829.
1830. Hinton's History of the United States, Vol. i. p. 308. London, 1830.
1831. M'Mahon's Historical View of Maryland, pp. 401, 402.
1834. T. F. Gordon's History of New Jersey, p. 153. Trenton, 1834.
Wilson's History of the American Revolution, p. 94. Baltimore, 1834.
Life of Alexander Hamilton, by J. C. Hamilton, Vol. i. p. 20. New York, 1834.
Bissett's George III., Chapter xii. p. 300.
Miller's History of Great Britain, from the death of George III. to the Coronation of George IV., p. 83.
Belshani's Great Britain, Vol. vi. p. 43. London, 1811.

We regret the impossibility of presenting, at full length, the passages to which these references relate, that it might be perceived at a glance, the manner in which history is commonly written. We have perused them attentively, and they form a curious and instructive study. We regret it the more, because few may have the time or the inclination to examine for themselves, and some may not have access to the particular works to which references are made. The list might be easily enlarged, and it is believed the same chief errors, as well as minor errors, would still recur; nay, we might almost challenge the production of a single history in which a true account of this momentous event of our Revolution is to be found. These and the innumerable other errors with which the history of our Revolution is now disfigured, will never

be corrected until the publication of the documents to which we have adverted, and of which we will speak more fully hereafter.

A common source of error in our books, is to be found in the neglect of dates, of which an example has just been given; a remark which tends to display still further the importance of documents, which it is understood are always exactly dated. The value of a date is manifest when we contemplate each historical fact as a link in the long chain of events. It is a singular fact, and one worthy of being recorded, that, among the letters of General Washington, numerous as they are, and written often under peculiar circumstances, this omission is so very rare that one only is now recollected—there may possibly be two, or even three; but generally they are given with scrupulous exactness. To illustrate the evil consequences of this neglect of dates, no matter from what cause it may spring, a striking fact may be cited in English history, and it is pointed out by one of the most recent and most eminent writers on Chronology.* "The consequence," says Sir Harris Nicholas, "of this neglect of a subject on which all dates in English history, all records, and, consequently, all historical accuracy, depend, is shown in a manner which is humiliating to our national literature, inasmuch as in the celebrated collection of documents, printed by Rymer in his Fœdera, at the expense of the public, in the time of queen Anne, numerous instruments of all reigns, from Richard the first to Edward the fourth, are *misplaced by one entire year.*"

But a still better illustration of the value of documents would be obtained by confining our attention to some single point of history—for example, the action of the colonies preceding, and causing the first congress, by which is meant that of 1774, which may be properly so called. To one who has studied the copious documents relating to that great event, the journal of congress itself must appear eminently meagre and defective. The accounts given by Gordon and Pitkin, though the fullest and best, perhaps, are still not only imperfect and unsatisfactory; but they do not all convey to the mind the true state of feeling which existed among the people at the time, which can only be seen and appreciated by a close and attentive reading of the documents in which that feeling is expressed and embodied. It was our purpose to transcribe at least one or two specimens of these deeply interesting papers, but the narrow limits, of which we have before complained, again interpose an effectual barrier to its execution. We have now lying before us on our table, a collection in manuscript of these documents, which would form a volume of themselves. They consist of the proceedings of the people in the different colonies in opposition to the tyrannical acts of parliament, the resolutions entered

* The Chronology of History, by Sir Harris Nicholas. Preface, pp. vii. viii.

into at county and other meetings, and the communications mutually addressed by the various committees of correspondence in all the colonies—all manifesting, step by step, the progress of the great revolution of sentiment, which had been advancing rapidly, but systematically, for a period of nearly ten years, through the country—and all pointing to the adoption of a great national congress, as the only effectual method of preparing the country for the terrible impending struggle, from which, however, there did not any where appear the slightest inclination or intention to shrink. To this portion of our history, justice has not yet been done, nor will it be, until the publication of the documents from which alone the sentiment of the whole country at that interesting conjuncture can be gathered.

And now, as we have entered upon the ungracious office of exposing faults, let us turn to Botta, who, though not the first in time, appears, by general consent, to be regarded as the chief in merit. As evidence of the very high opinion entertained of the merit of this historian, it will be sufficient to cite the eulogium of Mr. Jefferson, who, besides other praise, says, "We must thank him (Botta,) too, for having brought within the compass of three volumes every thing we wish to know of that war, &c., &c.," that "he has had the faculty of sifting the truth of facts from our own histories with great judgment, &c.," and further, that, "when the superiority of the work over every other on the same subject shall be made known, I think it will be the common manual of our Revolutionary history." This is lofty praise, and from a high source, and it seems to be acted upon by our government at this very moment without the least distrust or suspicion; for by the regulations of the navy, Botta has been selected as the text book of our revolutionary history, and is supplied regularly for the use of our ships of war. We wish it to be understood that we are not insensible to the real merits of this distinguished writer; but the merit of accuracy must be withheld, and abounding with the most palpable blunders, as he most certainly does, we feel inspired to predict that the day is not far distant when his work will cease to be "the common manual of our Revolutionary history." There is an air of romance about this writer, that carries away the reader, and a way of melting down his materials, true and false, which renders it difficult to separate them—to lay the finger upon that which is wrong, and to discriminate it from that which is right. Nothing but the most skilful and elaborate analysis can enable us to do this, nor is this to be expected till those accurate tests, the documents, shall provide the new process to which his work, in common with all others on American history, is to be subjected.

As it is our purpose, on a future occasion, to make Botta's history the subject of a distinct article, where it is proposed to examine many of his statements *documentarily*, we will not apologize

in this place, if our remarks should not prove sufficient in the reader's opinion to sustain the severity of our criticism.

Speaking of the bill for imposing a stamp duty, Botta says,—

"The memorials, the remonstrances, the petitions, of the American provinces, were rejected. The bill for imposing a stamp duty was therefore submitted to parliament in its session of 1765. It is easy to imagine with what animation it was discussed. It may be doubted whether upon any other occasion, either in times past or present, there has been displayed more vigour or acuteness of intellect, more love of country, or spirit of party, or greater splendour of eloquence, than in these debates. Nor was the shock of opinions less violent without the walls of Westminster. All Europe, it may be said, and especially the commercial countries, were attentive to the progress and to the decision of this important question."*

This is a most eloquent and imposing account, but it is totally untrue, and one is at a loss to imagine from whence it could have been obtained. Did the author get it from the "Debates in Parliament?" no! for there it is said,—"As these resolutions were the foundation of the famous stamp act, it will not be improper to take notice of a particular circumstance relative to them; and of part of the argument which was urged without doors, (*for very little was said within,*) for and against that measure, as extracted from the papers and pamphlets published at the time."† Was it derived from the Parliamentary history? most certainly not! for there we read that "this act passed the commons almost without debate; two or three spoke against it, but without force or apparent interest, except a vehement harangue from Col. Barré, &c., &c.,"‡ and if these be not satisfactory, the unquestionable testimony of Mr. Burke may be quoted,—"As to the fact of a strenuous opposition to the stamp act," says he, "I sat as a stranger in your gallery when the act was under consideration. Far from any thing inflammatory, I never heard a more languid debate in this house. No more than two or three gentlemen, as I remember, spoke against the act, and that with great reserve, and remarkable temper. There was but one division in the whole progress of the bill, and the minority did not reach to more than thirty-nine or forty. In the house of lords I do not recollect that there was any debate or division at all. I am sure there was no protest. In fact, the affair passed with so very, very little noise, that in town they scarcely knew the nature of what you were doing."§

Another extract from Botta, relating to the same period of time, and the extracts from several authors on the same subject, corrected by the correspondence to which they all relate, and which they have all mutilated, exhibit a striking example of the manufacturing of history.

"The very night it (the Stamp Act) was passed, Dr. Franklin, who was then in London, wrote to Charles Thomson, afterwards Secretary of Congress—'the sun

* Book I. p. 38.
† See Debates in Parliament, Vol. iv. p. 251—note.
‡ See Parliamentary History, Vol. xvi. p. 37.
§ Speech, April 19, 1774.

of liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy.' To which Mr. Thomson answered—'Be assured we shall light torches of quite another sort.' Thus predicting the convulsions that were about to follow."*

We will now give the letters themselves of Franklin and Thomson, extracted from the Pennsylvania Gazette, of March 6, 1766, which will expose the error of Botta, and of the others who will be cited presently.

"To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

"Sir:—I make no apology for presenting to the public, through the channel of your useful paper, the following letters, as they contain the sentiments of two gentlemen of acknowledged abilities and integrity, upon a subject which is of the last consequence to the peace and safety, union, dignity, and stability of the British Empire. "Yours, W. S."

"Extract of a letter from a North American (Dr. Franklin) to his friend in America (Charles Thomson,) dated July 11, 1765.

"'Depend upon it, my good friend, that every possible step was taken to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act. But the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American claims of Independence, and all parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. *We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. But since it is down, my friend, and it may be long ere it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles.* Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us. Idleness and pride tax with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments. If we can get rid of the former, we may easily bear the latter. Our country produces, or is capable of producing, all the necessaries of life; the wasting superfluities come from hence. Let us have but the wisdom to be content for a while with our own, and this country will soon feel, that its loss, in point of commerce, is infinitely more than its gain in taxes.'"

"The answer, dated Philadelphia, 24th September, 1765.

"'Yes, my friend, I grant that 'idleness and pride tax with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments,' and that, 'frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us.' But the misfortune is, the very thing that renders industry necessary, cuts the sinews of it. With industry and frugality, the subjects of Eastern tyrants might be wealthier than those of England and Holland. But who will labour or save, who has not a security in his property? When people are taxed by their own representatives, though the tax is high, they pay it cheerfully, from a confidence that no more than enough is required, and that a due regard is had to the ability of the giver. But when a tax is laid merely to 'settle the point of independence,' and when the quantity of the tax depends on the caprice of those who have the superiority, and who will doubtless lay it heavier in order to bring down the spirits or weaken the power of those who claim independence, what encouragement is there to labour or save? The wealth we thereby acquire, will be a new motive which fear or avarice will suggest, to tax us anew. No wonder then if people will choose to live poor and lazy, rather than labour to enrich their task-masters, or furnish matter for new oppression. There never was any mention of the Colonies aiming at Independence till the ministry began to abridge them of their liberties. I will venture to affirm, and to you I can appeal for the truth of what I say, that history cannot show a people so numerous, so far removed from the seat of royalty, who were so loyal, so attached to their king, and who at the same time had such sentiments of liberty, as the British American Colonies. How long this will continue, God knows.

"'*The sun of liberty is indeed fast setting, if not down already in the American Colonies. But I much fear, instead of the candles you mention being lighted, you will hear of the works of darkness.* They are in general alarmed to the last degree. The colonies expect, and with reason expect, that some regard shall be had to their liberties and privileges, as well as trade. They cannot bring themselves to believe,

* Book I. p. 50.

nor can they see how England with reason or justice expects that they should have encountered the horrors of a desert, borne the attacks of barbarous savages, and at the expense of their blood and treasure settled this country to the great emolument of England, and after all, quietly submit to be deprived of every thing an Englishman has been taught to hold dear.

"'It is not property only we contend for. Our liberty, and most essential privileges, are struck at. Arbitrary courts are set over us, and trials by juries taken away. The press is so restricted that we can not complain. An army of mercenaries threatened to be billeted on us; the sources of our trade stopped; and to complete our ruin, the little property we had acquired, taken from us, without even allowing us the merit of giving it. I really dread the consequence.

"'The parliament insist on a power over all the liberties and privileges claimed by the colonies, and hence require a blind obedience and acquiescence in whatever they do. Should the behaviour of the colonies happen not to square with these sovereign notions (as I much fear it will not,) what remains but by violence to compel them to obedience. Violence will beget resentment, and provoke to acts never dreamt of. But I will not anticipate evil—I pray God avert it.

"'I congratulate you on the change of the ministry. We hope for much good from it. For such seems the state of the British Constitution at present, that from them we are to look for good or ill. Heretofore we have been taught to look for redress from another quarter.

"'I am, dear sir, your affectionate friend.'"

The passages from several other authors, of which we spoke, will now be extracted. Gordon says:—

"The night after it (the Stamp Act) was passed, Dr. Franklin wrote Mr. Charles Thomson, 'the sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy.' Mr. Thomson answered, he was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence, and predicted the opposition that followed."*

And Ramsay,—

"The Bill met with no opposition in the House of Lords; and on the 22d of March, 1765, it received the royal assent. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson, 'the sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy.' Mr. Thomson answered; 'I was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence'—and he foretold the opposition that shortly took place."†

Paul Allen,—

"The bill was passed by the Commons, and met with no opposition at all in the House of Lords. On the 22d of the same month (March 1765,) it received the royal assent, and became a monument of ministerial folly. Soon after the passage of the act, Dr. Franklin, in a letter to Mr. Charles Thomson, afterwards Secretary to Congress, has these words: 'The sun of liberty is set, you must light up the candles of industry and economy.'"‡

T. F. Gordon,—

"The Stamp Act was passed with slight opposition in the Commons, and with unanimity by the Lords. Dr. Franklin laboured earnestly to avert a measure which his sagacity and extensive acquaintance with the American people, taught him was pregnant with danger to the British empire; but he entertained not the idea that it would be forcibly resisted. He wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson: 'The sun of liberty is set, you must light up the candles of industry and economy.' To which Mr. Thomson replied, 'he was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence.'"§

* History of the American Revolution, Vol. i. p. 115.
† Ramsay's History of the United States, Vol. i. p. 337.
‡ American Revolution, Vol. i. p. 70.
§ History of Pennsylvania, page 432.

And Butler—

"When the Bill had passed, Dr. Franklin (then in London) wrote Mr. Charles Thomson, at Philadelphia, a letter, in which he thus expresses himself—'The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy.' To which Mr. Thomson replied—'I fear other lights may become necessary.'"*

And lastly, for it would be superfluous to proceed any further, Winterbotham has it—

"The Bill met with no opposition in the House of Lords, and on the 22d of March, 1765, it received the royal assent. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson—'The sun of liberty is set, you must light up the candles of industry and economy.' Mr. Thomson answered—'He was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence.'"†

A single glance now upon another work, for an error on a different subject. In Mrs. Mercy Warren we read, that John Hancock "was chosen to preside in the respectable Assembly of Delegates, avowedly on the sole principle of his having been proscribed by General Gage."‡ Mr. Hancock was chosen President of Congress on the 24th of May, 1775, the date of its assembling; and General Gage's Proclamation was not issued till the 12th of the following June—an error which, we may here remark, has been copied into our own journal.§

We are also told, that "Congress had, *about this time*, (that is, in June, 1775,) adopted the resolution to advise each of the colonies explicitly to renounce the government of Great Britain, and to form constitutions of government for themselves,"‖ and yet the resolution here referred to was not adopted by Congress till May 10th, 1776, nearly a year afterwards.

But to descend to a more recent book, and to a circumstance of less moment. Mr. Sedgwick, in his Life of William Livingston,¶ has given a letter from that gentleman to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, the object of which is to bring to the attention of that body the claims of the Jersey militia, which is done in a striking and humorous way through the medium of a dream which he relates. In that dream a fairy is made to deliver to the dreamer a paper of "facts," signed "Oberon, Chief of the Fairies,"—and Mr. Livingston, when he again wrote to Mr. Laurens, makes this remark—"I am much more pleased with the old man's dream *amended*, than I was with the original, and the conclusion I like

* History of the United States, vol. iii. page 16.

† History of America, vol. i. p. 430. For a documentary history of the Stamp Act, we embrace with pleasure this opportunity of referring the reader, for his own satisfaction, and as properly illustrative of the subject of this article, to the 10th volume of Force's National Calendar, for the year 1832. It was prepared by Mr. Force himself.

‡ Warren's History of the American Revolution, vol i. p. 214.

§ See Am. Quart. Review, No. 2. p. 406.

‖ Warren's Hist. See note at foot of page 225, vol. i.

¶ See Life, &c. page 305.

extremely." The remark made by the biographer plainly shows that he did not at all understand the matter; for he says, "To the complaint made in this fictitious dream, Laurens sent the apparently satisfactory reply alluded to in the foregoing letter:" but Mr. Livingston, in the following letter, alludes, not to a "reply," but to the "dream amended," which he likes better than the "original." The simple fact is, that Mr. Laurens made several alterations in Mr. Livingston's dream, and had published it in the Pennsylvania Packet, at the time, under the signature of "An Old Man"—the "conclusion," also, had been added by Mr. Laurens.

The indulgence of the reader is requested for a few moments longer, and then this portion of the subject will be dismissed. That which we are about to mention belongs to the history of New Jersey, and is prompted by a singular omission in a History of that state very recently published by Mr. Thomas F. Gordon. The importance and interest of the subject will admit of some detail. New Jersey, in December, 1775, had not yet abandoned all hope of a settlement of the difficulties between the Colonies and Great Britain, on constitutional principles; that is, without an entire separation from the parent state. The Assembly, then in session, (the last one held under the royal government,) as a final effort to obtain such an accommodation, had determined to petition the King once more, but after the petition had been prepared, and at the very eve of its adoption, it was abandoned by an unanimous vote of the House. The following is a history of this affair—On the 15th November, a letter from Richard Penn and Arthur Lee, in London, stating that the petition of the General Congress to his Majesty had been presented, and that no answer would be given, for reasons assigned, was laid before the Assembly. On the same day, Mr. Kinsey and Mr. De Hart, two of the delegates from New Jersey to the Congress, had resigned; for which step the latter had assigned as a reason, that all prospect of obtaining an accommodation by constitutional measures seemed hopeless. Their resignations were accepted on the 22d, and the House authorized the three remaining delegates (Stephen Crane, William Livingston, and Richard Smith,) to represent the colony. On the 23d, 24th, and 25th, various petitions of divers freeholders of the city and county of Burlington, were presented, denouncing the idea of independency on Great Britain, then openly avowed, and urging the propriety of further petitioning his Majesty, and after consideration by the House, resolutions were entered into, instructing the delegates to act accordingly, and another petition was even drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose. On the 5th December, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, upon this petition to the King, and it was *unanimously* agreed to quash it.

This resolution exhibits a sudden change in the views of the

Assembly. Mr. De Hart thought there was no prospect of an accommodation on constitutional principles, and resigned. The Assembly thought otherwise, and proceeded to make another effort. Although their previous petition remained unanswered, and they were informed that the petition from the Congress would not be answered, yet it was hoped that some good effect might be produced by a new petition. A committee was accordingly appointed to prepare one; it had been prepared, presented, read twice, and in the last stage of proceedings upon it, was suddenly stopped—the House unanimously resolved that the measure was inexpedient.

This change had been produced by the action of another body. The Continental Congress, then in session, being made acquainted with the proceedings of the Assembly of New Jersey, and fearing the consequences of the separate action of that colony—Resolved, on the 4th December, "that in the present state of affairs it will be very dangerous to the liberties and welfare of America, *if any Colony should separately petition the King, or either House of Parliament.*" A committee, consisting of Messrs. Dickinson, Wythe, and Jay, was appointed to confer with the Assembly of New Jersey. On the next day, December 5th, this committee attended at Burlington, and were admitted to a hearing by the Assembly. Each one of the committee addressed the House. The following is the substance of Mr. Dickinson's speech, as it was taken for the Governor by one of his friends in the Assembly. As the manuscript from which it is copied, notices also Mr. Jay and Mr. Wythe, we will give an exact transcript of it. It forms a most interesting and invaluable *document.*

"Notes of what Mr. Dickinson said before the House of Assembly. (The words *scored* are his own words.)

"He began, by informing the House, that the Congress, *alarmed at the reports of the House going to petition the King, had taken the matter into their serious consideration*, the result was, that he and his colleagues were deputed to wait on the House. He then began with the first Congress—their first meeting to appease the disorders occasioned by oppressive acts of Parliament. Their humble *petition* and *declaration of rights*, which was approved of by all America, particularly by this House, which adopted in great part the very words—but the Congress petition was rejected, and *Britain prepared for war;* she had been taught *to believe we were a rope of sand, and would not fight.* To divide us, the Resolution of 20th February was sent, but which Congress rejected—Pennsylvania rejected—and this House, *to their honour, in a most manly manner, in their excellent address to their Governor, rejected.* In the spring, General Gage sent a detachment to Lexington, which, *without cause*, put to death some Americans, but in the end were *forced to retreat shamefully.*

"When the new Congress met, a general ferment was raised through the Colonies, and an *universal union;—Had the Congress then drawn the sword, and thrown away the scabbard, all lovers of liberty, all honest and virtuous men, would have applauded them;* but they again *humbly petitioned*—sent it by the *Hon. Mr. Penn* —(which he would not have the House believe was rejected because no answer was [redacted] answer was ever given to petitions unless received on the throne— nduct of Parliament and administration would be the only answer— it was received, and some proposals, or an Act of Parliament, would

be the consequence.) He then went on—*But it was necessary to convince Britain that we would fight, and were not a rope of sand—therefore an army was formed, &c.—Expedition against Canada—Success attended us every where—The savages who were to be let loose to murder our women and children, were our friends—The Canadians fought in our cause—and Canada, from whence armies were to overrun us, is conquered in as few months as it took Britain years—We have nothing to fear but from Europe*, 3000 *miles distant—But a country so united cannot be conquered.*

"*The eyes of all Europe are upon us—Until this controversy, the strength and importance of this country were not known—The nations of Europe look with jealous eyes on the struggle—Britain has natural enemies—France and Spain—Should we be unsuccessful in the next campaign, France will not sit still, and suffer Britain to conquer*:—he then bragged of our success and courage—said nothing would bring Britain to terms but *unity and bravery*—That all Britain wanted was to procure *separate petitions*, which *we should avoid*—It would break our *Union*—We *would become a rope of sand*—He repeated, as if to frighten, that neither *mercy nor justice was to be expected from Britain.* He again complimented the House on their *former petition*, and *noble answer to the Governor*, in their address on the resolution of the 20th of February, and entreated us not to petition, but rest on our *former petition*, and that of *United America.*

"He spoke more than half an hour.

"Mr. Jay said we had nothing to expect from the *mercy or justice of Britain*—That *petitions were now not the means—Vigour and unanimity the only means*—That the *petition of United America*, presented by Congress, ought to be relied on—others unnecessary—and hoped the House would not think otherwise.

"He spoke about twelve minutes.

"Mr. Wythe spoke about eight minutes, to the same purpose."

The result of this conference has been shown already. The Assembly immediately complied with the Resolution of Congress, and unanimously refused to proceed any further with the petition. It is believed that these interesting facts are now published for the first time. The Journals of Congress do not give any information on the subject, except an entry of the appointment of the committee. But why the committee was appointed, and what they did, does not appear, nor is there any thing on the face of the Journal that affords the slightest explanation.

This, it must be admitted, was an occurrence of no ordinary importance in the history of New Jersey, and yet in the history of that state by T. F. Gordon, to which we have adverted, *it is not even noticed.* The only information the author of that work gives of all the proceedings of the Assembly, during the entire session, except what is found in some extracts he has made from the Governor's Speech of November 16—from his Message of November 21—and from the addresses of the House in answer to them, is contained in the following brief passage: "Several petitions were presented from the freeholders of Burlington county, praying the House to enter into such resolves as might discourage an independency on Great Britain. The petitioners were summoned before the House, and stated, that they had been induced to address it, 'from reports that some affected independency'—whereupon it was resolved, that reports of independency, in the apprehension of the House, are groundless. That it be recommended to the delegates of the colony, to use their utmost endea-

vours for obtaining a redress of grievances, and for restoring the union between the Colonies and Great Britain, upon constitutional principles; and that the said delegates be directed not to give their assent, but utterly to reject any propositions, if such should be made, that may separate this colony from the mother country, or change the form of government thereof."*

Attention is now called to the pamphlet placed at the head of this article. It may be regarded among the most important ever laid before Congress, and, in a literary point of view, the most interesting, in many respects, that could be presented to the American public. It emanated originally from the Department of State, and constitutes one of the documents (No. 36) printed by the House of Representatives, during the second session of the twenty-third Congress. We object, however, *in limine*, to the title of the pamphlet, viz. the "Documentary History of the Revolution." The great collection of documents which that title is intended to describe, is not a completed history, symmetrical in all its parts—an edifice already reared; but, only the materials of which such a structure is to be composed—the timber for its construction—the mortar and the stone.

It opens with a letter from the present secretary of state, Mr. Forsyth, on the subject of the contract entered into by Edward Livingston, Esq., late secretary of state, with Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, for the collection and publication of the "Documentary History of the Revolution." As this letter, or rather special report, which had been called for by Congress, though placed first, is not so in the order of time, we will recur, for the sake of regularity, to a preceding step, which is another letter from Mr. Forsyth to Messrs. Clarke and Force, dated the 29th of August, 1834, calling on them for full and particular information upon certain points connected with the great work which they had undertaken, to wit—

1st point. The nature and character of the materials of which the work was to be composed, discriminating between those already secured, and those expected to be obtained.

2d point. The progress made in the work, in the collection and arrangement of the documents intended to be included in it.

3d point. The number of volumes which will be required to complete it, and the time when the whole will be ready for delivery.

4th point. An estimate of the money which it may be necessary to appropriate for the fulfilment of the contract.

From the reply to these interrogatories, it is that the letter, or report of the secretary, is framed, and from the same the reader is to form his idea of the vast magazine of historical papers, which

* See Hist. of New Jersey, by Thomas F. Gordon, p. 176.

is about to be rescued from oblivion, and perpetuated under the sanction of Congress.

It will not be necessary to recite the contract, as an affair in which the public are not supposed to take a lively interest; it is sufficient that Mr. Livingston, then secretary, was authorized by Act of Congress, and that articles of agreement were entered into, accordingly, in March 1833, between the proper parties, by which articles Messrs. Clarke and Force were to prepare and publish 1500 copies of the "Documentary History," according to a plan laid down in their memorial on the subject to Congress, and its accompanying documents, upon which the act had been passed. The contract, indeed, was subsequently overhauled in Congress—condemned by certain persons as improvident, and the contracting parties handled with a severity which we cannot think they merited. To speculate upon the motives which influenced the discussion would be needless—the contract remained as it was, and we feel assured, that, had it even been renewed, under circumstances more favourable to the individuals concerned, there is no liberal minded person, aware of the magnitude and nature of the project, and of the character of the two gentlemen by whom it was to be executed, who would have felt any regret at beholding the patronage of the nation taking such a direction.

The first point on which information was requested, contained two inquiries; first, generally, the nature and character of the materials of which the work was to be composed; and second, a specification of the materials already secured, and those expected to be obtained. As the best way to answer the first inquiry on the first point, Messrs. Clarke and Force refer to their memorial and documents laid before Congress in December, 1831. This memorial opens by a representation of an interesting historical fact, bearing on the subject, which is, that as early as 1778, Mr. Hazard had presented to Congress one of a similar nature, summoning their attention to a "Collection of American State Papers," which it was proposed to publish at that early period. The application, which is now quoted, was followed by approbatory resolutions, which need not be recited, and it was further resolved to grant Mr. Hazard a sum of money to aid him in the accomplishment of the plan.

"Philadelphia, July 11th, 1778.

"Sir:—Viewing Congress as the friends of science, as well as the guardians of our liberties, I flatter myself there can be no impropriety in soliciting their patronage and assistance for a collection of American state papers, which, from its evident utility, I am confident they will not think unworthy of either.

"The design of it is to furnish materials for a good history of the United States, which may now be very well done; for so rapid has been our political progress, that we can easily recur to the first step taken on the continent, and clearly point out our different advances from persecution to comparative liberty, and from thence to independent empire. In this particular we have the advantage of every nation upon earth; and gratitude to Heaven, and to our virtuous fathers, justice to ourselves,

and a becoming regard to posterity, strongly urge us to an improvement of it, before time and accident deprive us of the means.

"The undertaking will appear, at first view, to be too great for an unassisted individual; and experience has convinced me, that although several years' incessant application has produced an important collection, yet so numerous are the materials, and so much dispersed, that a whole life would be insufficient to complete it in the way in which I have hitherto been obliged to proceed. I now propose to visit each state for that purpose, and must request of Congress a certificate of their approbation of my design, should they approve of it, and a recommendation to the several governors and presidents, to grant me free access to the records of their respective states, and permission to extract from them such parts as may fall within the limits of my plan, &c. &c.

"EBEN. HAZARD.

"The Hon. Henry Laurens, Esq."

Of this collection, two volumes only were published by Mr. Hazard; but it is observed, that not a single document relating "to the rise and progress of the present war with Great Britain," according to the recommendation of the committee to the governors, &c., was included. Indeed, the collection does not come within half a century of the period in question. Upon Mr. Hazard's appointment to the office of Post Master General, he abandoned an undertaking, which has not since been completed, and it was with a view to the accomplishment of his plan, extended by that part of the resolution which authorized the collection of papers relative to the "rise and progress of the present war with Great Britain," that Messrs. Clarke and Force presented themselves to Congress, partially prepared, as they said, to undertake the completion of this interesting and laborious collection. That this had not been done by Congress long ago, must excite surprise, when we reflect upon its "magnitude, importance, and nationality;" and that without it, the history of the Revolution can not be given in fulness and perfection. Even the Journals of Congress, it is observed, within the momentous period embraced between 1774 and 1789, are necessarily meagre, from the absence of the corresponding documents.

But it must not be inferred from what has been said, that this important subject had been entirely forgotten. In 1781 it had attracted the attention of the legislature of Pennsylvania, and a volume had even been published in the following year.* And within the last few years especially, the subject has been agitated by several of the States in regard to themselves, and in some cases the matter has been urged upon Congress. In illustration of this, we give a portion of an interesting report by Mr. Everett, on the subject of procuring from the public offices in England, copies of documents relative to the history of America.

* Journals of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, from November 28, 1776, to October 2, 1781, with the proceedings of the Committees and Conventions before and at the commencement of the American Revolution.—Folio.

"The Committee on the Library of the House of Representatives, who were instructed, by a resolution of the House of the 14th of December last, (1826,) to inquire into the expediency of adopting measures to procure from the different public offices in England, copies of such papers and documents as may be of value in relation to the history of the country, have had that subject under consideration, and beg leave to report as follows:—

"That the United States of America, in general, and the several States that compose the Union, enjoy an advantage possessed by no people of the ancient world; that their entire political duration falls within the period of authentic history. Whatever advantageous influence on national character, or gratifying effect on national feeling, can result from authentic details of the discovery, the first settlement, and early progress of our beloved country, may consequently be realized by us in a higher degree than by any other community, excepting those on the American continent similarly situated in this respect with ourselves. The only circumstance which diminishes and qualifies this advantage, is the fact, that the most important sources of our early history are deposited in the archives of foreign governments, over which, of course, the United States have no control. Most of the documents illustrating the early history of nearly all the United States, are deposited in the various public offices at London; and it has long been the wish of such of our citizens as have devoted themselves to the study of the early history of the country, that measures might be adopted, to procure from those offices, by permission of the British government, copies of documents so interesting to the American people.

"In one or two cases, on special application, this has already been done. Lists of documents relative to the early history of North Carolina and Georgia, have been procured from the public offices in London; and permission has lately been given, by the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London, to take copies of any documents contained in an ample list of papers relative to the history of Georgia. The subject has excited considerable interest in different parts of the country. The Governor of Georgia has made it the subject of a special message to the legislature of that State. The Governor of New York, in a late message, has alluded to it as a matter of interest and importance. The Assembly and Senate of Rhode Island have adopted resolutions requesting that provision be made by Congress to effect the object; and the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the American Antiquarian Society, have taken measures to bring it under the consideration of Congress."

Portions of some of the interesting proceedings alluded to in the part of the foregoing report of Mr. Everett which we have quoted, are to be found in the pamphlet before us, but the space they would occupy will not admit of their insertion here. One document only, on account of its superior value and fulness, we think it important to transcribe. It is the Memorial of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.

"To the Honourable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:—

"The memorial of the undersigned, a Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, respectfully represents—

"That, for thirty-five years past, the Massachusetts Historical Society has been assiduously engaged in the collection and preservation of scattered and decaying manuscript and printed materials, tending to elucidate the history of our country, and especially of New England, as most within our opportunity of acquirement; that ample testimony of the activity of this Society is borne by the printed volumes, twenty-one in number, of which the expense has been almost entirely defrayed by its members; that these voluntary labours are still continued with the design of perpetuating, as far as possible, the apparatus and muniments necessary for our future historians; that these labours are frequently interrupted, as must be known to all others similarly engaged, by the failure, occasionally, of some single fact, breaking the continuity of their chain of induction or narrative, and discouraging the most patient efforts; that this failure is the consequence of a deficiency of documents,

which on our side of the ocean it is impossible to supply, and of which no supply can probably be obtained without the intervention of the National Government.

"To obtain this intervention, without which the complete history of our country can never be written, this Society has judged it proper to address this memorial, sincerely believing that the subject deserves the consideration of the Representatives of the Union, considered either in relation to the importance of such a history, or in relation to the exhilarating sentiment which every individual feels, on reflection, that our country will boast what so few others can, that its history, from the earliest discovery, and feeblest settlement, is equally free from the uncertainty of tradition, and the degradation of fable; or in relation to the principle of national honour, which might be mortified by a taunting remark, that when the other governments have liberally contributed from their treasures to the means of preserving the integrity of their annals, our own has made no attempt to obtain the chief documentary evidence of its history, even at the trifling expense of transcribing it from fair records in foreign countries.

"Believing that the present peaceful state of the world, and the liberal spirit of encouraging all improvement, by which the government of Great Britain appears to be actuated, make this a period propitious for obtaining their object, the members of this Society respectfully ask leave to invite the attention of Congress to the following facts, in way of example, which, though for brevity, applying principally to New England, are, in no small degree, applicable to most of the other states.

"In consequence of our colonial dependence, nearly all the documents relative to trade, both import and export, to manufactures, population, and statistics generally, to many interesting laws and projects of laws, a negative on which was, in most cases, reserved to the king in council, with all correspondence, official or private, by which the administration of our affairs was regulated in England, are lodged in the office of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

"As the celebrated Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, one of the founders of the Royal Society of London, under whose patronage, it was designed by his coadjutors, until prevented by the king's command, to have translated themselves, in part, to America, resided in New England the larger portion of his life, and was a principal contributor to several of its early volumes of transactions, and was requested, among other things, to furnish a history of the country, which his father had begun, especially of its native inhabitants, its minerals, vegetables, and animals, it is highly probable that not a few interesting memoirs regarding the early affairs of the country, must be deposited in the archives of that honourable Society.

"We may be assured, from the regular employment of ships of war to carry into effect the navigation and revenue laws, and for the protection of trade against piracy, and still more, from the frequent junction of royal and provincial troops and vessels in expeditions against the Indians, against the French, in Nova Scotia and Canada, and against the same nation, or the Spaniards, in the West Indies, that many valuable materials would reward the search among files of the army and navy board.

"Though most of the petitions and other papers of a general public nature, relating to our country, addressed to the king or either house of parliament, were printed in the mother country or here, yet the evidence or collateral arguments adverse to, or in support of such measures, and especially those statements of facts, used as the basis of the navigation laws, that regulated and controlled the whole productive industry of the colonies, must chiefly be looked for in the files of the House of Commons.

"From the course of proceedings in many most important legal questions, appealed from tribunals here to the king in council, particularly those relative to boundaries and rights under land patents, an examination of bureaux originally connected with the Privy Council Chamber, becomes highly desirable.

"To remarks which will naturally suggest themselves to your honourable body, from the above enumeration, which might easily be far extended, by reference to many sources of information of a more private kind, as records of patentees, and proprietors, and archives of colonial agents, your memorialists are confident, to add any arguments to exhibit or enforce the importance of their application, would seem either disrespectful or unnecessary.

"It is considered that the government of Great Britain will readily accord permission to have most of the documents which may be desirable to us, and easily

found in the places designated, copied at the expense of the United States. Any objections that might have formerly arisen from the delicacy required in giving to the world papers involving the character and conduct of actors distinguished on one side or the other, in the factions, changes, or troubles of the time of Charles I., of the Commonwealth, of Charles II., of James II., and of William and Mary, have obviously ceased. The publication by Birch of the admirable collection called Thurloe's State Papers, and by many other persons, of innumerable essays on the public and private characters of the most prominent men of those periods, of which many have been countenanced by patrons of literature among the most eminent statesmen of Great Britain, indisputably prove that the time has arrived when its government and people can dispassionately view the actions of ancestors, and willingly submit their correct and erroneous opinions, their virtues, and their faults, to the impartial judgment of history. Well may these remarks, in the opinion of your memorialists, be applied to the transactions in which our country is in any degree singly concerned, for the whole period of its existence to the peace of 1763.

"Subsequently to that important epoch, a regard to private feelings and private interests may, perhaps, cause the government of Great Britain to object to an indiscriminate examination of papers in its public offices, as premature, at least, if not inexpedient, and the people of our country may well hesitate to urge it. Yet it is confidently believed that all documents strictly considered public, and perhaps many even private ones, after the erasure of a name, relating to our country, or any part of it, of a date prior to the dissolution of our connexion with the mother country, may, on proper application, be placed within the reach of a responsible agent of our national government.

"Your memorialists, therefore, with a view to attain an object so important to the nation, respectfully request that application be made to the Government of Great Britain, in such way as may seem most likely to effect its purpose, for permission to make the examination in the foregoing pages alluded to, and any others of similar character that may be thought advisable and interesting to the great community of good letters, under such restrictions, cautions, and general control, as to that government may seem expedient; and that if such application be successful, and such permission be granted, a competent agent be authorized by our own government to designate such papers as should be copied, and to forward transcripts of them to such place of deposite as may by Congress be directed, there to be preserved, for the use of the citizens of these United States.—All of which is respectfully submitted by

"John Davis,
James Savage,
James Bowdoin,
"*Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*"

We have not been able to state fully all that has been done in our country towards the accomplishment of this great end; but enough has been presented to evince that its importance has been duly, though tardily appreciated, and it is gratifying to know that we are at last likely to escape from the reproach of being behind almost all civilized governments in this regard. It is stated that Russia alone, of all the great nations of Europe, is yet without any collection of the sources of its national history, to fill up which chasm in its literature, however, the emperor has lately ordered the publication of a complete collection of all the historical documents extant, from the earliest ages to the present time.*

But to return to the pamphlet. In order to show more specifically their object, and to develop still further their views, a letter was addressed to Mr. Livingston by Messrs. Clarke & Force, on

* See Miscellaneous Literary Notices—Foreign Quarterly Review, for March, 1835—No. xxix. p. 122.

the 18th of July, 1831, in which they state that their "documentary history" would embrace a collection of the resolves, addresses, memorials, remonstrances, and other proceedings of the people, the assemblies and other local authorities of the colonies, relative to the encroachment of the British government on their rights and privileges, with the correspondence and proceedings of the royal government. Also, the public papers of the Congress, and of the different states, and of the officers and agents of both—and lastly, the proceedings of the Congress and States, &c., in matters relating to the confederation, up to the adoption of our present constitution, and organization of the present government. But the grand division of their work "into several distinct periods designated by certain great events," is as follows—1st, the origin of the several colonies, their charters, bills of rights, &c., and the public papers previous to, and their condition in 1763—2d, from 1763 to the Congress of 1765, at New York—3d, from 1765 to the Congress of 1774, at Philadelphia—4th, from 1774 to the Declaration of Independence—5th, from 1776 to 1783—and 6th, from the peace to 1789, the organization of our present federal government.

Of these documents, such as were prior to 1774, were to be got from "various sources," such as government records, individual publications, and papers owned by private persons. Those from 1774 to 1776, as has been said, were to be supplied, in part, from the Department of State; and those from 1776 to 1779, were also accessible, and many of them in the same department—access to all the necessary materials therein, having been granted as a matter of course.

From a review of the foregoing alone, it will be readily conceded that Messrs. Clarke & Force bound themselves to do far more than Mr. Hazard, in further proof of which they call attention to two items, in which, time and circumstances give them an immense advantage over their meritorious precursor. The items are, first—that their work is to contain all the important papers of the Continental Congress, embracing not only "the rise and progress of the war with Great Britain," where Mr. Hazard must from necessity have stopped; but also the termination of it, and the whole of their proceedings from 1783 to 1789. Second—that at the former period the public archives of Great Britain were entirely out of reach, while at the present they entertain a hope that they will be permitted to take copies of the necessary papers.

It is proper to remark here, in regard to a work of such magnitude, for the execution of which the aid of Congress had been invoked, as indispensable, that Messrs. Clarke & Force, themselves, proposed the creation of a tribunal of inspection, to which the materials of each volume might be submitted. Such a tribunal would have served as a salutary check, calculated at least to satisfy the country upon the charge of book-making; but it was

omitted, and they have had cause to deplore the omission, as its existence would not only have afforded them a shelter from animadversion, but also, "would have stamped additional authenticity and importance on the book both at home and abroad."

The second inquiry on the first point—a "specification of the materials already secured, and those expected to be obtained;" and the second point of inquiry in Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 29th August, viz., "the progress made in the work, in the collection and arrangement of the documents intended to be included in it," are properly embraced in the same reply, a portion of which will now be quoted.

"Since the passage of the act, ten out of the "Old Thirteen States," have been visited, and the other three are now undergoing examination.

"In Georgia, a thorough examination has been made, not only of the state records and papers, but also of the collection of Joseph Y. Bevan, deceased; all of the latter have been copied for us, and the whole collection from the former is already copied, or designated for copying.

"In New Hampshire, the whole archives have been examined, and the papers collected have been entirely copied: the papers of the Historical Society, and Portsmouth Athenæum have been selected and copied, including a large and interesting collection of Sullivan's Letters.

"In South Carolina, the public offices at Charleston were examined, and at Columbia we ceased to work, to give time to recover, if possible, the legislative records from 1776 to 1782, which are missing.

"In North Carolina, we examined a great deal of the material, and had some copying done. Part of her records are lost, especially the proceedings in 1765, connected with the Stamp Act. We know where they are in England, and shall procure them.

"In Virginia, we examined enough to know that her whole legislative history, prior to 1776, is lost, and can only be partially supplied by her 'statutes at large,' and the British offices.

"In all the other states visited, we ascertained the state of the records and papers, and shall know the condition of all, before you make your report.

"In the Department of State, we may venture to say, we have handled every paper connected with the Continental Congress, and the accompanying list* will show the material copied, amounting to more than 30,000 pages.

"The amount copied in Georgia, New Hampshire, and elsewhere, we think will add about 20,000 more.

"The papers connected with the proceedings from 1774 to 1776, which we have sent for to England, as is known to the secretary, may amount to 5,000, and if to this we add the material collected from old periodicals, &c., &c., the whole might reach 60,000 manuscript pages. This, however, by no means comprehends the whole material 'already secured.'

"The unpublished collection of Dr. Belknap, late of Massachusetts; the papers of General Hazard of Pennsylvania; of Trumbull of Connecticut; of Davie of North Carolina; and many others, have been placed at our disposal for selection and copying.

"In truth, Sir, every state and public institution, which we have visited, has, through the governors, or other public officers, thrown open their archives, rejoicing to know that the United States had begun a work which none of them could individually do. Thus we may venture to say, that nothing is wanting but the time to collect and have the copying done.

"Those papers, therefore, 'expected to be obtained,' strictly speaking, are the material in England, France, Holland, Spain, Cuba, and Canada. We know the disposition manifested by England and France, and have no doubt access will be

* This list occupies several pages.

granted by the others, and permission to make copies of whatever may be deemed necessary.

"We come now to the inquiry as to the progress made in the arrangement.

"As we shall print the whole chronologically, the secretary will at once perceive that whatever is collected wants only the simple operation of comparison with what has already been done, putting it into proper place, and then all is ready for publication.

"We have now material enough for several volumes, but frequently there is a hiatus which requires much time and labour to supply—truly 'hic labor, hoc opus est.'

"Our task would have been an easy one, if we had contented ourselves with printing the material just as we find it; but, pledged, as we are, to the government, no pains nor expense have been or shall be spared to make the collection complete.

"We shall in a very short time, begin to print the first volume of the fourth series, and deliver it early in the next session of Congress."

The third point inquired about by Mr. Forsyth, regards the number of volumes, and the time when they will be ready for delivery. It is proposed by Messrs. Clarke & Force to limit the publication to twenty volumes, and they offer to leave it to Congress then to decide whether, if any papers should remain, they may be permitted to proceed beyond that limit. As a rough guess, ten years have been suggested as the time which may be required to bring them to a close.

The fourth point is, "an estimate of the money which it may be necessary to appropriate for the fulfilment of the contract." The number of copies has been limited to 1500—the number of pages in each volume, though not limited, is estimated by Messrs. Clarke & Force at 800—at which rate, by calculation, each volume will cost the government about $ 20,400, which, multiplied by the number of volumes suggested, will make the entire cost $ 408,000.

If objection be made to the magnitude of this sum, let it be considered that the task is one of gigantic size, demanding the labour of years, and exposing the publishers to incredible difficulties and enormous expense. If a comparison of the cost of the work in question, be instituted with that of other publications for the United States, of less extent, labour, and value, the liberality of the government, in this instance, which would seem at once to demand and justify the largest patronage, will be found to have been meted out with a sparing hand.

Besides the four points of inquiry, over which we have gone, Mr. Forsyth's letter concluded by asking for an "additional communication upon the second point, (the progress made in the work in the collection and arrangement, &c.) on the 1st December following." This "communication," which is dated on the 22d December last, as containing the latest information given by the pamphlet, and not confined entirely within the limits of Mr. Forsyth's inquiry, will be quoted at full length. It will doubtless be read with great satisfaction. The opinion of the learned Judge Griffith of New Jersey, cited in the communication, and having so strong

a bearing upon the subject, is entitled to great weight, and though it does not determine the capacity and integrity of the editors of the present work, yet it affords invincible testimony to the importance of commencing such a work even though it might possibly be begun under disadvantageous circumstances.

"Washington, December 22, 1834.

"Sir:—In compliance with a suggestion made in your letter of the 29th of August last, we have the honour to submit an additional report concerning the Documentary History of the American Revolution.

"Of the third and fourth points mentioned in that letter, we have nothing now to add to what is stated in our communication to you of October 10, 1834. Our observations will therefore be confined to the first point, which relates to the nature and character of the materials of which the work is to be composed; and to the second point, which relates to the progress made in the work.

"We intended that our memorial to Congress, and the papers which accompanied it, should describe with sufficient clearness the nature and character of the materials for the work. They are of the same nature and character of those embraced by the plan for a collection of American state papers, submitted by Mr. Hazard to Congress, and approved of by that body, in 1778.

"Of this collection, Mr. Hazard informs Congress that 'the design of it is to furnish materials for a good history of the United States, which may now be very well done; for so rapid has been our political progress, that we can easily recur to the first step taken on the Continent, and clearly point out our different advances from persecution to comparative liberty, and from thence to independent empire. In this particular we have the advantage of every nation upon earth; and gratitude to Heaven, and to our virtuous fathers, justice to ourselves, and a becoming regard to posterity, strongly urge us to an improvement of it before time and accident deprive us of the means.'

"The Committee, to whom the letter of Mr. Hazard was referred, reported on the 20th of July:—

"'That, they have had the same under consideration, and having conversed with Mr. Hazard on the subject, are of opinion that Mr. Hazard's undertaking is laudable, and deserves the public patronage and encouragement, as being productive of public utility. Whereupon it was

"'*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the several governors, presidents, and executive powers of the several states in this Union, to assist Mr. Hazard, and give facility to his labours, in making a collection of the various papers relative to the origin and progress of the several European settlements in North America, and such as relate to the rise and progress of the present war with Great Britain; that, for this purpose, he be admitted to an inspection of public records, and be furnished, without expense, with copies of such papers as he may judge will conduce to the valuable end he hath in view; that he be also recommended to such private gentlemen as may have collected any materials of the kinds above mentioned, to assist Mr. Hazard in his laudable undertaking.'

"The plan of this proposed collection of American state papers, which received the particular sanction of Richard Henry Lee, William Duer, and Samuel Adams, as a committee, and the approbation of the whole Congress on their report, we have adopted, and extended so as to embrace the time from the war of the Revolution to the adoption of the federal constitution.

"In our letter of July 18, 1831, to your predecessor, Mr. Livingston, we indicated six periods of time into which the history proposed to be illustrated by our work, appeared to be divided. The fourth of these periods embraced the interval between the year 1774 and the declaration of independence. As the materials which we have obtained or engaged, referring to this period, are more complete than those applicable to any other, our publication will commence with it. The paper herewith submitted, marked A,* and entitled 'An outline of the fourth series of the Documen-

* See Pamphlet, pp. 41, 42.

tary History of the American Revolution,' exhibits the plan of that series under eleven specifications of its general contents. It will be observed that these contents are of three descriptions, viz.—

"1st. Proceedings and debates of the British Parliament, and papers before it, concerning American affairs, during three sessions.

"2d. Proceedings and papers of the American Congress in 1774, 1775, and 1776.

"3d. Proceedings of the Colonies in assemblies, congresses, conventions, and commitees, in 1774, 1775, and 1776.

"The paper marked B,* is a list of papers laid before Parliament at the three sessions named in the outline, on which papers the laws then passed, affecting the colonies, were founded. These documents illustrate the first of the three descriptions of materials just enumerated, to be contained in the fourth series.

"The paper marked C,† is a list of the papers laid before the Continental Congress in 1774, 1775, and 1776; they illustrate the second description of materials.

"In regard to the third description of materials, no list is sent, because an enumeration of their titles would occupy too much room; and it is believed that the general description will sufficiently inform you of their nature.

"In corroboration of the views taken by your predecessor, Mr. Livingston, of the national importance of our enterprise, we take leave to cite the authority of another distinguished citizen, the late Judge Griffith, of New Jersey, who appears, from evidence with which we have only recently become acquainted, to have deeply considered the subject. In the preface to his Historical Notes to our Revolutionary History, of which he lived only to see a fragment printed, and no portion published, the learned Judge holds the following language:—

"'We have yet, I conceive, no *complete* history of the Revolution; a history in the form of *annals* and *documentary evidence* at *large*, commencing from the peace of Paris in 1763, and ending with the peace of Paris in 1783.

"'An account of this period, comprising its written evidences, legislative, executive, and diplomatic, private and public, on both sides of the Atlantic, precedent to hostilities in 1775; the progress and events of the war to its termination, and the conduct and characters of those men, on all sides, who figured as actors in this great drama, would be a most interesting work. The matters which should compose it do not rest on tradition, but may (to the proceedings even of a town meeting or corporation, as well as the acts of a minister, congress, or general,) be traced to public offices and undoubted writings, and be delineated with the exactness of a judicial record. Yet we have no *such* history; and he who would attain a just and comprehensive knowledge of the affairs of this twenty years, (by far the most important in their consequences, as fixing principles of government, and promoting civil liberty over the world, which ever filled an equal space,) will fall infinitely short of his object by resorting to any or all the professed histories now extant; they are very deficient in that fulness and certainty of authentic documents and authority, which alone can satisfy one who seeks for truth, and would draw his own conclusions from the original evidence.

"'The historical essays of this period are defective in order, connexion, and dependence of leading measures and events. They are much too scanty; and this defect is not supplied by correct and ample references to the sources from which they are made up.

"'True history is not to be erected upon private assertions, opinions, and surmises, however respectable, or in a representation of individual acts and events. The accounts of armaments, invasions, sieges, battles, and hazards of war, and their results—these are consequential, and wholly subordinate, though proper in their place and connexion.

"'The rational mind inquires for the actual *causes* of revolution, of war, or political changes; and the particular and successive ways and means, of whatever kind, employed by states, or agents concerned, to effect their purposes; these rest on evidence, and it is that which constitutes all true and useful history.

"'There could be no undertaking more worthy of the labours of a vigorous, impartial, and enlightened mind, than that of collecting and embodying these evidences in their due order and connexion; handing down to posterity, in their original and

* See Pamphlet, occupying thirty pages. † *Ibid.* occupying twenty-six pages.

unmutilated forms, a series of documentary annals, whether parliamentary, legislative, diplomatic, epistolary, or popular; followed by an account of the respective measures and events which grew out of the original elements and causes of strife.

"'This would, doubtless, be a voluminous compilation; but the period embraced is that which stands more immediately connected with the great cause of human liberty, and discussion of the rights of man in society, as a distinct subject of controversy, than any other. Previous to this, the principles of free government, and the inherent right of the people to take care of their own interests and happiness, by their own reason and authority, had only been touched upon in theories little known, or scattered and mixed up with many alloys and heterogeneous ingredients, in the history and legal constitutions of England. Wars and revolutions before were only trials of physical strength, to acquire dominion, or maintain it, over men, as mere *subjects* of government, not as partakers in its rightful and beneficent execution; wars springing from personal ambition or vengeance, waged to resent an insult, to propagate religious creeds by the sword, or enforce pretensions founded in avarice and a spirit of monopoly.

"'The principles on which the American contest was sustained, and their elucidations, involved exclusively the nature and extent of civil liberty, the right of self-government in the people, and the assertion that power was held from them and for them, to be executed as a trust, and revocable at their pleasure. An exhibition of these principles and elucidations, with the motives and conduct of the statesmen and patriots who maintained them, the successful efforts in the establishment of free forms of republican government, reduced to written certainty, and executed with perfect order, efficiency, and justice, under authorities delegated by the people (*all which such a work must unfold,*) would be an invaluable legacy to mankind; more especially, since near half a century of experiment, under many disadvantages, has realized every prediction which the most sanguine theorists ever indulged in favour of republican government.'

"The prosecution of our work has, at every step, furnished proof confirming the opinions of Judge Griffith, and in no particular more conspicuously than in showing the importance of documentary history in correcting the errors, and supplying the omissions of our popular histories. From this charge not one of them which it has been our fortune to examine in an extended range of inquiry is exempt. Were it a proper occasion, we could furnish, with this communication, a multitude of instances in illustration of this position.

"In relation to the second inquiry, as to the progress made in collecting materials for the work, we have to state that, since our letter of the 10th of October last, we have procured part of the following, and will have the whole as soon as copies can be made of them:—

"The proceedings and papers of the Provincial Congresses of Massachusetts.

"The proceedings and papers of the Provincial Congresses, Conventions, and Committees of Safety, of New York.

"Correspondence of the Committee of fifty of New York, in 1774.

"Proceedings of the Conventions, and letters of the Committees of Safety, of Maryland.

"Proceedings of the Provincial Congresses of South Carolina.

"Governor Trumbull's letters and papers, in 1774, 1775, and 1776.

"Correspondence of Lord Stirling, during the same period.

"Letters of John Hancock (while President of Congress,) from September 15, 1775, to the 27th October, 1777.

"We have also examined several valuable collections of manuscripts, preparatory to a selection of the papers.

"And we have accepted the offer made by a gentleman in London, who had them for sale, of all the papers of Governor Bernard, comprising his own letter books, with copies of his private and public correspondence, while Governor of New Jersey, from 1758 to 1760; while Governor of Massachusetts Bay, from 1760 to 1769; and when in England, in 1770 to 1771; together with his original commissions and instructions, public and private, and letters to him from the ministers, Board of Trade, &c., &c.; and the letter books of Governor Tryon of North Carolina, from 1764 to 1771; with minutes of the proceedings of Council, and copies of the governor's

speeches, proclamations, &c., &c. These we expect to receive as soon as they can be transmitted.

"We have not yet been able to examine the papers of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, but will do so as soon as possible. This communication has been delayed for some time, in the expectation that the examination of the papers of these states would have been accomplished in part, before it was necessary to make it.

"In closing this report, we would call your attention to one fact, as an evidence of the wisdom of Congress, in authorizing the collection and publication of these documents. Notwithstanding the care that has been taken of the papers of the revolution, many, and some of them of the highest importance, are not to be found. The records and correspondence of the Treasury and of the Board of War, have probably been lost by fires; and one book only remains of all the papers and correspondence of the Marine Committees, and the two Navy Boards. These losses, besides others in regard to papers belonging to particular states, have all occurred many years since the date of Mr. Hazard's letter of July 11, 1778, in which he impressively urges the preparation of a Documentary History of the United States 'before time and accident should deprive us of the means.' To the extent of such losses has the nation been deprived of materials necessary for its history, except in the comparatively few instances in which duplicates of the destroyed papers exist. Our proposed publication furnishes adequate provision against the effect of similar casualties that may unfortunately happen hereafter, in destroying the sources of authentic information on the events of our revolutionary era.

"We have the honour, &c., &c.

"MATTHEW ST. CLAIR CLARKE,
PETER FORCE.

"Hon. John Forsyth, Secretary of State."

The foregoing report, and several other passages from the pamphlet which have been cited, supersede the necessity of many remarks which naturally arise from a consideration of the subject before us; but it will gratify the reader, and confirm the favourable anticipations which may have been formed, to learn what has been the opinion of some of our most distinguished citizens, by whom the plan of the Documentary History of the Revolution has been examined. Mr. John Quincy Adams, in a letter to Mr. Clarke, dated 18th August, 1831, says—

"I should hope that octavo is the form upon which you will fix, with Mr. Force, for the collection of what once were called the prior documents, and for those contained in the Remembrancer, with others of the same character, down to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The men of the present age are under a sacred obligation, both to that which has passed, and to that which is to come, to preserve the recorded virtues of their forefathers, for the instruction and emulation of their posterity; nor shall they be unremembered who assume upon themselves to perform this duty for their contemporaries. Receive, with Mr. Force, my thanks for engaging in the enterprise, and my best wishes that you may both live to witness its accomplishment, and to be duly rewarded for it."

Mr. Taney, late secretary of the treasury, and Mr. Cass, the present secretary of war, expressed by letter, in April 1833, their approbation. The latter said—

"Such a compilation is an object interesting to our country, and if executed, as I have no doubt it will be, with judgment and fidelity, will be a valuable repository—a repository which no other nation possesses, containing the most authentic materials for history, from the earliest period of our settlement, and exhibiting the whole course of our governments, colonial, state, and federal, together with those contemporaneous opinions, statements, and expositions, which are so necessary to a full comprehension of the subject, and which yet, in other countries, so seldom meet

the public eye. Unless these are soon collected, and placed in safety by the imperishable power of the press, they will be irretrievably lost, and with them will be lost the true knowledge of many of the most eventful scenes of our history. These documents are now buried in the public archives, or dispersed among various individuals through the country. Their compilation will render them serviceable to all, and no one can be indifferent to the success of a work which promises so many lessons of wisdom, derived from the experience of the past, and to be applied to the objects of the future."

But the letter of Mr. Livingston, which is still more satisfactory—invested, too, with the peculiar charm belonging to every thing which emanates from his pen, it would be improper to withhold. It will be one, among many sources of pleasure, to that distinguished individual, on his return to his native country from an irksome mission, the conduct of which has crowned him with fresh laurels, to find that his country owes to his zeal in the cause of science, the present forwardness of this great national work, which he so strenuously urged, and stamped with such emphatic sanction. As a jurist, as a philosopher, as a statesman, and as a man, our virtuous and accomplished fellow-citizen occupies an exalted eminence before the world; and did his already advanced age permit us to indulge the aspiration that his days might be prolonged for such a consummation, we might point to him as the person, fitted in an uncommon manner, by rare endowments, ample range of knowledge and experience, eloquence of the first order, and fulness of political wisdom, to rear from these very materials, to the collection of which he has contributed so largely, a monument, alike to his own fame, and to his country's glory.—

> "Quod non imber edax, aut aquilo impotens
> Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
> Annorum series, et fuga temporum."

With this letter of Mr. Livingston, written while he was secretary of state, and dated the 9th of April, 1833, we will close.

"Gentlemen—When I first heard of your intention to publish the Documentary History of the United States, I was deeply impressed with its importance. A better acquaintance with your plan, and more mature reflection on its utility, enable me now to add, that I think it a most useful work for establishing the history of our country on its true basis. Already the fugitive documents relating to our colonial state, and to the interesting struggle for our independence, begin to disappear. The most careless observer must have remarked, how soon papers in the hands of every one, while the important events to which they relate are recent—how soon they are concealed from the public eye, and with what difficulty, after the lapse of only a few years, they can be discovered. And even documents, which from their nature seem to promise a more durable existence, scarcely form an exception. Carelessness and conflagrations, loss by frequent removals, and natural decay, all concur to prevent the archives of the country from being a source to which the historian can apply for authentic information, with any certain hope of success. The want of a general place of deposite for historical documents, and the strange refusal of Congress to provide the means of arranging and indexing those which exist in the archives of the State Department, add to the difficulty, and enhance the value of your undertaking.

"Although much has been lost, there is no doubt that there still are among the records of the Atlantic States, and in the hands of individuals, most precious mate-

rials for the history of the country, and the biography of its most distinguished citizens, which, unless collected now, may be irretrievably lost.

"The press is the only means of making them imperishable. Once embodied in a work like that which you contemplate, they will be dispersed among so many private libraries and public institutions, as to bid defiance to accident. The magazine of facts will forever be accessible, and the means of acquiring a true knowledge of the origin, nature, and operations of our government, will be open to our posterity, at the remote period to which all our hopes and prayers carry its existence.

"It is not only to the gratification of the pride or curiosity of our posterity (laudable as they are) that your collection is to minister. It will serve a higher purpose. Fifty years have not yet elapsed since the formation of our National Government, and already the great principles on which it was founded are forgotten, or misrepresented, or unknown. Facts are distorted to suit party purposes, and an honest intelligent people are deceived, because the means of correcting error are not within their reach. But place in their hands documentary evidence of what we were in our colonial state; of the union by which we achieved our independence; of the defect of that system; of the means by which the admirable structure of our constitution was raised. Let them read, not in the distorted, turgid language of party writers of the present day, but in the lucid arguments of the sages who deliberated on the formation, the adoption, and the first movements of the government; let them draw from that source fact and truth, and sound argument, and they can never be made the instruments of political parties, or designing demagogues.

"Go on, then, Gentlemen, with your important work; hasten its publication: every volume that appears will destroy some error, or establish some political truth.

"You greatly overrate the value of, or necessity for, my recommendation. No State will refuse to you the examination of its records, and there are few individuals who will not gladly communicate to you such family papers as show the part their ancestors acted in the past times which your work is intended to illustrate."

ART. VI.—*Documents accompanying the Message of the President of the United States.—Report of the Secretary at War.—Report of the Secretary of the Navy.* Washington: 1834.

IT is a familiar adage, "in time of peace prepare for war." Sound though it be, and universally as it appears to be admitted, it seems to have produced but little practical effect on the policy of our government. For a few years, indeed, subsequent to the conclusion of the last war with England, the losses and disasters of its commencement, and the disgrace incurred by the entrance of a hostile force into the very seat of our government, were not without their influence; but in the absence of any pressing danger, the recollection of misfortunes gradually wore away, or was covered by that of brilliant exploits. There are, therefore, many of our present population who associate their ideas of the late war only with the glories of New Orleans, or the laurels of our navy, and know nothing of the disgraceful capitulation of Detroit, the boot expedition down the St. Lawrence, or the more fatal dis- the flower of the youth of the western states, fell be- of the savage. It is now, as in 1811, confidently

asked, dare any European nation land a man upon our continent? And if we make no preparations to render it dangerous to do so, we fear that the answer might, in case of a new war, be written in the ashes of our smaller maritime towns, or in the pillage of the larger.

The navy is the only arm of our national defence, which has received a due degree of attention; but the appropriations for this, so far from being increased as our means of making them have accumulated, have been reduced as our debts have been paid off, and our income swelled. The navy too, has been neglected in one of its most important collateral departments, and with the exception of a few fortresses, which are still unfinished, or if finished, unarmed, no other important part of our national defensive system has received the slightest degree of attention.

These truths will certainly be unpalatable, but the recent probability of a war with one of the most powerful nations of Europe, makes the present a time when they can be urged with more force than they could have been for twenty years past, and when they will be least offensive to our national pride. The politicians who have for some years had most influence in our councils, seem to have considered the Union as framed for no other purpose than to provide offices of emolument for the greedy partisan, or of honour for the ambitious.

The general government has indeed been made subservient to such ignoble aims, but far other was the intention of its founders: to make it strong and united against external attack; to enable it to protect its commerce and render its flag respected; and even, if necessary, to forestall aggression by an attack upon its enemies, were not among the least prominent of the objects proposed by the framers of our constitution. For these purposes, they delegated the powers either directly, or as of obvious implication, of raising a standing army; of embodying and regulating the militia; of building and equipping a navy; of constructing and maintaining fortresses. And, when the direct representatives of the people, in the lower house of our national legislature, and those of the state sovereignties in that most august of councils, the American senate, have sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, should they, by false views of economy, maim or cripple any of these essential means of defence, they are, however venial the offence may appear at the moment, false to their oaths, and traitors to their country; for he who, in the administration of the constitution, forgets one of its essential objects, or seeks to mar it, in order to acquire a short lived popularity, is unfaithful to his engagements; and he by whose act our frontiers are left without defence, is not less guilty than he who opens the gates of a fortress to an enemy.

Our army has by various reductions been brought down to seven battalions of infantry, a corps of engineers, and a corps of artillery;

to this small force has recently been added a regiment of cavalry, but as this was raised for a temporary purpose, it may cease to exist when that purpose is answered. The command of these rests with one major-general, and two brigadiers. In the organization of the peace establishment, no provision seems to have been made for the increase of the force beyond this small number of battalions, for which alone are officers and non-commissioned officers provided; and thus should it become necessary or expedient to increase our army, either the present battalions must be broken up to form the nuclei of a force of wholly different organization, an operation attended with labour, expense, and difficulty; or the great mass of the new army must be formed wholly of new levies, in which neither officers, non-commissioned officers, nor soldiers, will have had any experience in their profession. The experience of those nations in Europe, who have carried on successful wars, has pointed out a wholly different system. In them, the number of regiments, of subaltern and non-commissioned officers, is the same both in time of war and of peace, but they admit of the incorporation with them of new soldiers, by which the number of efficient battalions can be augmented according to circumstances. These nations rarely employ levies wholly new, except in the form of irregular troops, or of a militia applicable solely to internal defence. England alone, protected from sudden aggression, by her insular situation and powerful navy, ventures to reform whole regiments, but the greater part of the reduction, even there, is effected by disbanding all the battalions save one of each regiment, so that there remain a staff, an organization, and officers whose return to service is secured, by half pay, by which the effective force may be tripled in its number of battalions, and more than quadrupled in men, at a short warning.

We should therefore hold that it is fixed by universal assent, that an army, whether small or great, should be in time of peace so formed as to be efficient both for sudden emergencies, and as a school of practice; while it should have the capacity of expanding, in case of war, by the mere addition of recruits, to the most complete form of which the elements that compose it are susceptible.

The present army of the United States, has the general officers necessary to command a single division. The infantry is divided into seven regiments, each composed of a single battalion, and so organized as to constitute in time of war an efficient force of 7,000 men, or seven full battalions in the triple order; and which, by detaching the light companies, might be increased to about ten battalions, each of which would have a complement of field officers nearly sufficient for three battalions. The non-commissioned officers, who are in fact the essential means of organization, are inferior in number to those allowed in any European service to the

same force; and the extension of the army to the war establishment, would be attended with great difficulty on this account, even if the number of battalions remains the same.

Before pointing out the changes which would render this extension more ready, and enable even less than the present force to contain the elements of an army of twenty-one battalions, it will be necessary to inquire into the principles of organization, which the long and bloody wars carried on in Europe, have proved to be the only ones that can govern the formation of a military force.

A division, in conformity with the practice which experience has consecrated, is composed of two brigades; each brigade may be formed of from four to eight battalions, but is most usually fixed at six. Each battalion is commanded by an officer corresponding in rank with our major, except in the English service, where it is led by a lieutenant colonel. Three or four battalions, as the case may be, form a demi-brigade or regiment, which has a colonel and lieutenant colonel. The major of the continental nations of Europe is a staff officer, having the same functions in the regiment that the adjutant has in the battalion, and forms an useful gradation of duty, unknown to our service and to the English. Such, then, should be our form of general and regimental staff, as would adapt it to this organization, and it would not differ materially from that which is now adopted.

A battalion is the unit in which the force of infantry is calculated. If its front extends to three hundred files, it becomes unsteady, and unwieldy; if less than two hundred, it is feeble and inefficient. The war establishment of a battalion, then, need not exceed the former limit, nor must the peace establishment fall short of the last. But the regiment, which in time of war should have at least three battalions, may in time of peace consist of no more than one. The usual order of formation of troops of the line in European armies, is three in depth. The English and ourselves limit the depth to two, but in actual war, as the files cannot be kept full, the triple order ought to be the basis of the formation of troops of the line, so that a battalion may want a third of its complement, without losing its extent of front and actual efficiency. In time of actual war, at least, this proportion might be fairly expected to be absent from their colours, as invalids, or recruits unfit to take a place in the ranks. Light troops are in all cases formed two-deep.

The platoon is the unit of regimental strength, as the battalion is that of the army; of these a battalion may contain six, eight, or ten; if the former number, the front of each in a full battalion becomes too large; if the latter, the manœuvres are unnecessarily complicated. Eight platoons are therefore the most convenient number, although six need not be rejected, when occasion may require it.

Upon these principles, our regiment, on the full war establishment, composed of two battalions of the line, and one of light infantry, each platoon being composed of thirty-two files, would be constituted as follows,—

16 platoons line	ag. 96, - - -	1536
8 do.	light ag. 64, - - -	512
		2048

On the ordinary war establishment, it should contain three battalions of 512 each, or 1536 men. On both these footings, all the non-commissioned officers, except one orderly to each platoon, would be included in the estimate, and the only further addition would be the drum and fife, which would together, add 72 to the numerical account, or make the regiment, exclusive of officers, 2120 men. For police, discipline, and inspection, the battalion is divided into companies, which may or may not correspond with the number of platoons: we should propose to make the number of these, in each regiment, twelve, and hence each in time of war would make two platoons. In time of peace, the regiment might be formed into two battalions each of six platoons, each platoon being a company, and reduced to the minimum, would be

12 platoons ag. 64 each, - - - 768

Or the officers of four companies might be placed on half pay, and the regiment formed in a single battalion, as follows—

8 platoons ag. 46 each, - - - 368

The seven regiments now in the service of the United States, would, therefore, upon the last footing, contain 2576 non-commissioned officers and privates, to which must be added 252 orderly sergeants and musicians, making in all 2828 men. As they at present contain upwards of 4000 men, there would be a reduction of numbers that would fairly warrant the organization of an eighth regiment, which would carry the half pay peace establishment of infantry to 3332 men. This would still be a reduction in numbers that would allow of the additions in officers and non-commissioned officers, necessary to give the regiments the power of expanding themselves, by the simple addition of raw recruits, to the full and effective establishment of war. These additions consist in two companies besides the ten of which each regiment is now composed, in giving four officers to each company in lieu of three, and in nearly doubling the number of non-commissioned officers now attached to each company, by making them thirteen instead of seven. The last change would not increase the numbers, but only the pay of a part of them, and thus ensure the enlistment of men of good character. The organization on the war establishment would demand no more than the addition of two officers to each company, of the lowest rank, and the promotion of eight soldiers the rank of non-commissioned officers.

To recapitulate: the efficient force of the several forms of which an army thus constituted is susceptible, would be as follows:

The half pay peace establishment—8 regiments ag. 368 each,	2924
The full pay peace establishment—8 regiments (16 battalions,) ag. 768 each,	6144
Ordinary war establishment—8 regiments (24 battalions,) ag. 1536,	12288
Full war establishment—8 regiments (24 battalions,) ag. 2048,	16384

As there could be no doubt that intelligent young men would at once present themselves to fill the stations of officers required upon the war establishment, no other difficulty need be apprehended, in bringing a force thus organized, to the degree of efficiency required in war, except in obtaining privates. This last, and perhaps most important want, is not, however, insuperable. Our government, by offering bounties in lands to those who enlist for the whole term of a war, has never found any difficulty in obtaining recruits, except when interfered with by a demand for substitutes in militia draughts. This obstacle must, therefore, be removed, if the certainty of acquiring an efficient regular force is to be attained.

No fear need be entertained, that if the men could be obtained, the discipline of an army, increased at once to thrice the number of battalions of which it now consists, might be such as to make them capable of manœuvring in a few weeks like veterans, provided it were attained by the methods we have mentioned. That a battalion on the peace establishment is capable of serving as the nucleus of three on the full war footing, was proved in the most convincing manner in the wars of the French revolution. At the breaking out of this convulsion, the whole military system of that nation was disorganized, the most efficient part of the troops, the royal household, disbanded, and a greater part of the veteran officers had become emigrants. In this state the country was invaded by the united force of its five great neighbours. Its population rose almost *en masse* to resist, and, as will be the case with all new levies, only served to increase confusion, and add to the loss of life. At this period of despondency, it occurred to Carnot to abolish at once the ancient regiments, and incorporate with each of their battalions a sufficient number of recruits to enable it to be divided into three new battalions, among which the veteran soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the ancient peace establishment were equally distributed. The residue of the volunteers were sent to their homes as useless.

Although this new organization was made under the most unfavourable circumstances, in the very presence of active enemies, it was, notwithstanding, successful. The French armies in a short time were able to venture from under the guns of the fortresses beneath which they had taken refuge, and resume offensive operations. In a few months, the Austrian rule was forever abolished in Belgium, and the barrier fortresses fell; the princes of the house of Orange were forced to take refuge in foreign lands; the British armies driven to their ships; the successor of the great Frederick caused to sue for peace; the revolt of the South checked, and the great naval arsenal of Toulon recovered; the second branch of the Bourbons compelled not only to forget the wrongs and sufferings of the head of the family, but to lend its aid to the cause of his slayers. Such results were derived almost wholly from the organization directed by Carnot from his cabinet in Paris, and are hardly less brilliant than those which the armies thus formed, effected when directed by the greatest captain the world perhaps ever saw.

It is not possible to cite any example more instructive. The new levies of France, so long as they acted in bodies distinct from the trained soldiers, although animated by the most powerful excitement, were worse than inefficient. After that excitement had abated, they at once assumed all the characters of the best troops, by being incorporated in the proportion of more than three to one, with old soldiers.

The consideration of the militia force, and of the means of giving it efficiency, without obstructing the recruiting service of the regular army, comes next to be considered. Nor is it of secondary importance, when we have regard only to its own influence upon the defence of our country.

It has been the opinion of officers who have seen service in all parts of the globe, that the mass of the people of the United States furnishes the finest material for a military force, which exists in any part of the world. Yet, as our militia is at present constituted, it has been reasonably doubted whether its employment upon emergencies has been productive of most good or evil to the military character of our country. The same description of force, which fled at North Point without seeing an enemy; which broke at Bladensburgh upon the first fire; which refused to cross at Queenstown to complete a victory already gained; manned the weak lines at New Orleans, from which a superior regular force retired completely beaten; and foiled at Plattsburgh, the veterans of the Peninsular wars. It is therefore certain that no reliance can be placed upon the effects a militia force, as at present organized, will produce; for by circumstances not to be predicted, it may either achieve victory, or ensure defeat. This must always be the case, so long as citizens are called on sudden emergencies from

their homes, to act as soldiers, and are retained no longer in service than is sufficient to give them a distaste for the profession of arms, without instilling either habits of discipline, or a knowledge of military evolutions. In addition, the demoralizing influence of a succession of calls, which may reach a whole population, is not to be disregarded; for if the moral character of the debased may be raised by the influence of military honour, and curbed by the regularity of military discipline, it is no less true, that a partial acquaintance with the profession of arms, incapacitates for steady civil industry.

The calls for the militia then, should be of such a nature, that the subject of them must know, that his civil occupations are to be at an end, at any rate, for a term of years, and that his own comforts will be promoted by his acquiring a knowledge of his new business, and at the same time abstaining from the vices which have sometimes been considered the reproach of the life of a camp, but which have never failed to influence a draughted militia.

It is to a militia force alone, drawn from all classes of citizens indiscriminately, and officered by the authority of the states, although acting under the call of the general government, that the defence of the country can be safely intrusted. Two wars have witnessed at their close, regular armies dismissed, in the one case without pay, and in the other almost with disgrace, and it is not in the nature of things that such events can be repeated without danger. It is calculating too much upon human virtue, to hope that on any future occasion, a large, and perhaps successful regular army, shall not be at the beck of its commander, to do whatever he may dictate; nor can it be hoped that if in preponderating force, they will assent to be disbanded, when the purpose for which they were raised is fulfilled. It is far otherwise with a militia force. However powerfully they may be attached to their standards by patriotism or discipline, a return to their firesides will be a reward instead of a punishment, and the news of a peace will be hailed by such a force with joy, when to regulars it will convey the unwelcome intelligence of their occupation being gone.

That the patriotism of the people of the United States will induce them to bear the fatigues and dangers of military service without a murmur, was fully proved during the late war, in which no small portion of the population was actually called into service. But it is no more than just to such a population, that such a service should be rendered as little onerous as possible, by confining it to the least number of individuals. This can only be done by deciding upon an organization in time of peace, by which the persons to be called upon in case of war, shall be pointed out, and the manner of designating them, and fixing the order of rotation, rendered precise and definite.

The largest call yet made upon the militia, was for 100,000 men, and this may be safely taken as the maximum that can ever be demanded in any future war. In fact the means of concentration at any given point, by the improved modes of conveyance, are so much greater than they formerly were, that a much less force would be needed than was necessary on former occasions. A force of this amount ought to be at once called for by law, although in a time of profound peace, by draughts from militia of all classes and ages, as at present organized; it might be formed into 102 battalions of infantry, organized into 17 brigades. Each battalion should be composed of eight companies or platoons of 32 files, and would make with officers, 800 men. To the 17 brigades should be attached 34 companies of artillery, and as many squadrons of cavalry. The force at first drawn, should be divided according to their ages, into six classes, one of which should be discharged annually. The place of this class, and of all vacancies by death or removal, should be supplied by annual draughts from all citizens between the ages of 20 and 26. The draughts thus constituted, should be assembled in the largest bodies that the nature of the population would admit of, as many times in the year as the militia of the several states is now usually called out, but separate from those not designated by lot, and under the command of the officers designated from the general body for the purpose. For non-attendance at such parades, no other penalty than a pecuniary fine should be imposed. An option should, however, be left to the several states to substitute in whole or in part for draughts from the militia, volunteer corps having a term of service of six years, provided they be officered, and organized in conformity with the war establishment of the United States; say, in battalions of eight platoons, each of thirty-two files, but with the privilege that no more than two-thirds of the number, making a formation of two in depth, should be required to be present except when called into active service and put upon pay. The laws of the several states give privileges to volunteer corps enrolled for a term shorter than that of the usual military liability, and who equip and arm themselves, which would ensure the creation of an efficient force of this sort, if put under some one general regulation. But such general and uniform regulation is necessary, if we wish to do away the ridicule which is beginning to attach itself to our citizen soldiers. This ridicule, we are sorry to say, is not unmerited, and it cannot be denied that those who have seen service in our trained bands, are far less fitted to make good troops than if they had never donned an uniform. All this reproach may, however, be done away, by making the volunteer battalions permanent, discharging and receiving equal numbers annually, and conferring the privileges due to voluntary service, only upon those who perform it in a corps designated by the state government, in

lieu of a draughted militia, as ready to be called at any moment into the general service. To the sense of pride which our volunteers have exhibited, however mis-directed on most occasions, may be safely committed the care of providing instruction in manœuvres and tactics. It is otherwise with those called out by draught. To give these a chance of being speedily rendered efficient, when embodied for service, their non-commissioned officers, to the number of fifty-six to each battalion, ought to be kept in pay, and in constant service. These would form a company, which should be commanded by the adjutant of the battalion, who should also be in constant service, and by three other officers of the battalion serving in monthly rotation. In this way a school of military knowledge would be formed for each portion of the militia, by which a knowledge of the duties both of soldier and officer, would be communicated. The expense of such an arrangement would indeed nearly equal that of our present military force, but as it would ensure the action of a well appointed army of 100,000 men upon any emergency, it would be more than defrayed for whole years, by the saving which would ensue in a few weeks of war. It would, moreover, furnish a mode of distributing surplus revenues among the states, to which no pretended or actual constitutional objection could apply.

In case of any alarm of war, the whole or any required part of the battalions, might be at once embodied and called into service; first the men whose term of service had not extended to four years, and in case of invasion, the whole. A call of this sort to the extent of twenty-four battalions, would at once set free the whole of the regular force, from the duty of garrisons, and to this the militia battalions ought of course to be devoted until time had been afforded to mature their discipline.

If, upon a call for the active service of the militia, substitutes were to be accepted, not, however, to enter into the militia, but to be embodied in the regular army, and to serve for the war, a large accession would be at once made to the regular force; and as the demand for substitutes in the militia, and for recruits, would no longer conflict with each other, the filling up of the regular army to the war establishment, might be almost ensured by calling the draughted militia into service. The pay, too, of the forced levies of militia, ought not to equal that of the enlisted army, and thus there would be many who would prefer to pass from the militia ranks to those of the standing force.

For an illustration of this part of our subject, we may refer to the histories of the war of the revolution, and of the more recent contest with England. In both of these, it became necessary to embody large draughts from the militia; the consequence was, that the demand for substitutes almost wholly impeded the regular recruiting service, or enhanced the bounties on enlistment to a bur-

thensome extent; and finally, the supply of the regular force depended almost wholly upon those persons who, draughted themselves into the embodied militia, could not be accepted as substitutes, but preferred to take the bounty for joining the regular army, to serving without it. It would be impolitic not to accept substitutes, as those who obtain exemption in this way are generally of habits of life which would make them but poor soldiers; and it is still more impolitic to admit such substitutes into the embodied militia itself, and thus cut off the source whence the regular army might be supplied.

The artillery of the peace establishment must not be limited to that which would be needed to form a portion of the regular army, but ought to be so organized as to furnish all the field battalions which may be needed, in case both the regular army be put on the war establishment, and the draughted militia called into service. These united will make twenty-two brigades, or eleven divisions. Each of the former, when in the field, should have a battery of foot artillery, and each of the latter one of horse artillery. As, however, garrison duty will be performed by at least a part of the army, the latter need not exceed eight, while to allow for the duties of ordnance and garrisons, the foot artillery ought to be carried to the extent of thirty-two companies, each fitted for serving a battery of six pieces when upon the war establishment. As each piece requires eight matrosses, the peace establishment may be the same as that of the infantry, say forty-eight men to each company, with six supernumerary sergeants; and if called into service before an increase, two companies might be united, one doing the duty of drivers: on the war establishment, drivers and additional soldiers should be added to each company, and increase its force to ninety-six on the ordinary war establishment, and to 144 on the footing of actual service. Each battery will require four officers, and the train two. On the peace establishment, three to each company will therefore suffice; but as good artillery officers cannot be supplied at pleasure, an equal number should be upon half pay, and do duty in rotation.

Our present artillery force is composed of four regiments, each of ten companies, and therefore only differs from the establishment we propose, in having no horse artillery. As this last is the species of force which requires more careful training than any other, it ought not to be neglected. It may be formed at once by detaching from each of the present regiments two of its companies, and uniting them into a separate regiment.

Cavalry has as yet formed but a small portion of any American army, and has usually been omitted in a peace establishment. It is true, that light troops of this description, and in particular, a formidable force of mounted riflemen, can be readily collected in the western and southern states. But these cannot be relied upon

to charge regular infantry, which can only be done by heavy cavalry. The last named species of force requires much training both of man and horse, before it can become efficient; but when trained, no force would have a greater influence in repelling or preventing invasion. Indeed it may be safely asserted, that a single squadron of good heavy cavalry, might have frustrated the attack upon Washington. It is therefore unwise in the extreme to neglect this species of force; and our peace establishment ought to provide for a regiment of horse, organized, as respects men and officers, like a regiment of infantry, and therefore forming four squadrons in time of peace, capable of being expanded into twelve in case of war. For mounting such a description of force, Pennsylvania furnishes an admirable breed of horses.

We have felt loath to limit our views of a cavalry force, on the peace establishment, to so low a number, yet we fear it would be useless to contend for more. To be efficient in case of a war, one squadron at least of heavy cavalry should take the field with each brigade of infantry, leaving light troops of the former sort to be supplied when the need of them arose. To provide for such a contingency, four regiments at least ought to be organized as a part of the peace establishment. One will, however, serve as a model and school of practice, and with this we must be content. The remaining branches of our military force, are the two corps of military and topographical engineers. The former has a good and efficient organization, and would probably, so soon as all the requisite fortresses are completed, be sufficient for a war establishment. Nor can it be lessened in peace, as the requisite knowledge can only be acquired by study in early life, and actual service in more mature years.

The topographical corps presents a singular anomaly, growing out of its accidental constitution. In the late war the necessity of the case led to the attachment for topographical duties, to each division of the army, of two staff officers, having the relative ranks of major and captain; these were sometimes taken from the line of the army as temporary appointments, and sometimes drawn from civil life. At the close of the war, such of them as were retained in service, were united in a corps, which had no superior officers, and no subalterns. In this state it has continued ever since. Thus the rawest graduate of West Point, who may select this service, becomes at once a captain, and loses at the same time all chance of further promotion than a single step.

It is almost to be doubted whether this corps ought to be considered as military or not. This doubt has also been expressed in respect to engineers of the other class, and in some European services they cannot command. It cannot, however, be doubted, that the attack and defence of fortresses may be best committed to those whose profession it is to plan and build them. But our ex-

perience leads us a step further, and it is capable of proof, that an engineer officer may make a most valuable general; for it is well understood that the two most brilliant movements of the late war, the sortie of Erie, and the attack on the British battery at Chippeway, were suggested by M'Rea and Wood of the engineers, the latter of whom fell in carrying, at the head of a column of infantry, the operation his genius had suggested, into successful execution.

It is otherwise with the topographical corps, for however much the *coup d'œil* may be improved in the duties of this branch of the service, an entire devotion to it must impair the military character, by removing the most important of all military responsibilities, that of the command and treatment of soldiers. We, therefore, cannot help thinking that this service ought to be organized as a detachment, and not as a separate corps; should be made up in part of the infantry and artillery officers, who might otherwise be, according to our previous views, on half pay; to these might be added, with their own consent, officers from the navy, who might have a taste for hydrographical pursuits. The whole might be divided into brigades, having the gradation of their respective ranks in the line of their proper service; but should be directed, not by a superior officer, but by a bureau or commission, that might with more convenience be attached to any other department than that of the army or navy. Such duties would derive their reward from the full pay which they would earn, but ought not to be admitted as tours of service entitling to promotion. With such an organization, and with a provision for the employment of civilians, the survey of our coast, which has been so strangely delayed, and whose completion is essential to our defence, might be speedily accomplished.

To furnish our army with well educated officers, our government has wisely provided a military school. This was for many years a prime favourite with all parties and all administrations, but has now been subjected to attacks which threaten its very existence. We are of that class which thinks that the scientific merits of this school have been much overrated, and that the whole principle of its organization is defective; but we are also among those who think that such an establishment is absolutely necessary to the efficiency and respectability of our army. We have, therefore, refrained from saying any thing which might injure it in public opinion; nor should we now speak, did we not believe that to point out the errors which we have noticed, and their appropriate remedies, will be the surest means of saving it from ruin.

Influenced by a desire to preserve absolute equality among the cadets, some of whom might not be in circumstances to support themselves, it has been made imperative upon all to receive pay. In this way an expense to the government of upwards of $60,000

per annum has been incurred. So far from this having produced a good effect, it has excluded from the school all those of such high and honourable feelings as would spurn at receiving public bounty; and instead of drawing to the army those very spirits in whom its glory might consist, it has excluded many of the sons of respectable and wealthy families, with the exception of those who had become uncontroulable by paternal discipline. The obvious and essential requisite for admission, was to place one's self on the footing of a claimant for eleemosynary assistance. Under such circumstances, the wonder only is, not that the graduates bear so small a proportion to the number admitted, but that so many are entitled to its honours, and are deserving of the highest encomiums as soldiers, scholars, and gentlemen. Habit has in some measure blunted the sense of shame, which becoming a dependant on public bounty, naturally occasions; but this feeling has unquestionably restricted the numbers of proper persons whence candidates might have been selected, and has in general thrown the choice upon a class inferior in elementary education, and therefore less qualified to derive advantage from the courses of the institution.

The military schools of Europe are on a totally different basis. The celebrated institution of Stutgard, to which we owe at least one of our best officers, has been rather a source of emolument than an object of expense to the Duke of Wirtemberg. The Polytechnic school, established at a time when the theory and practice of equality in France was carried further than they have yet been among us, requires, as a preliminary to the examination of a candidate, that the tuition fee and board for a term, shall be deposited in advance. It does not, however, exclude those who are unable to bear the expense of their education, provided their parents have claims on the gratitude of the country; but the children of both the civil and military servants of the state, may present their claims, the most available of which is poverty, and if the claim be just, their expenses are refunded to them. But this claim, and its admission, are addressed to another department than that with which the school is connected, and thus the person in office in the school, the scholars who bear their own expenses, and frequently the objects of the bounty themselves, are wholly ignorant of the persons who are on the footing of charity scholars.

In our country, where economy is to be particularly studied, where patronage ought to be diminished as far as practicable, and where in most cases the salaries of office are sufficient to cause them to be sought for by competent abilities, there is no necessity for any eleemosynary provision, except in the particular case of the orphan children of those who have lost their lives in the public service, and left their families destitute. At the present epoch,

the number of persons thus entitled, is too small to make it expedient to admit any cadets but those who bear their own expenses.

The next error we would note, is the actual falsehood which is conveyed in the published requisites for admission. By these, a person having the very lowest elementary acquirements in arithmetic and the vernacular tongue, may enter the school. Yet the cadet is forthwith put upon a course of study, which demands a high degree of mental cultivation. The order of merit in the school, therefore, depends in a much greater degree upon the knowledge that is possessed before admission, than upon the labour which is devoted to study afterwards. It may indeed be true, that honour, or even safety from dismission, cannot be attained without application; but it is no less true, that if no more knowledge be possessed before entrance, than the strict letter of the regulations require, months of excessive labour may be encountered, with the certainty of dismissal for incapacity to proceed, at the end. Such being the state of things, the school, which might annually send forth sixty graduates, rarely numbers more than twenty, and full three-fourths of every class are dismissed, either for failure in requisite knowledge, or for breach of discipline. Such dismissals fall, as a matter of course, upon those districts of country where the means of education are most defective, and therefore upon the great and growing new states of the west. Every dismissal creates new enemies to the institution, until finally these states seem ready to vote in a body against the appropriations for the support of the school.

The government, not content with giving a free education to the cadets of the military academy, ensures those who complete their course successfully, commissions in the army, whether vacancies exist or not, and this to the exclusion of all other persons; thus saying that those who have received an education at the public expense, shall have the monopoly of all military employment. In time of peace, when the demand for officers is small, it becomes an imperative duty in the authorities of the school, that no persons but those of the best talents and attainments, shall be thus presented for commissions. Moderate abilities, even when accompanied by industry, and particularly when the previous attainments have been low, are thus, without any moral defect, excluded from the honours of the institution. In this manner the number of dismissals is enhanced, and the amount of unpopularity increased.

These difficulties have been still further augmented of late years, by unwise interference with the discipline from head quarters. Unruly boys, who have rendered themselves obnoxious to discipline, and who are of an age when they might thank their fathers that they were placed beyond the reach of the ferula of the schoolmaster, have been allowed a solemn trial before a court,

such as the highest officers of the army would alone have had a right to. As the certainty of punishment is thus rendered remote, and the very act of accusation raises the culprit to a condition of importance, while the authorities of the school are placed in the position of complainants, when they ought to be judges, it cannot be doubted, that the frequency of those breaches of discipline which call for punishment must be much increased.

We conceive that the utility of the school might be much enhanced, and all the objections against it removed, were the appropriations for the pay of the cadets gradually withdrawn, so that none hereafter admitted should receive compensation; and if, at the same time, additional emoluments should be granted to such of the existing professorships as may fall vacant, and new professorships established, of such value as to command the highest talent and learning for the civil departments of study. The requisites for admission should be declared to be such as will ensure that improvement of the mind which is absolutely necessary for progress in the studies of the academy, and ought therefore to comprise a thorough knowledge of one foreign language, either ancient or modern, in addition to the elementary mathematics and acquaintance with the grammar of English, which are now alone demanded. The commissions which actually become vacant, would be a sufficient stimulus to exertion; to these the cadets ought to be admitted on examination by the officers of the corps they seek to enter, in which persons not proceeding from the military academy should be permitted to concur. The education of the military academy, particularly if extended somewhat further in the experimental sciences, is so well adapted to prepare for many lucrative professions, that it cannot be doubted that it would be eagerly sought, without any other inducements, and by persons capable of bearing their own expenses; the distribution of those thus receiving a military education throughout the several states, where they would naturally seek and obtain commissions in the militia draughts, would be of more value in preparation for war, than if they all found room in the regular army.

Our suggestions, then, in respect to the army, are few and simple, although we have been compelled to illustrate them at some length. To recapitulate them, they consist: in such an organization of eight regiments of infantry upon the peace establishment, as will be capable of expansion, by the addition of recruits and a few subaltern officers, to a force of twenty-four effective battalions; of an artillery force adapted to furnish field batteries of horse and foot artillery, not only to the brigades of the regular army, but to the embodied militia; of militia draughts selected by lot for six years service, and replaced annually by sixths from those between the ages of twenty and twenty-six years, graduated to the largest demand for a military force which experience has

yet shown to be necessary, with a permanent corps of non-commissioned officers, and ready to be embodied at a moment's warning; of a system of substitutes for those who may wish to avoid personal service, by which the regular force may be filled, or its recruiting service not embarrassed; of the present engineers, and a detachment for topographical duties from the other arms; of a model regiment of cavalry; and finally, of a military school exempt from the double reproach of dependance on public bounty, and unnecessary severity, and purged of its present exclusive character.

In respect to the material and personal of the navy, we have little to say. National pride and wise policy have rendered a naval force a favourite part of our defensive system, and the gradual increase which has been made in its number of vessels, has been effected with great judgment. Those classes of vessels, namely, ships of the line, frigates, and corvettes, which could not be supplied on a sudden emergency, have been provided, and the method now followed, of keeping them upon the stocks, ensures them against the rapid decay to which vessels in ordinary are so subject. The armament of these vessels has also been provided *pari passu*, but we believe no provision has been made for their sails, masts and yards, rigging, and other articles of equipment. These ought also to be procured, and completed; they should then be laid up in storehouses, those of each vessel separately; by such an arrangement, our whole navy, if placed in positions where the necessary labour could be procured, might be equipped for sea in the course of a few weeks.

As to the personal, the officers have, by the act of the late session, gained all that they desired, with the exception of the rank of admirals. To this there appears to be a radical objection, from the fact that our post-captains stand in a higher relative rank than that to which they are entitled by the practice of other services, from the command of a single ship; were the rank of commodore admitted as that of actual commission, and not of mere accidental command, bearing the same dignity with that of brigadier in the army, and all other post-captains made to rank with colonels, the difficulty might be obviated, and a new rank, corresponding to that of major-general in the army, might be obtained without difficulty. But so long as post-captains of a few years standing rank with brigadiers, it would be impossible to form the two necessary additional gradations of command, without raising the higher of the two beyond any grade that has ever been conferred in our army, except in the single case of Washington himself.

Our standard of relative rank has been borrowed from the English service, and does not correspond with the military system of our own country. In that service, brigadiers in the army, like commodores in the navy, are officers whose rank is derived from

the contingencies of duty, and major-generals, who rank with rear-admirals, are usually called to command brigades; the command of divisions is given to lieutenant-generals, who rank with vice-admirals. A similar relation in our army, would make a vice-admiral rank with a major-general, and a rear-admiral with brigadiers.

The gradation of rank in our navy appears to be incomplete, the lowest commissioned officer being a lieutenant, who ranks with a major in the army. It seems essential that the first-lieutenant of a large ship should have higher rank and emoluments than his subordinates, and that there should be even a third gradation. We therefore cannot but consider it expedient, that a new rank, of second-lieutenant, should be established, and that the persons now ranked as passed midshipmen should be made commissioned officers. The only objection we have ever heard alleged to a distinction in rank and emolument among naval lieutenants, is that they all mess together; but, as in the land services of all countries, regimental officers, from colonels to junior lieutenants, do the same, we cannot think this objection valid. With these two new ranks, without increasing the number of superior officers, a large accession might be made to the numbers of our naval officers, and thus the certainty of providing commanders of experience, for the largest force we can ever set afloat, ensured.

But one description of vessels of a class that could not be supplied at a short notice, has been neglected in our plans for the increase of the navy; this is the steam ship. Such is the improvement which has taken place in this mode of conveyance, that well informed persons have not been wanting, who imagine, that in any future naval war, vessels moved by steam will exercise a paramount influence on its results. The United States led the way in the construction of steam frigates, and have kept in advance of all other countries in the construction of steam vessels for the navigation of rivers and lakes. The time seems now to have arrived, when the structure of steam ships of war may again be undertaken, with the certainty of avoiding the mistakes inseparable to the infancy of an art; and it is probably only by this arm, that the deep inlets and bays which open an access to the very vitals of our country, can be rendered inaccessible to an enemy powerful at sea.

The part of our naval arm which has not received the proper degree of attention, is the improvement, with the proper location, of our dock yards. No one can have visited them, without being sensible how unworthy they are of a nation having the first naval reputation, and the capacity of wielding the second maritime force. This, perhaps, is fortunate, as it will diminish the difficulty of changing their position, which, so far as the most important are concerned, is injudicious and exposed. Our principal dock

yards, as decided by the position of dry docks, are those of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and Portsmouth, in Virginia. To these, a dry dock in the harbour of New York is now to be added. This last is a most judicious addition, as New York must, from its preponderating trade, be the best recruiting station, and furnish the largest adventitious aid of builders, riggers, and other workmen, being in fact the essential port of departure of all our larger ships, wherever they may have been equipped or built. But it is to be hoped that this dry dock may not be built in the present navy yard at Brooklyn. That city, which forms so important a part of the commercial metropolis, is situated on Long Island, and no obstacle exists, or can well be created, to prevent a small army being thrown on shore, either from the sound or from the sea, which could reach the navy yard in a few hours, and complete its destruction before any force could be collected to oppose it. Charlestown, Massachusetts, is almost as much exposed, but derives protection from the greater facility with which the militia of a populous country could be arrayed; but Portsmouth is far more accessible than either, for by creeks communicating with Lynhaven Bay, men-of-war's boats could be pushed within a short distance of the navy yard, and a landing might be effected under the protection of the guns of shipping, from that bay, within a few miles. The position of Charlestown is, however, susceptible of an easy defence, and ought to be covered, on the land side, by a work capable of withstanding a siege; those of Brooklyn and Portsmouth, on the other hand, ought to be at once abandoned, or at least no further expense ought to be laid out on either. The principal dock yard of the Chesapeake, ought to be removed to the position on James river, chosen by the late board of engineers. That of New York ought to be placed on the western bank of the Hudson. The time was, when we should have recommended that it should be placed above the Highlands of the Hudson river, as suggested to the administration by which our navy was first created, but the increase of our strength and population no longer renders such extreme precaution necessary. It will be sufficient to place it between the site of the city of Jersey, and a point opposite to the northern end of the island on which New York is situated. It will then be secured from all attacks, unless made by a powerful fleet, and an army of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, a force too great for the object. From an enemy landing on Long Island, it would be protected by the Hudson and East rivers; from one landing in Jersey, by the Passaic and Hackensack; if the attempt should be made by Staten Island, it is covered by the deep and rapid current of the Kills; if it should be approached by the way of West Chester, the enemy must pass the Haerlem and Hudson rivers. In each of these cases, the retreat of a small

force would be almost impossible, and a work upon the pallisadoes would render capture impracticable.

The objections which have hitherto been urged against making the harbour of New York the principal naval station of the Union, have been obviated, by its having been shown that the bar is accessible to the largest ships; but its advantages might be more than doubled, by giving it a safe and certain entrance from the Sound, by a cut at Hallett's Cove. In this case, a fleet in New York could only be blockaded by a double force, as all the operations of a single superior squadron could be watched from the Hampstead Hill, and communicated by telegraph, so that one or other passage would be known to be open. So far as attack by naval means alone is concerned, the works at the Narrows, if manned and armed, already render that pass inaccessible, and the works projected at Frog's Neck, will be equally efficient in respect to the Sound.

Projects have, it is said, been entertained of making the principal station and dock yard of the navy, in Narraganset Bay. To this we fear there are insuperable objections, for we doubt whether there be any point within the waters of Rhode Island, accessible to the largest description of vessels, that would not be within reach of shells that could be thrown from points easily reached from the sea, and which it would be hardly practicable to secure from an active enemy. This weakness of the position of Rhode Island, has been only recently developed, by the discovery of channels navigable for frigates, which have hitherto been considered as adapted only to mere craft.

The rivers to the south of the Chesapeake, are closed at their mouths by bars, in such a manner as to be inaccessible to large vessels. Dock yards for the equipment and repair of ships of the line, and frigates, must therefore be confined to the northern portions of our country; and we do not conceive that any need can ever exist for more than the three of which we have spoken. For building ships, the yards of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, will still be valuable, and it will indeed be good policy not to diminish the present number of establishments of that description, particularly if situated in places where skilful artisans are to be procured. But our commerce is more vulnerable to the south than in any other direction; a vast proportion of the value of our exports already passes between Florida and Cuba, and this proportion is increasing almost daily. This is not only exposed to the pirates in time of peace, and privateers in time of war, who may skulk in the harbours of Cuba, but might be wholly cut off by a fleet taking advantage of the neutrality of that island. Tampa Bay, on the western coast of Florida, is said to be accessible for large vessels, and might at some future time be occupied as a naval *depôt*, but at the present moment, it could not be defended or re-

lieved, if attacked. All, then, which can be done at present, is to extend the dock yard at Pensacola, until it shall contain all that is necessary for equipping and repairing corvettes, and in particular a good dry dock or marine rail way.

It will never again be attempted by a foreign enemy to conquer any part of the United States, except small districts upon our frontiers, which might be convenient to them, and injurious to us. There are, however, positions which an enemy might be disposed to seize and occupy, in consequence of the enormous damage which such occupation would inflict upon us. Two points, especially, present themselves upon our map, where this is to be apprehended; these are, New York and New Orleans. These, in fact, are the only two places in the Union against which a foe would think it worth his while to direct a formidable armament; but if on any future occasion, such a hostile force be directed against this country, as will reduce our navy to inaction, it may be assumed as certain, that one or both of these important cities will be struck at. The one is the general centre of exchanges, and is deriving new relative importance from the approaching dissolution of the national bank, the other the only port of the vast valley of the Mississippi. Both, if once taken, may be defended against almost any force the United States can bring against them. New Orleans, however, luckily possesses great natural strength, from the difficult character of the country in which it is situated. The access by the Mississippi, may be rendered impracticable, as may the approaches by Lakes Borgne and Ponchartrain. Still it might be well to form lines both above and below the city, and on both sides of the river, extending from the stream to the impassable marshes in the rear, by which an enemy could be prevented from entering and occupying the city, even should he effect a landing. As such lines may be covered by ditches filled with the water of the river, and as ice thick enough to bear columns of troops, never forms in that climate, they could only be carried by a regular siege. It is to this peculiarity in the country, that the difficulty of recovering New Orleans, if once taken, is owing. An enemy might enclose by such lines, constructed above the city, a space that would render him independent of foreign supplies of provisions, and as every mill race would afford him a new defensible position, could not be expelled but at vast expense of blood and treasure.

New York is less easily defensible against foreign attacks than New Orleans. Towards the north, indeed, the ground is naturally so strong, that it might be readily defended, and after the works at Frog's Neck are finished, an enemy would hardly dare to throw himself into West Chester, with the warlike populations of Connecticut and the Highlands in his rear. But on the Long Island side, New York is not only liable to a sudden inroad, which might

reach Brooklyn, within a short cannon shot of the centre of business, and where the present navy yard alone would offer a sufficient inducement, but in the case of an expedition intended to occupy and retain this city as a military position, an army landed on Long Island would have its flanks and rear covered from attack, have a retreat secured, and could at its leisure proceed to its object. If Williamsburgh or Brooklyn be reached, the city itself must capitulate, as it might be ruined from either position by bombardment. The only means of frustrating such an attempt, would consist in forming intrenched camps on the battle ground of the year 1776, capable of containing an army which might cope successfully with any hostile force which could be landed, and so strengthened by the skill of the engineer, that even when merely guarded, they could not be carried without the formality of a siege.

Our other maritime cities, however valuable to us, would not be an object for the employment of a large hostile force. They have only to apprehend marauding expeditions of a few thousand men, such as those of Ross and Cockburn during the late war. Works have been planned for the harbours of most of these, which will secure them against a mere naval force, and some of them, as Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, can hardly be approached with safety on the land side, for a small force adventuring on such an enterprise, might count on being surrounded and forced to surrender. Baltimore, on the other hand, is much exposed, unless the whole Chesapeake should be rendered inaccessible, nor does it appear possible to render that city defensible, except by a continuous wall, covered by works, on the adjacent heights, upon the principle originally pointed out by Montalembert, and so beautifully applied, recently, in the plans of General Bernard, for the fortification of Paris.

Lines secure against sudden attack, covered by detached and enclosed works, might also be advantageously applied to several other of our seaport towns, whose wealth might offer a temptation to their being laid under contribution. In all such preparations for defence, there is one important difficulty, arising from the rapid increase of our cities. Thus, the very strong and defensible position occupied by the British army for the interior defence of New York, is now covered with streets and buildings, the hills levelled, and the waters drained; the lines occupied on Brooklyn heights, both during the revolutionary and late war, are in the same condition; so that natural defences of equal value must now be sought at a distance. It is therefore questionable whether in any other event except that of war, it would be practicable to enlist the feelings of the population of our cities in measures which would put a definite limit to their extension, and make speculation on future growth beyond that boundary, impracticable. Yet it

might be well that the general government should tender to the most exposed and important of our towns, the outlay of as large an amount as they would themselves raise, to place their property beyond the reach of insult. Such tenders would no doubt be instantly accepted in case of alarm, and would place this part of national defence on a proper footing; for there can be no doubt that the defence of a particular city ought neither to be wholly borne by its inhabitants, nor yet be wholly charged to the nation at large.

Washington is to be preserved from attack by rendering the Potomac and Patuxent inaccessible by ships; when this is done, the force which will be demanded for reaching it will be too great for the value of the object.

Rhode Island might be an object of attack, from the excellence of its harbour, and the ease with which, if once occupied, it can be defended. It possesses, however, too small a relation to the general interests of the Union, to make it probable that a powerful armament would be directed against it, unless it should be made a naval station. Should this not be done, all that may be needed in addition to the works now erecting, would be a *tête de pont*, at the present bridge between the island and the main land, by which the town of Newport might be prevented from becoming inaccessible, if ever occupied by an enemy.

In respect to this work at Newport, as in relation to most of those planned and constructed upon our coast, we have to urge one objection common to them all, except those which cover positions of the greatest importance; they are too extensive and too strong: too extensive, inasmuch as they require garrisons too numerous in relation to the points they defend; too strong, because, if weakly garrisoned, they may be seized, and would then be in many cases irrecoverable. This is more particularly the case with the fortresses at Hampton roads, and the one we have just named. The former, so long as the navy yard lies in its present exposed position, cover nothing; the latter only a harbour, which England, while it possesses Halifax and Bermuda, will not desire, and which France, unless seduced by the very strength of our own exertions, would not venture to occupy. The former, however, will resume their proper value, and sanction the views of the engineer who planned them, so soon as the navy yard of James river is removed to the place of his selection.

Batteries upon the land, if properly situated, have such an immense advantage over shipping, that it is rarely necessary to make them of any great extent, or to arm them with many cannon. The only case where large works, and a numerous artillery, become necessary, is when a commanding position cannot be obtained except on the water's edge. In such a case, walls must be raised at least as high as the upper deck of the largest ship, and their whole

face pierced with embrasures for cannon. In this mode of construction, the only superiority the battery will possess over shipping, is in the use of red hot shot, and when this is skilfully applied, the experience of the siege of Gibraltar seems to show that the superiority in favour of the land service, is at least two to one. But when the commanding position can be withdrawn two or three hundred yards from the channel, and the space between the battery and the water can be formed into an earthen slope, then three or four heavy guns are more than a match for the largest ship. They in fact possess all the powers which the batteries used in attacking fortresses display, and in addition, act against a combustible body.

Sea coast batteries may, therefore, be in most cases formed of simple parapets covered by a ditch. Squared logs of timber, filled with well rammed earth, or which is better, with pebble mortar, and fragments of stones, make a sufficient epaulment. But as the crew of a ship would rather adventure their assault than encounter their fire, they must be covered by blockhouses or towers of masonry which cannot be escaladed. Such was the plan of batteries adopted by Buonaparte when called to protect the southern coast of France, after the recapture of Toulon. Simple platforms and parapets like those of a siege battery, were armed with heavy guns, and protected in the rear by a tower, with loop holes for musketry. These were never successfully attacked, although Nelson was the commander, to oppose whom they were constructed.

It is not sufficient to protect the entrances of rivers, and of harbours, in order to make our coast defence sufficient. Important parts of our country are pierced by deep bays, gulfs, and sounds, in which an enemy may lie at anchor, beyond the reach of cannon shot, and thus in fact occupy, to our exclusion. Of such openings, the two most important are the Chesapeake and Long Island Sound. It is, however, a well known fact, that ships dare not anchor within the reach of shells, and there are few roadsteads in either of these waters, where they might not be assailed by this species of military projectile. The twelve inch mortars used in the sea service, and for coast batteries, carry their shells two miles, within which distance from either shore, these bays might, by a skilful position of mortar batteries, be rendered untenable. Such batteries ought to be protected like those of cannon, by towers which could not be carried by assault, or ought to be enclosed in inaccessible works. We conceive that this method would suffice in a great degree to secure the important anchorage of Lynhaven bay, from being used as a place of rendezvous by an enemy.

There are also islands in the Chesapeake and Long Island Sound, which an enemy may occupy; some of these were held during the whole of the late war, much to our annoyance, and others are susceptible of the same use. Such islands should be

occupied by works which could not be taken without the formality of a regular siege.

It does not, however, follow, that fortifications of this description need be of great extent or expense. The engineers of Europe, who have devoted their attention to the defence of cities, have generally failed in the arrangement of small works for a good defence. But some instances have occurred, which show that it is possible that even the smallest space may be rendered tenable. Such, for instance, was the defence of a windmill in the Island of Corsica, when attacked by the English. This was no more than a circular tower of masonry, having a revolving cap to train the sails to the wind. The cap and sails being removed, a cannon was mounted so as to revolve upon the rollers by which the former had been previously supported. The defence made by means of this temporary expedient, was so efficient, that the engineers of England have copied it in innumerable small works, by which, during the threat of invasion by Napoleon, the whole coast of that country was studded, under the name of Martello towers. These, however, are wanting in many of the requisites for a good defence. If approached within a small distance, as they may be under cover of night, the cannon on their top becomes useless, and a battery may be erected, almost in safety, against them, by which their masonry, which is entirely exposed, will be speedily ruined, and the assault will not be met by flanking defences. We have planned to ourselves a modification of the native fortification of our country, the blockhouse, which should have all the advantages of the Martello tower, and none of its defects. This is a square redoubt of masonry, or of logs, filled with earth, or rude stone work, and sunk in a ditch; by which, and the excavated earth formed into a glacis, the whole of the masonry would be covered from cannot shot; the top vaulted or covered bomb proof, and bearing a platform of sufficient extent to receive four heavy guns mounted on pivots; we would make the counterscarp of such a work, a gallery with loop holes. Such a fortification could not be approached to a point which its guns could not reach; could not be carried by escalade; if attacked in form, a practicable breach, if made, would still be defended by the reverse fires of the counterscarp, from which it would be necessary to expel the defenders by means of mines. Fifty or sixty men might therefore defend it for a week against almost any force; and, that it might not yield to a blockade, it should be provisioned for a month. A well, or a cistern to which water would be furnished by a temporary roof covering the whole, would of course be an indispensable adjunct. We have also beheld, in imagination, works of not more than five or six hundred feet in circuit, having for a nucleus a defensible lodgment for their garrison, which, if made of no other materials than wood and earth, might resist almost as long as a

regular square on Vauban's system, requiring twenty-five hundred men for its defence. We conceive this is practicable, by adopting almost *in toto* the principles of Carnot, with this exception, that an active defence by sorties, need not enter into the view of those who plan works for our country, for the object will not be, as in Europe, to make a small number of good troops compete on equal terms with a large one, but to enable a militia to defend itself against disciplined soldiers.

The views we have stated in respect to the defence of our sea board, might be applied to the lakes of our northern frontier. But we conceive, that should a contest ever arise again with Great Britain, the true system of defence will be to attack Lower Canada; if the attention of our opponents be thus drawn to the single communication which exists between the colony and the mother country, no fear need be entertained of inroads from the upper province. Indeed it is still a matter of boast among British officers, that, during the late war, by exciting the fears of our new settlements, they contrived to prevent the blows that ought to have been aimed at the base of their operations; and compelled the United States to waste in contests on the lakes and the Niagara river, means more than sufficient to have conquered even Quebec itself.

One only fortress on the frontier of the lakes, appears indispensable to our safety, and that is one which shall command the approaches to Lake Champlain. It is therefore a matter of great regret that the award of the king of Holland has not been acceded to, as the states of Massachusetts and Maine may be compensated in money for the territory which they lose, while no money can repay the danger to which the Union would be exposed, if Rouse's point passes into foreign hands.

One new element of defence has been acquired by the United States since the late war. This is the completion of so many navigable communications, and the opening of so many rail roads. In the last war, the transportation of cannon and munitions to the places where they were needed, was more than the original cost. The guns which armed the fleet of Chauncey on Lake Ontario, were carried by land from Washington. Now, not only may heavy articles be carried wholly by water from the Roanoke to the frontiers of Canada, but, by the aid of steam navigation, the whole of the garrisons of the coasts might be collected within a few days at any point between those limits. These advantages have been partially tested in the late Indian campaign, and are almost inappreciable; but they involve the necessity of defending them from injury and interruption. The Delaware part of this communication lies within the line of defence chosen by the board of engineers, and when Fort Delaware is restored, may be considered as guarded; but this is not the case with Elk river and the

Raritan. The former, too, as experience has shown, opens an easy road to the important city of Philadelphia.

One means of annoyance which would be possessed by a foreign foe in any future war, is of a most appalling character, and we should not have ventured to mention it, were it not that more than one European writer has pointed it out, and even planned the operations by which it might be carried into effect. This is the excitement of a servile war in the southern states, and the organization of a force of runaway negroes. The mode pointed out is to occupy the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, with the State of Delaware, by a force landed near New Castle or the Head of Elk, and by commanding the waters of that bay, furnish means of transport to the slaves on the opposite shores. We do not apprehend that this could be successful, in the face of a dense free population, but the very suggestion shows the disposition to make use of this execrable mode of warfare, and warns us to prepare for it. We are far from wishing to interfere in the slave question, and we can feel the justice of the anger which is excited in every southern bosom, when an inhabitant of states where this danger does not exist, undertakes to reason, when they can only feel. But we cannot help thinking, that a knowledge that such a threat has been thrown out, ought to excite attention in all who love their country, and regard the blood of their wives and children. In the present state of the southern country, such a threat is appalling; a population of slaves increasing far more rapidly than their masters, and already far more numerous, is not an object entirely without dread even in time of peace; but in time of war, against an enemy who would not scruple to arm and excite this population, it is one of awe and terror. That in any future war with England, this mode of offence would be employed with as little scruple, and as little regard to the final fate of persons brought to her aid, as she manifested in relation to the Indians in the late war, is not to be doubted; nor can we feel assured, that if France should be foiled, as she must be, in an appeal to the former colony of that nation which now forms a part of the Union, she would not resort to similar measures. Whatever might be the result, the very attempt would be attended with a distress and desolation, of which the waste of the Niagara frontier would be a feeble type. Such an attempt can only be rendered innocuous by a change of system. The free coloured population which already exists, and particularly the mixed race, which is more hated by the full blooded African than his white masters, ought to be retained and encouraged, instead of being expatriated with that local knowledge which will render it dangerous, and that sense of wrong which will impel it to return in vengeance. In short, we see no safety to the slave holding states, in any future war against a powerful nation, but in the adoption of the Spanish code; a code which gives every slave a hope of freedom, makes his efforts to

obtain it a benefit to his owner, and forms a free population, which, instead of requiring watching even in time of peace, may be safely trusted with arms, both for the repression of the revolt of their unemancipated fellows, and to repel foreign invasion. That such a state of things is attainable, is satisfactorily shown by the example of Cuba, which has been put in a state to defy the invasion of the revolted colonies of Spain by coloured troops, and whose planters lately looked upon disturbances in the neighbouring Island of Jamaica, not as exhibiting a bad example to their slaves, but as a certain accession to their own prosperity. The general government, without meddling in the disputed question of slavery, might lead the way in this course, by allowing the southern states to substitute in part for the draughts we have proposed to be made from the militia, battalions of black troops, officered by whites, to whom freedom and a grant of land in their native states, should be given at the close of their service.

This suggestion for diminishing the drain upon a white population, already too scanty, by embodying emancipated slaves, is not our own. It was originally proposed, during the inroads of Cornwallis, by one of the best patriots of the southern states, the younger Laurens. It would have been carried into effect, had the revolutionary war endured longer than it did; and so far from an opposition being apprehended, the project was then hailed with joy in every part of the slave holding region. We know that a strong feeling may probably be excited on the very commencement of such a project; but we would beg those who might at first see objections, to ask themselves which would be best, in the case of a draughted militia being embodied and sent to the frontier for its defence, to call from their homes the flower of the white population, and leave the slaves undiminished in numbers, or to leave the former of these in their usual residences, and draw off, to form a military force, the most able bodied blacks. No one can hesitate in a choice between the two propositions, and battalions constituted from emancipated slaves would not be dangerous, if properly officered, as we may learn from the example of the British in India, who do not hesitate to form an army from the native population, and employ that army to maintain the subjugation of the rest, and to extend their possessions.

The general government also possesses the power, although we should be far from wishing to see it exercised, except at the instance of the southern states themselves, of checking the disproportionate increase of the coloured population. The best means for this purpose are the suppression of the slave trade between the several states. Were this done, but a few years would elapse, before measures of gradual emancipation would be called for in Maryland and Virginia, and perhaps even in North Carolina; and, however unwilling the southern people might be to believe it, those

who have witnessed the course of things in the former slave holding counties of New York and New Jersey, will predict to them, that such measures will, by giving an increased value to land, more than repay the whole present value of the slaves they hold. The lower counties of Virginia have the deepest interest in this question. If there be any region on the face of the earth, whose natural advantages of soil, situation, and climate, of easy navigable communications, of aquatic wealth in fisheries, could tempt the emigrant from foreign shores, or from our own northern hives, this might be thought to deserve the preference; and yet, from the simple fact, that where agricultural labour is performed by slaves, a white man considers himself degraded, by the occupation which ennobled a Cincinnatus, a Fabricius, and a Regulus, these regions, so favoured by nature, are passed by, and condemned to decrease, almost annually, if not in actual, yet in relative wealth, and political importance.

The time has been, when Virginia stood first in the confederacy in every respect, and when her statesmen, so far from fearing a decline, anticipated that this supremacy would be elevated rather than depressed. At that time, New York also was a slave holding state. We are not so young but we can recollect when, as children, we were alarmed by fears of a servile revolt, when the inhabitants of its chief city patrolled its streets by night, to prevent the slaves from setting it on fire, and when the farmers of its vicinity were inclined to stigmatize the measures of gradual emancipation, adopted as a means of removing such fears for the future, as an unjustifiable interference. Yet the descendants of these very farmers, now reap, in a tenfold product, the harvest of this wise and salutary measure. Had Maryland and Virginia adopted, at the same epoch, analogous measures, more slow, indeed, in just proportion to the extent of the evil, we feel assured that their relative rank might have been retained; and are not sure but that the anticipations of Washington and Jefferson might have been realized, by the location of the great mart of the United States, upon the Chesapeake or one of its tributaries.

We have felt, that in this discussion we have trespassed upon ground almost forbidden to us. We acknowledge, in its fullest extent, the right of the slave holding states to regulate their internal concerns in their own way, and deprecate all manner of interference with their local laws. Particularly do we object to those busy attempts which excite dissatisfaction among the slaves, and uneasiness in their owners. Such attempts injure the persons they are intended to benefit, and prolong the duration of a system, which, being artificial, must gradually yield to the progress of events, and finally pass away. The same causes which rendered slave labour unproductive in the middle states, are gradually extending themselves to the south, and the time must arrive there,

when the immediate interest of the land holder will be more advanced by parting with his slaves, than by retaining them. So long as this is not the case, the coloured population will be more happy as slaves than as free, unless rendered restless by external influence, and when it ceases to be the case, emancipation will follow as a matter of course.

But while we object to all action in which the southern states do not themselves take the lead, we would venture to urge upon the inhabitants of those states, the consideration of these questions: what is to be the result of the disproportionate increase of the slave population, even if the United States remain free from intestine strife or foreign attack? and what would be the consequence, if a powerful foreign force were to land in the southern states, and proclaim that it came to give liberty to all who joined it?

The struggle which for forty years has been going on in Europe, between despotic and free institutions, is not at an end. Strange as it may seem, all indications appear to be rather in favour of the despotic principle gaining the ascendency. England, indeed, can never lose her own institutions, and France may retain the form of a constitutional government, but the ascendency of the tory party in the one, and the inclination of the ruler of the other, would tend to throw the weight of both these nations into the scale of despotic power in other countries. Should this finally prevail, our country is so obnoxious, as the original source and present refuge of liberal sentiments, that we cannot trust that our remote position will preserve us from attack, particularly as the very ignorance which exists of our power and resources, seems to lead to a hope, that the United States may, like other nations, be liable to dismemberment, or even to conquest. Even the experience of the revolutionary war, in which every great city fell in its turn into the enemy's hands, without in the least degree affecting the integrity of the nation, is thrown away upon those who have seen a single battle deciding the fate of a whole nation, and who will not believe in the innate force given by free institutions. We may, therefore, in the midst of unexampled prosperity, and fond security, be on the very eve of a struggle, in which, if our existence as a nation cannot be jeoparded, we may still be exposed to devastation and ravage, to inroads, and a servile insurrection, backed by foreign aid, which would defer for years the prosperity we now so proudly anticipate. The true patriot, while he can entertain no fears for the integrity of the Union, cannot close his eyes to such dangers; and, while others strive for office and emolument, will raise his voice of warning, and call upon his fellow-citizens to make, in the leisure of profound peace, those dispositions which can alone deter foreign nations from attacking us, or render their attacks innocuous.

ART. VII.—*Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de España. Su Autor* DON JUAN ANTONIO LLORENTE, *Antiguo Secretario de la Inquisicion de Corte.* Madrid: 1822.

Critical History of the Spanish Inquisition. By DON JUAN ANTONIO LLORENTE, *former Secretary of the Inquisition of the Court.*

THE Tribunal of the Inquisition is called by many the offspring of the Roman Catholic religion, and its atrocities, committed under the veil of mystery and the protection of absolute power, are even said to have been the natural result of the doctrines and discipline of that ancient system of Christian faith. Its origin, in the well known Commission of Innocent III. against the Albigenses, and the rigid and fearful scrutiny of heretical opinions which it has uniformly kept up, are now cited as proof that its constitution and principles have ever been exclusively religious. In this view, however, the existence of independent tribunals in the different despotic governments of Europe, is entirely overlooked. These tribunals were not connected with each other, as they would have been, if their object were to propagate one common religion, but on the contrary, like separate sovereignties, they were watchful and jealous of their jurisdiction and prerogative, and always involved in the political contentions of the monarchs in whose dominions their power was seated. They were, moreover, established and protected by suspicious and crafty princes, notorious for their measures to check ecclesiastical influence, and for their contempt and even outrage of papal authority. The direct tendency of such institutions to uphold despotic power, and promote arbitrary views, under the pretence of guarding the purity of the Christian faith, must be generally admitted, and the use made of the Inquisition for that purpose by Charles V. and Philip II. of Spain, is authentic history, as well established as any of the records of the past.

The unwillingness so generally manifested to consider religion in its political bearings and tendency, is doubtless often honest and praiseworthy, but it has been the cause of numerous and bitter dissensions. The Catholic Church, in the face of admitted facts, is boldly charged in modern times with all the enormities committed by the Inquisition, and the eagerness and warmth with which that charge is persisted in, seem to betoken a spirit of intolerance, which, now armed with the same power, might speedily lead to the same results. It is not intended to pursue these observations any further. The mysterious tribunal of the Holy Office, built upon the superstition and pusillanimity of mankind, is no more an object of terror. We should look back to its existence with a desire to profit by the lesson it may teach us, and rejoice, as friends of liberty and humanity, that so mighty an engine of despotism and cruelty is shattered and overthrown.

As may be supposed, the history of the Inquisition was long a matter of curiosity and dispute among intelligent men of different religions. Owing, however, to the secrecy with which its proceedings were shrouded, and the impossibility of ever gaining access to any of its genuine annals, all research was baffled, and the subject at last abandoned to the monstrous fancies of ignorance and fanaticism. But when the French invaded Spain, in the general change, the Spanish Inquisition was abolished, and its archives delivered by Joseph Napoleon to his newly made counsellor of state, Don Juan Antonio Llorente, who, by a strange coincidence, had been former secretary of the Inquisition of the Court of Madrid. This was in 1809; and three years after, Llorente published two volumes of "Annals of the Inquisition," and a paper entitled "*Memoria sobre la opinion de España acerca de la Inquisicion,*" which was printed among the transactions of the Royal Academy of History of Madrid. It was not, however, till 1817, that the "Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain," was published in Spanish and French at Paris, where Llorente was then living in exile. Before proceeding to notice this book, the sad fate of its author deserves to be briefly recorded.

Llorente was of noble family in Arragon. He was consecrated a priest, when very young, and afterwards studied the Canon law. He was well acquainted with general literature, and wrote a tragedy called "*El Rey de los Godos,*" the representation of which was prohibited by the government. In 1789, he was made chief secretary of the Inquisition, and warmly seconded the inquisitor general, Abady la Sierra, and the minister of state, Jorellanos, in their endeavours to reform the administration of the Holy Office, and make its proceedings public. Upon the fall of Jorellanos, he was removed from his post of secretary, and his papers were seized. He was found to be too liberal in his sentiments, and was exposed to the severe censures of his own tribunal. The protection of a royal favourite procured his escape with fine and imprisonment, and he lived in disgrace till the invasion of the French in 1808. He immediately joined their party, believing, with many noble Spaniards, that it was the only way to procure a settled form of government for his distracted country. The king, Joseph Napoleon, made him one of his counsellors of state, and he had an important share in the organization of the new political and religious institutions. After the final overthrow of the Bonaparte family, Llorente retired to France, where he lived for some time in seclusion and indigence. But the publication of his history had excited so great a clamour among the partisans of despotism and bigotry, that the former counsellor of state, and commander of the royal order of Spain, was prohibited from teaching the Spanish language in the different seminaries of Paris, in which way he was endeavouring to provide for his wants. The appearance of

his "*Portrait politique des Papes*," completed his ruin; and the unhappy exile, now nearly seventy years of age, worn out with anxiety and disease, in the midst of the rigors of winter, was ordered to quit the territories of France, within three days. He was obliged instantly to set out, and was not allowed to rest till he reached the frontier of Spain. His native country received him at last, but in a short time after his arrival at Madrid, he sunk exhausted into the arms of death, happy in his escape to the peace and silence of the grave. In this extraordinary instance of the persecution of our own enlightened century, fanaticism had, it seems, no need of the agency of a secret tribunal, although the only crime with which its victim could be charged, was his virtuous love of truth.

As the Spanish monarchy was the most powerful in Europe, during the period of the dreadful sway possessed by the Holy Office, the History of the Spanish Inquisition embraces nearly all the important details. An English translation of it appeared at London in 1827, but it is careless and unfaithful. The extracts that follow have been made from the Madrid edition, published with the royal approbation, by a strange sort of fatality, but a few days before Llorente's death.

Llorente thus speaks in his Preface:—

"In order to write an exact history, it was necessary to be an Inquisitor, or Secretary of the Inquisition. In this way alone could be seen the bulls of the popes, the orders of the kings, the decisions of the council of the Inquisition, the original trials and other papers of its archives. Perhaps I am the only one, who at the present time can possess all of these documents. I was Secretary of the Inquisition of the Court of Madrid, in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. I knew its establishment sufficiently to consider it vicious in its origin, constitution, and laws, in spite of the apologetic writings in its favour. I immediately devoted myself to the collection of papers, abridging the most voluminous, but copying literally all that was important. My perseverance in this labour, and in that of collecting all the suppressed books and pamphlets that I could find among the depositories of former inquisitors, provided me with a great number of interesting documents. I at last obtained the whole of the archives in 1809, when the tribunal was abolished. I hope that I shall not be thought arrogant in saying, that I alone can satisfy the curiosity of those who wish to know the true history of the Inquisition of Spain. I merely mean, that I alone possess the materials for that history, the abundance of which will, I hope, supply in a great degree, my want of talent."

In the early chapters of his work, Llorente gives a sketch of the ancient Inquisition, from its origin in 1203, down to the establishment of the modern tribunal by Ferdinand V. in 1481. Llorente, with all his opportunities, was able to collect but meagre details of the ancient Inquisition; its existence during the dark ages being unfavourable to critical inquiry. The moderns now regard the history of those times as fabulous, and endeavour to expose the credulity of their forefathers, who believed themselves in possession of the unbroken annals of their church, from the days of the Apostles. It seems, however, to be certain that the Albigenses, who inhabited the ancient Gallia Narbonensis, were ex-

posed to a severe persecution of the ancient Inquisition, under a special commission from Pope Innocent III., about the beginning of the thirteenth century. What was the nature of their heresy, and whether they were not political as well as religious schismatics, cannot now be ascertained. They were upheld by the powerful Count of Toulouse, and many contend that the object of the persecution was merely to get possession of his dominions. Some historians call it a war, others a crusade, and the charge of atrocious cruelty is made on both sides. The only effect of the fierce controversy waged upon this subject, has been to surround it with mists, in which an honest inquirer is sure to be irretrievably bewildered. But although the creed of the Albigenses must remain unknown, the story of their sufferings has not failed to come down to us unimpaired by the lapse of time.

The penances inflicted by the ancient Inquisition in cases of confessed heresy, seem well calculated to have inspired a salutary abhorrence of unsound opinions. They were at all events preferable to the modern *Autos de Fé.* The following document Llorente calls a precious monument of the second year of the ancient Inquisition. It is literally translated:—

"To all the faithful Christians to whom the present letters may be shown, Father Domingo, canon of Osma, the least of his brethren, sends salvation in Christ. By the authority of the Lord Abbot of Cister, St. Bernard, legate of the apostolic seat —whose powers we exercise—we have *reconciled* the bearer of these letters, Poncio Roger, converted from the sect of the heretics, by the grace of God. And we have commanded him by virtue of the oath he has taken to obey our precepts, that upon three festivals of Sunday, he be led in his shirt by the Priest, who shall scourge him from the gate of the city to the gate of the cathedral. We impose, moreover, for penance, that he forever abstain from eating flesh, eggs, cheese, and other food derived from animals, except on the day of the Resurrection, the Pentecost, and the Nativity of the Lord, on which we command him to eat them, in token of his detestation of his former errors. That he keep three Lents in the year, by abstaining from fish; and that he always fast and abstain from fish, oil, and wine, three days in each week, unless corporal infirmity, or the labours of his situation, require dispensation. That he use religious garments, both in form and colour, having two small crosses sewn upon them, one on each side of his breast. That he hear mass every day if he have the opportunity, and on the festivals assist in the chapel at vespers. That he pray every day the daily and nightly "*horas,*" saying, besides, the prayer of Pater Noster seven times in the day, ten times at the beginning of the night, and twenty times at the middle of the night. That he observe chastity, and show this letter every month in the city of Cereri to his parish priest, whom we command to watch over the conduct of Poncio, that he diligently fulfil all we have enjoined, until the Lord Legate manifest to us his further pleasure. And if Poncio shall fail in his observance, we command that he be held for perjured, heretic, and excommunicated, and be separated from the society of the faithful."

The power of the ancient Inquisition became gradually extinct, from the want of factious and heretic subjects in the different monarchies of Europe. Llorente's account of it is obscure and confused, though without any doubt the best that has yet been published. He grows more satisfactory as he approaches modern times:—

"The modern Inquisition is that which has prevailed in Spain, from 1481 to our own times; which we have seen suppressed with the approbation of the whole of Europe; which exists again to the sorrow of the Spanish nation; and which I now propose to make known through its archives, delivered to me by the order of the government.

"The popes, in order to introduce the ancient Inquisition, had availed themselves of the pretext of zeal against the heresy of the Albigenses; and for the modern, they feigned a necessity for the same zeal against the apostacy of the newly converted Christians from the Jewish faith in Spain.

"The Spanish Jews, by means of commerce, became the richest men of the Peninsula in the fourteenth century, and in that way obtained great power and influence in the governments of Castille and Arragon during the reigns of Alfonso XI. and John I. As nearly all the Christians were made their debtors, because they were much less industrious, they conceived hatred and envy against the Jews their creditors, a hatred that, fomented and directed by badly disposed persons, produced popular tumults and commotions in almost all the cities of the two kingdoms, and even in that of Navarre. The fury and barbarity of the people were so great, that more than a hundred thousand Jews were murdered in 1391 in the streets. As some of this unhappy and persecuted race found escape from death by saying that they wished to become Christians, many others followed their example. The churches were filled with Jews of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, who eagerly demanded baptism. In effect, more than two hundred thousand families, or more than a million of persons, subject from their birth to the law of Moses, were then baptized. As the greater number of these new Christians had not been converted from any conviction of conscience, but only from the fear of death, or in order to enjoy the municipal honours which the Christians then kept in their hands, many repented of their conversion, and returned in secret to their adherence to the law of Moses, conforming themselves in public, however, with the rites of the Christian church. As this dissimulation was very difficult, it was discovered; and a few cases of apostacy were sufficient to afford King Ferdinand V. a religious pretext, with which to cover his desire to confiscate the property of his richest subjects. Pope Sixtus IV., moreover, was eager to propagate his jurisdiction in Castille, by creating a tribunal there which he hoped would be dependent upon the Apostolic See. These two ideas were the true origin of the Inquisition of Spain; a zeal for the purity of religion serving as the pretext for both.

"Upon the 1st November, 1478, Sixtus IV. issued a bull, granting to the sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, the power to nominate two or three bishops or archbishops, or other barons, prudent and honest; or secular or regular priests, more than forty years of age, of good morals, masters or bachelors in theology, and doctors or licentiates in the Canon law: in order that the persons thus nominated should *inquire* in all the kingdoms and lordships of said sovereigns against heretics, apostates, and their abettors. For which end his Holiness gave thenceforth to the persons thus nominated, the necessary jurisdiction, in order to proceed conformably to right and custom; at the same time authorizing the sovereigns to alter their nominations at pleasure, and put other persons in the place of those first nominated; and last of all, ordaining that his bull should not be revoked, without a special recital of its contents."

Within four years after this bull was issued, the general Inquisition was fully established in Spain, and *Fray Tomas de Torquemada* named Inquisitor General, in spite of riots, tumult, and even organized rebellion in many of the provinces. Torquemada held the office eighteen years, and Llorente says that Ferdinand could not have had a better agent to multiply confiscations. At his death in 1498, he left the tribunal so well regulated, and in the possession of such absolute power, that for more than two centuries, regal tyranny, ecclesiastical ambition, and private malice, found in it the complete accomplishment of their most atrocious purposes.

The expulsion of the Jews who would not be baptized, was soon determined on, since there was no other way to get possession of their property; the new converts, and the apostates, being alone subject to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Llorente gives the following account of the transaction:—

"The Spanish Jews soon learned with what they were threatened, and induced by former experience to hope that they might save themselves from the danger with their money, they offered the sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella thirty thousand ducats for the expenses of the war with Granada; promising at the same time faithfully to conform with all the regulations which required them to live in separate and enclosed quarters, to retire before evening, and to abstain from the exercise of certain employments along with Christians. The sovereigns appeared disposed to listen; but Torquemada suddenly entered the hall of audience, and exclaimed, stretching out a crucifix which he held in his hand, 'Judas once sold the Son of God for thirty pieces of silver;—your majesties are about to sell him a second time for thirty thousand—here then he is; take him and sell him.' The pious sovereigns at once convinced, promulgated their decree of the 31st March, 1492, that all the Jews, of both sexes, should quit Spain before the 31st of July of the same year, under pain of death and confiscation of property. The decree likewise forbade all Christians from concealing them, under pain of the same confiscation. It required the Jews to sell their real estate immediately, and allowed them to take away their moveables, except gold, silver, and money, which were to be converted into bills ef exchange, or merchandise of allowable commerce. The inquisitor general, with a christian spirit, appointed preachers who should exhort them to receive baptism, and remain in the country. But very few being willing to be left behind by their nearest friends and relations, their real estate was sold so cheaply, that Andres Bernaldez, a parish priest of the town of Los Palacios, near Seville, and a contemporary writer, says, as an eye witness, in his History of the Catholic Sovereigns, that the Jews exchanged a house for a mule, and a vineyard for a little cloth or linen. The thing is not incredible, so short a time being allowed for the sale. No less than eight hundred thousand Jews left Spain, according to the testimony of Mariana. In this emigration, and in that of the Moors of Granada for Africa, and of many Christians for America, we lost two millions of inhabitants, who would now have been increased to eight millions."

After relating the death of Torquemada, Llorente proceeds to describe the internal administration of the Holy Office, the manner in which the trials were conducted, what freedom was allowed in the examination of witnesses, the formalities observed in passing sentence, with many other details necessary to a just view of its history. He is not, however, sufficiently clear and methodical, and sometimes rambles from his subject into unnecessary disquisition. The summary of this part of his book is, that the forms of the tribunal were well contrived to sacrifice its victims with the appearance of justice; and that none of them could possibly escape, if their ruin was desired by a single inquisitor. In an abrupt digression to the time of his own official connexion with the tribunal, Llorente gives a feeling account of the case of a Frenchman, which must be translated entire:—

"I witnessed a scandalous case in 1791, the recollection of which, even at this distance of time, gives me great uneasiness; it deserves to be related. A Frenchman of Marseilles, who name was Michele Maffre des Rieux, was arrested by order of the Inquisition, on the charge of heresy. He said constantly, from his first audience, that he had been educated in the Catholic religion, and remained in it till

about five years before his arrest, when, by reading the works of Roussean, Voltaire, and other philosophers, he had become convinced that natural religion was the only true religion, all others being but the delusive inventions of men like himself. He said that he had embraced this opinion for no other reason than his conviction of its truth, and that consequently he was ready again to return to the Catholic faith, if any one could persuade him that its origin was divine. The reverend master Magi, who afterwards died Bishop of Almeria, attempted it, in various conferences. He succeeded in explaining to him the utility and necessity of revelation, and in making him believe that the religions of Jesus and of Moses were revealed; at last Rieux acknowledged himself vanquished, by saying, 'Either your Reverence is right, or your knowledge exceeds mine.'

"It consequently appeared, that the Frenchman, during the whole course of his trial, was ready to be reconciled with the Catholic church. But he stipulated that he should be allowed to go freely from the prisons of the Inquisition to his own house; for he did not acknowledge himself guilty of any crime in having abandoned the Christian religion; but, on the contrary, considered it meritorious before God, since he had followed the road which his reason had dictated to him, in search of happiness beyond the grave; in the same manner, and upon the same principles, that he now considered it meritorious to return to his former belief in the Catholic religion, being convinced that he had wandered into the wrong path.

"It is the custom of the tribunal, in each audience, to promise, that it will be merciful to the prisoner, if it appear that he confesses every thing with sincerity. The Frenchman gave so many proofs of his sincerity, that it was impossible to doubt it. And because, in his system, a lie was one of the greatest sins against natural religion, he not only answered every thing that was asked him, although he knew it would be prejudicial to his cause; but instead of signing the different papers, in the course of the trial, with his own name, he invariably subscribed himself, '*The Natural Man.*'

"He had reason, then, to be confident that he would be *reconciled* in secret, with some light penance, which he could easily perform, so that he might be able to tell all his acquaintances that his trial had ended well. He was thus anxious about the notoriety of the transaction, because, at the time of his arrest, he was urging an application for a place in the body guard of the king; and he justly apprehended, that any public censure of the Inquisition, would at once defeat his hopes of success.

"One morning the alcaide of the prison, and six or seven familiars of the Holy Office, entered his cell, and ordered him to throw off his coat, trowsers, and stockings, and put on a jacket and trowsers of coarse stuff of the colour of grey wool, and stockings of the same kind, along with a large scapulary of the *Sambenito*, a cord of twisted reeds around his neck, and a green waxen taper in his hand. They told him that in this dress he must go to the hall of audience, in order to hear the final sentence in his cause. He was alarmed and enraged at what happened, but as he was unable to resist, he obeyed, after many exclamations. The unhappy man, although he saw all this preparation, still believed, that when he reached the hall of audience, he should find none there but the inquisitors and the officers of the tribunal, who are sworn to secrecy. But when the doors were thrown open, he saw a numerous assembly of the principal ladies and gentlemen of Madrid, together with many of the common people, who, hearing of the *auto de fé* of reconciliation, had crowded in, to satisfy their curiosity. At first he was astonished, but soon broke out into execrations against the barbarity, inhumanity, and hypocrisy of the inquisitors; and, among other things, said, that if the Catholic religion indeed required such a penance, he again detested it, since nothing could be good that dishonoured upright men.

"His rage was so great, and his conduct so violent, that it was necessary to take him back by force to his prison, where he refused to eat or drink. He declared, that unless he were soon led to die in the flames, he would destroy his own life. Every precaution was taken to prevent his desperate purpose, but he accomplished it on the fifth day, by forcing a handkerchief into his mouth, and thus stifling his respiration. The day before his death, he asked for paper and ink, and left upon his table the following prayer:

"'*Eternal God, Creator of the human race! Pure Being, who lovest the upright soul! Receive my spirit, which returneth to unite itself with thy divinity, from which*

it hath emanated. It hasteneth back to thee, in order to escape from the abode of monsters, who have usurped the name of men. Receive it in mercy, for thou knowest the purity of the desires which have ever animated my bosom. Expel from the earth this horrible tribunal, which dishonoureth humanity, and even thyself, since thou hast so long endured it.—The Natural Man.'

"I make no reflections on this case, and only add, that I could not prevent myself from saying to the inquisitor who presided, that all those who had refused the earnest request of this unhappy man, would answer for it before the tribunal of the Almighty."

Llorente's bold indignation was praiseworthy; but if the tribunal of the Holy Office had confined its censures to heretics of this class, there can be no doubt, that the Catholic religion would have been spared much of the vituperation with which it has been assailed in modern times.

The greatest defects of Llorente, are his want of method, and fondness for critical disquisition of matters that are but remotely connected with the subject of his history. The period from the death of Torquemada, first inquisitor general, in 1498, to the accession of Philip II. to the crown of Spain in 1556, is full of interesting and important events; but it requires some labour and judgment to find their connexion. During this time, eight inquisitors general presided over the tribunal: Don Diego Deza, the Cardinal Minister Ximenez Cisneros, the Cardinal Adriano, Don Alfonso Maurique, Archbishop of Seville, the Cardinal Pardo de Tabera, the Cardinal Loaisa, and Don Fernando Valdes. The Moors were expelled; there was a new persecution against the baptized Jews and Moors that yet remained, and the coffers of the crown were replenished by numerous confiscations. Among the multitude of individuals, who, during this period, felt the arm of the tribunal, were two men of high rank and powerful connexions —Don Fernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, and the learned Antonio de Lebrija, the intimate friend of the prime minister Ximenez, and former preceptor of the Queen Isabella.

The Archbishop of Granada was charged with heretical opinions by the infamous Lucero, principal inquisitor of Cordova, at the instigation of Ferdinand, whose suspicious tyranny could no longer endure the great influence and high name of the venerable prelate. This case is an important one, and fully maintains the opinion advanced at the opening of the present article, with regard to the independent political power of the Inquisition. The cause of the archbishop was not only espoused by the first grandees of Spain, with Ximenez, then Archbishop of Toledo, at their head, but also by the Pope Julius II. himself. The whole Catholic Church was arrayed against the Inquisition. The Pope immediately sent his legate into Spain, and prohibited Deza, the inquisitor general, from proceeding in the cause. He commanded all the papers to be transmitted to Rome, and convoked a special conclave of cardinals and bishops, in which the Primate of Granada

was unanimously declared to be firm in the faith, and one of the brightest ornaments of the Holy Catholic Religion. But it was all in vain. The aged prelate, whose whole life had been one scene of pious exercises and charitable works towards his fellow men, after three years of bitterness and anxiety, at last died of a broken heart, with the censures of the Holy Office yet hanging over him.

Lebrija was more fortunate. He was, as already said, the intimate friend of Ximenez, and was considered one of the most learned men of his times. The inquisitor general, Deza, was jealous of Ximenez, and envied them both their influence with the king. He discovered, through one of the informers of the Holy Office, that Lebrija, who was profoundly acquainted with Greek and Hebrew, was engaged in the correction of some of the errors of the vulgate translation of the Bible, and immediately issued orders for his arrest, and the seizure of his papers. Lebrija's danger was imminent, but the sudden death of Deza, and appointment of his friend Ximenez to the vacant office of inquisitor general, procured his deliverance. Some passages of the apology which he wrote upon the occasion, may convey useful instruction even in our own times.

"If the object of a legislator should be to reward good and wise men, and punish evil men, who obstinately oppose the progress of truth, what shall be said of that system of legislation, in which the corrupters of the Holy Scriptures are considered in the light of saints, and all who endeavour to restore its purity are threatened with ignominy, and even with death. Shall I be compelled to say that the errors which I have discovered are not errors, although they are manifest to the simplest understanding? I have not endeavoured to pervert the meaning of the Sacred Writings, in order to make them answer my own purposes; but I have merely applied to them fair criticism, and logical reasoning. What iniquitous tyranny is this, which prohibits us from saying that which we believe? I had never known till now, that it was unlawful to investigate the books of the Christian religion, for I believed with the Holy Psalmist, that it should be the principal occupation of the just man, whose delight is in the Law of the Lord, and thereon shall he meditate day and night."

Llorente says that the Spanish Inquisition was on the point of being suppressed during the time of the inquisitor general, the Cardinal Regent Adriano, who was afterwards elevated to the pontifical chair. It was the beginning of the reign of Charles V., and the young monarch seemed disposed to listen to the projects of reform which were started on all sides. This good temper, however, could have lasted but a very short time; for one of the first acts of his reign was the refusal of eight hundred thousand ducats, offered him by the newly converted Moors and Jews, provided he would make the proceedings of the Holy Office public. All the historians of authority have described this prince as a consummate hypocrite; but none of them have exposed his conduct with regard to the Inquisition. He held out to his subjects the flattering prospect of its suppression, or at least entire reform, and availed himself of the popularity he thus obtained, in order

to enlarge its jurisdiction, and confirm its power. The tribunal was supported by him in every deed of violence, and the number of victims sacrificed during his eventful reign, seems now incredible. He established its branches in the newly discovered America, in the Netherlands, in Naples, in Sicily and Malta, and organized the first general persecution of learned men and of books. He ordered a catalogue of prohibited publications to be issued from the Holy Office, and forbade the reading of any of the works contained in that catalogue, under pain of death. Men eminent for literary talent lived in continual dread, and Erasmus himself, who was considered the defender of the Catholic religion, was summoned to answer the charge of heresy. His real crime, was the expression of sentiments too liberal for the policy of a monarch determined to subject every thing to his selfish despotism. Upon the death of the inquisitor general Garcia de Loaisa, 1546, Charles named in his place the infamous Fernando Valdes, whom he selected as a suitable agent for still more sanguinary measures. The interval, from the appointment of Valdes to the resignation of the Emperor in 1556, is filled with dreadful details of the ruin of useful men and virtuous families, who were sacrificed without remorse, to royal suspicion and private malice. Charles, in his death, may be said to have made some expiation for the cruelties which he had thus deliberately perpetrated. Terrified at its approach, and at the recollection of the past, he vainly sought for consolation in the most solemn ceremonies of that religion, whose precepts he had despised, and whose doctrines he had never believed. In the gloomy solitude of St. Justus, surrounded by fanatic monks, and mercenary dependants, this mighty monarch died without hope. The anguish of his last moments was not soothed by the offices of friendship, and he was laid unmourned in his lonely grave. A fitting end for a man who had mocked at all virtue and truth, and mounted to power by the destruction and misery of his fellow beings.

Philip II., upon taking possession of his father's hereditary dominions, found the Inquisition well established and organized in every part of them. This monarch, Llorente says, was sent by Providence to scourge mankind, under the hypocritical appearance of a jealous guardian of the purity of our holy religion. His memory is loaded to this day with execration, and he is proposed as a model of a tyrant, cold, selfish, suspicious, and cruel. The tribunal of the Holy Office, under his fostering care, rose to a degree of power which it had never before possessed. Any attempt to convey an idea of the barbarities committed by it, during his reign, would be fruitless. Three volumes of Llorente's history are filled with them, and it now seems strange that men should have endured such monstrous tyranny. The Inquisition is, however, vindicated by Llorente from the charge of having been

Philip's agent in the murder of his son, Don Carlos, Prince of the Asturias. He enters into a long and critical examination of the subject, and fully maintains the opinion with which he sets out.

"All Europe believes that Philip II. employed the Spanish Inquisition in the murder of his only son, Charles of Austria, Prince of the Asturias, and heir apparent to the throne. It is boldly affirmed, that the inquisitors, after a pretended trial, passed sentence on the Prince, condemning him to death, and that the only subject of doubt, is the manner of his execution. Some writers have gone so far as to relate conversations that passed between Philip and the inquisitor general, between Don Carlos himself and other personages, as if they had been present and heard them; and even to copy a part of the sentence, as if they had read it. There seemed to be the same fondness in those times, for writing romances with the appearance and title of history, that there now exists for writing history under the name of romances. The whole story has been invented. I have carefully searched all the archives of the Council of the Inquisition, for papers relating to this pretended trial, and have found none. There can be no doubt, that there never was such a trial, and such a sentence of this tribunal. The facts of the case are, simply, that Don Carlos, during his difficulties with his father, was often summoned before the Council of State, of which the Cardinal Don Diego Espinosa, then the favourite of the king, was president; and as he was also inquisitor general, this circumstance has afforded occasion for the fabulous account of the agency of the Inquisition. Philip never wished to make out his son a heretic. He charged him with an attempt upon his life; and the violent conduct of the unhappy young man, afforded grounds for such an accusation. The affair then belonged to the jurisdiction of the Council of State, and there it was determined."

As this is the only occasion in which Llorente shows any disposition favourable to the Holy Office, he deserves to be believed.

There were two remarkable trials for heresy during Philip's reign, which excited the attention of the whole of Europe. The first, was the case of Don Bartolome Carranza de Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo, the highest ecclesiastical dignity of Spain. He was of an ancient family in Navarre, and had early attracted the notice of the Emperor Charles, who, after many marks of favour, sent him, in 1545, to the Council of Trent, as his polemic theologian. Even in that assembly of reverend doctors, Carranza was distinguished for his powers of disputation, and for his abhorrence of all heretical opinions. He acquired great influence in the council, and his services there were considered so important, that upon his return to Spain in 1548, he was appointed confessor to the Prince of the Asturias, afterwards Philip II. In 1551 he was again sent to a new session of the same interminable council, where he increased his reputation by his ardent zeal for the purity of the true faith. When the marriage of Philip with Mary of England was adjusted, Carranza was despatched, along with the Cardinal Pole, in order to prepare the new subjects of his master for their reconciliation with the holy Catholic Church. He was eminently successful; preaching constantly, convincing and converting innumerable heretics, confirming those who were doubtful, and overthrowing all opposition by the invincible force of his arguments. When Philip left England, in 1555, Carranza remained as a spy upon the Queen. He took the Universities of Oxford and

Cambridge under his special care and protection, and instilled such solemn views of literature and science into both of those learned bodies, that at the present day they seem scarcely to have recovered from them. He revised the whole canonical law in force in England, and pursuing with ardour the violent measures which were adopted by Mary for the suppression of the reformed religion, is said by his historian to have procured the death of many obstinate heretics, particularly Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was soon rewarded for such eminent services. In 1557 he went to Flanders, to confer with the king on the affairs of England, and was named to the vacant see of Toledo, with many expressions of the royal favour.

Carranza did not know his master. Upon obtaining possession of the revenues of his new dignity, he immediately began to employ them in ostentatious charities; and made munificent contributions to several public objects. He affected a deep concern for the welfare of the poor, and visited in person the most remote villages of his diocese, always surrounded by a numerous retinue, but preserving himself the utmost humility of manners and appearance. He was zealous and faithful in the discharge of his duties to the sick and the dying; and wherever he went, was sure to leave behind him some token of his sympathy and practical benevolence. Upon the occasion of the dreadful famine in the mountains of Leon and Santander, he sold the whole of his library, and distributed the proceeds among the peasants, and then begged through the streets in order to procure for them permanent relief. His fame was spread on all sides. The lower classes regarded him as a saint, and his friends, edified by his good works, reposed under the shadow of his protection.

Philip had narrowly observed the proceedings of his old favourite, and soon determined that his fall should be as sudden as his rise. On the 22d August, 1559, while travelling as usual in episcopal state, he was arrested, under the authority of the sign manual of the inquisitor general, Don Fernando Valdes. He was taken from the midst of his dependants and retainers, and hurried in a close carriage to Valladolid. He did not reach that city till midnight of the 28th, and was immediately conveyed to the house of one of the familiars of the Holy Office, where, in an obscure chamber, he was left alone, to ruminate upon the change in his situation.

Carranza's arrest on the charge of heresy, excited general alarm and consternation. A commission was immediately issued for the examination of testimony in his cause, and as his controversial writings were numerous, and most of the allegations against him were founded upon them, a scholastic discussion of theological points was necessarily commenced. More than two years were occupied in this silly business, and yet very little heresy could be

discovered in his voluminous books and pamphlets. But the stern and vindictive Valdes was his enemy, and determined upon his ruin. The tribunal of the Inquisition accordingly declared two of his most famous productions heretical, and ordered their suppression. The cause of the archbishop began to wear a very unpleasant aspect, when the third session of the endless Council of Trent seemed to make a diversion in his favour. Those learned fathers of the church, indignant that one of the most elevated and powerful members of their body should be arraigned for heresy, and tried by any other tribunal than their own, entered at once into a zealous examination of the archbishop's case. They soon resolved that all his theological works abounded in pure and wholesome doctrines, and expressed their special approbation of his *Exposition of the Epistles of St. John*, and *Commentary upon the Catechism*—the books which had been condemned by the Holy Office. They refused to open the letters addressed to them by Philip himself, and united in a solemn appeal to the Pope Pius IV., declaring that they would not proceed with their deliberations, unless his Holiness should at once require the archbishop to be sent to Rome, in order to be tried at the only tribunal to which he was amenable. They also determined that they would hold no communication with Philip, nor with his agents, till he had made public reparation for his outrage upon the whole Catholic church. The situation of the Holy Father was very different from that of the belligerent theologians. They were safe in the imperial city of Trent, and could thunder forth their censures, without any fear that their temporal dominions would suffer for their boldness. The recent sack of Rome, and imprisonment of Clement VII., had, however, convinced his successor that it was necessary to use caution in all measures that might affect the powerful house of Austria. He accordingly made the requisition of Philip; but at the same time negotiated and explained it away. The true state of the affair was soon made known to the council, and they in their turn demanded the republication of Carranza's suppressed *Catechism*. This the pope could have no pretext for refusing, and a book proscribed and burnt by the Holy Office, was immediately after printed at Rome, by the special command and approbation of the head of the Catholic church!

Death relieved Pius IV. from the dilemma in which he had thus placed himself. Pius V., who succeeded him, seemed determined to vindicate the outraged dignity of the church. He recalled the papal legate, and ordered the archbishop to be sent to Rome, under pain of excommunication and interdict.

Philip did not hesitate a moment as to the course he should pursue. Seven years had now passed away since Carranza's arrest, during the whole of which time he had been closely confined at Valladolid, and whether the pope absolved him or not, his ruin

was accomplished. Philip was, besides, engaged in more serious matters than the trial of degraded favourites, and although the noise excited by the first measures against the archbishop, had gradually subsided, still the case hung in a troublesome way upon his hands. He therefore immediately embraced so convenient an opportunity to get rid of it, and Carranza was accordingly despatched to Rome, and his trial no more thought of in Spain. Valdes, the inquisitor general, and the personal enemy of Carranza, ventured to oppose this characteristic measure of his selfish master. But he was forthwith dismissed from his high office, under the pretence that he was disagreeable to his Holiness the Pope, and Don Diego Espinosa, the new counsellor of state, appointed in his place.

Upon Carranza's arrival at Rome, he was treated like Saint Thomas à Becket. He was lodged in the papal palace, and cardinals and bishops crowded to testify their sympathy and reverence for this martyr of the true religion. Measures were immediately taken to proceed regularly with his trial, and to conduct it with all the solemnity that so important an affair required. It was happily terminated; and Pius V. was preparing his sentence of complete absolution of the proscribed archbishop, when his sudden death in 1572 defeated his favourable intentions, and left the matter to the discretion of his successor. It was at once said, that the sovereign pontiff had been poisoned by the emissaries of the Holy Office. But that tribunal had shown no interest in Carranza's case, after it was removed to Rome, and Philip himself, in the rebellion of the Low Countries, and the destruction of the invincible Armada, had probably forgotten the existence of the controversy.

The Cardinal Buoncompagni, who had been papal legate in Spain, and had many connexions there, was elected in the place of Pius V., and took the title of Gregory XIII. The attention of Philip was necessarily called to Rome by this circumstance; he was well acquainted with the timid and servile character of the new pope, and when he sent to congratulate him on his elevation, he requested that the sentence in favour of the archbishop of Toledo might not be pronounced till the arrival of four Spanish doctors of theology, then on their way to the sacred city. Certain unpublished works of the archbishop had, he said, been lately discovered, which undoubtedly contained dangerous heresies, as would be fully explained by the learned doctors. The immediate effect of this intimation was to subject the unlucky Carranza to a new trial; and, in spite of the efforts of many of the most powerful dignitaries of the church, upon the 14th April, 1576, he was declared "*sospechoso de heregía con sospecha vehemente.*" He was degraded from the exercise of the dignity of archbishop of Toledo, for the space of five years, and sentenced to confinement

during that time, in a Dominican monastery of the city of Orvieto in Tuscany. The poor old man had now been on his trial for nearly eighteen years, seven of which he had spent in imprisonment, and the rest in exile from his native country. He had been flattered with the certainty of an honourable acquittal, and restoration to his former fame; and the unexpected reverse was more than he could bear. Overcome with sorrow and mortification, he expired on the 2d May, 1576, a few days after formal notice of his sentence had been communicated to him. Gregory, like most weak men, had a good heart. When he heard of the mortal illness of the archbishop, he immediately sent him his full absolution, thereby giving public proof of remorse for his subserviency to the tyrannical purposes of the Spanish despot.

At this time, the famous case of Don Antonio Perez was also going on; it must, however, be briefly stated. He had gradually risen to Philip's favour and confidence, who at last appointed him minister, and first secretary of state. But Perez was not sufficiently cautious in giving his master the credit of some measures advocated by himself, which had made him very popular among the lower orders; and he thereby afforded envious courtiers a pretext for exciting Philip's watchful jealousy. The king at first determined to have him tried by the council of state. Perez, however, was informed of what was overhanging him, and fled to Arragon. He was there soon arrested by the orders of the Inquisition; but an armed mob rose in his favour, and breaking into his prison, conducted him in triumph through the streets of Zaragoza, and then set him at liberty. After a second arrest, he succeeded in escaping to France, and at last to England. His trial went on in his absence, and he was duly pronounced a convicted and pertinacious heretic, his property was confiscated, and his blood attainted. Perez died in Paris in 1611; and soon after, by the orders of Philip III., who had succeeded to the crown of Spain in 1598, the sentence of the Inquisition was reversed, and his descendants restored to their rights.

The time of Philip II. abounds in proofs of the true character of the Inquisition; for even *the pope himself was arraigned before its tribunal.* The ambitious Peretti di Montalto, celebrated to this day for commanding energy and talent, under the name of Sixtus V., had excited the enmity of several of the monarchs of Europe, by his bold and constant interference in matters exclusively belonging to their own prerogative. Philip particularly hated him, because he knew him to be in secret correspondence with Elizabeth of England, and Henry of Navarre, notwithstanding the excommunication he had fulminated against both of these princes, in order to save appearances. But, as so haughty and powerful a pontiff would have been a most dangerous enemy even for Philip of Spain, he was obliged reluctantly to conceal his animosity.

Sixtus, although he was the instigator of several violent persecutions against the heretics, conducted the religious and temporal affairs of his own dominions on a scale of liberality and magnificence that had never before been equalled. He encouraged all the arts and sciences, promoted free inquiry, and seemed to delight in paradox. He at last published an edition of the Bible, translated under his special care and direction into the Italian language, and prefixed his pontifical bull, in which he enjoined its perusal upon all the faithful in Christ, expressing his conviction that it would tend greatly to their comfort and edification. This step was at variance with the ancient principles of the Catholic church, and in direct opposition to a multitude of papal bulls, issued after the commencement of the Reformation. Philip now thought that his long wished for opportunity had come. He immediately ordered the Count Olivarez, then his ambassador at Rome, to represent boldly to Sixtus, that he had exposed himself to the charge of heresy, and that his translation of the Bible should not be allowed admission into any of the Spanish dominions. This was accordingly done, and, as may be supposed, the stern pontiff was prompt in the notice which he took of the representation. The person of the Count Olivarez, in violation of the law of nations, and the rights of ambassadors, was at once seized, and Sixtus openly threatened that his life should atone for the insult. In the midst of the dispute, this terrible pope died suddenly. There seems to have been some ground for the suspicion of poison; for he was no sooner dead, than his trial, as an abettor of heretics, was commenced before the tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition. Sentence was speedily passed against him, and his Bible condemned, about the same time that they were celebrating his canonization at Rome.

When Philip obtained possession of Portugal in 1580, he directed much of his attention to measures which he hoped would bring about the union of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition, in order that he might have but one tribunal of the Holy Office in all his dominions. But, although he at last had recourse to the pope, when his own efforts failed, their union could never be accomplished. For many years these two most powerful tribunals of the Inquisition had been in constant collision about their separate jurisdiction and prerogative; and when the kingdoms in which they were established became united under one monarch, they showed much more disposition to persecute each other for heresy, than to act in concert for the propagation of their common religion.

Under the monarchs who succeeded Philip, the Inquisition gradually declined, till the time of its suppression by the French. Fortunately for mankind, Charles V. and his son could have no successful imitators. The Spanish empire was rapidly falling to pieces, and although there might still exist the same despotic views,

there was no longer the same unlimited power which was necessary to maintain the dreadful dominion of the Holy Office.

The beginning of the reign of Philip III., was however marked by the expulsion of the baptized Moors and their descendants, who yet remained in Spain, and who were principally seated in Valencia. This measure can hardly be attributed to the Inquisition, although zeal for religion was affected by all those who advocated it. The Duke of Lerma, and his brother Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, inquisitor general, prevailed upon the council of state to decree the expulsion; but the tribunal of the Holy Office was not allowed any jurisdiction of it. The inquisitor general voted for it in his capacity of counsellor of state. Spain lost by this emigration in 1609, nearly a million of its most useful and industrious inhabitants; the miserable politicians of those days, believing that the royal treasury might thus be expeditiously filled at a slight sacrifice.

Some time after this violent measure, the dungeons of the Inquisition were filled with unhappy wretches, arrested on the charge of witchcraft. The details of the proceedings against them, exhibit a revolting picture of fanaticism, superstition, and cruelty. The ignorance that could have promoted, or endured such absurdities, appears now incredible. The Holy Office was not a political agent in this business. It was clearly an excitement got up by wily priests, in order to ruin private individuals, who had roused their envy or malevolence. The most extraordinary part of the affair was, that many of those arrested confessed themselves guilty, and described minutely the ceremonies and enormities of their sect. The doctors of theology were called upon for their opinion as to the credibility of these relations, and even Llorente himself thinks it necessary to enter into a long discussion, in which he endeavours to prove the imposture. It appears singular that he should not have noticed, that all of the informers were *reconciled* with the church, and consequently escaped with light censures; while the real objects of the persecution, who persisted in asserting their innocence, were burnt without mercy. The following are some of the confessions, literally translated:

"Every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, were the days of our regular sessions. There were some more solemn and special, upon the festivals of the church; because, as the Christians worshipped God with greater pomp on those occasions, the Devil commanded us to pay the same respect to him. During the sessions, he generally appeared in the figure of a powerful and stern looking man, seated upon a golden throne. He gave us special orders to do all the harm we could to good Christians and their friends, and to the fruits of the earth. For that purpose, we had the power to transform ourselves into the figure of dogs, cats, wolves, or birds of prey. We also could compose poisonous liquors and powders, which would cause instant death to any one touched by them. We were assisted in our measures by the toad which we always carried with us; this toad was a demon, subject to our orders in that form, and which was delivered to us upon our initiation. The initiation was conducted with many ceremonies. The novice was presented to the Devil

at the first audience, who said, 'I will receive him to my favour, provided he renounce his own faith, and embrace mine.' The novice then solemnly denied God and the Christian religion: he swore never to invoke the name of Christ, never to bless himself with the sign of the holy cross, and never to perform works of charity and mercy. He acknowledged the Devil for his only lord and master; he adored him as such, and promised him obedience and fidelity till the hour of death. The Devil then laid his hand upon the forehead of the new convert, and, with a golden instrument, impressed the figure of a small toad in the pupil of the left eye. This was done without causing any pain, and served as a mark, by which the members of the sect might know each other. The demon in the form of a toad was then delivered to him. He was enjoined to watch it carefully, and beware lest it should ever escape from him, as his safety and power depended upon having it always in his possession. The desire of the Devil for evil is so great, that if any one of the sect remained for a short time without doing mischief to men or to the fruits of the earth, he was reproved for it in one of the regular sessions, and then whipped with thorns, so cruelly, that the anguish remained for many days after the punishment. I myself did much mischief while I remained in the sect. I destroyed whole harvests, and ruined many peasants. I have caused a great deal of sickness, and killed many persons. I always avenged any insult I received from a woman who was a mother, by killing her children. This was particularly agreeable to the Devil, who delighted in nothing so much as the murder of children."

The history of the religious pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, is part of the early history of our country. Their landing is, at the present day, celebrated as a triumph over intolerance and bigotry, and we look back upon them, as men whose hopes and views were beyond this world. Their success in founding a flourishing colony, in the midst of difficulties which at first seemed overwhelming, and the wise and salutary nature of their political institutions, prove that they were bold and firm of purpose, and richly gifted with intellectual vigour. It is therefore a strange coincidence, that, while the papist inquisitors of the tribunal of the Holy Office, in the strong hold of the Catholic religion, were pursuing such sanguinary measures against witches and witchcraft, these primitive Puritans, in remote and savage America, should be engaged in the perpetration of similar cruelties, with a superstition even more revolting and barbarous. The extracts which follow, to maintain this assertion, have been taken from the first volume of the Life of General Washington, by Mr. Chief Justice Marshall. Mr. Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts, has given long details of the whole transaction.

"The first scene of this distressing tragedy was laid in Salem. Soon after this, some young girls in Boston had accustomed themselves to fall into fits, and had affected to be struck dead on the production of certain popular books, such as the *Assembly's Catechism*, and *Cotton's Milk for Babes*; they were therefore supposed to be possessed by demons, who were utterly confounded at the production of those holy books. Sometimes they were deaf, then dumb, then blind; and sometimes all these disorders together would come upon them. All their joints would appear to be dislocated, and they would make most piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, and beaten. At length an old Irish woman, not of good character, who had given one of those girls some harsh language, and to whom all this diabolical mischief was attributed, was apprehended, condemned, and executed. The public mind being thus predisposed, four girls in Salem complained of being afflicted in the same manner with those in Boston, and the physicians, unable to account for the disorder, attributed it to witchcraft. These girls were much attended to, and

rendered of great importance by the public as well as private notice which was taken of them. Several private fasts were kept at the house of the minister, whose daughter one of them was; several more public were kept by the whole village; and at length a general fast was proclaimed throughout the colony—'*to seek God to rebuke Satan.*' The effect of these measures, not only confirmed the girls in an imposture productive of such flattering attentions, but produced other competitors, who were ambitious of the same distinction. Several other persons were now bewitched. It was necessary to keep up the agitation already excited, by furnishing fresh subjects for astonishment; and in a short time the accusations extended to persons who were in respectable situations. The manner in which these accusations were received, evidenced such a degree of public credulity, that the impostors seem to have been convinced of their power to assail with impunity, any characters which caprice or malignity might select for their victims. The examinations were all taken in writing, and are detailed at full length in Mr. Hutchinson's history. Some extracts from one of them will be sufficient to convey an idea of the course which was pursued.

"'At a court held at Salem, 11th of April, 1692, by the Honourable Thomas Danforth, deputy governor.

"'*Question.* John, who hurt you? *Answer.* Goody Procter first, and then Goody Cloyse. *Q.* What did she do to you? *A.* She choked me, and brought the book. *Q.* How oft did she come to torment you? *A.* A good many times, she and Goody Cloyse. *Q.* Do they come to you in the night as well as in the day? *A.* They come most in the day. *Q.* Where did she take hold of you? *A.* Upon my throat, to stop my breath. *Q.* Mary Wolcott, who hurts you? *A.* Goody Cloyse. *Q.* What did she do to you? *A.* She hurt me. Then the witness fell into a fit. *Q.* Doth she come alone? *A.* Sometimes alone, and sometimes in company with Goody Nurse, and Goody Corey, and a great many I do not know. Then she fell into a fit again. *Q.* Abigail Williams, did you see a company at Mr. Paris' house, eat and drink? *A.* Yes, Sir, that was their sacrament. *Q.* How many were there? *A.* About forty, and Goody Cloyse and Goody Good were their deacons. *Q.* What was it? *A.* They said it was our blood, and they had it twice that day. *Q.* Mary Wolcott, have you seen a white man? *A.* Yes, Sir, a great many times. *Q.* What sort of a man was he? *A.* A fine, grave man, and when he came, he made all the witches to tremble. Then several of the afflicted fell into fits.'

"Upon such senseless jargon as this, many persons, of sober lives, and unblemished characters, were committed to prison; and the public prejudices had already pronounced their doom. The consternation became almost universal. It was soon perceived, that all attempts to establish innocence must be ineffectual, and the person accused, could only hope to obtain safety, by confessing the truth of the charge, and criminating others. The extent of crime to be introduced by such a state of things, may readily be conceived. Every feeling of humanity is shocked, when we learn, that, to save themselves, children accused their parents; in some instances, parents their children; and in one case, sentence of death was pronounced against a husband, on the testimony of his wife. During this reign of popular frenzy, the bounds of probability were so far transcended, that we scarcely know how to give credit to the well attested fact, that among those who were permitted to save themselves, by confessing that they were witches, and joining in the accusation of their parents, were to be found *children from seven to ten years of age!* Among the numbers who were accused, only one person was acquitted. The examinations had commenced in February, and the list of commitments had swelled to a lamentable bulk by June, when the new Charter having arrived, commissioners of oyer and terminer were appointed for the trial of persons charged with witchcraft. By this court a considerable number were condemned, of whom nineteen, protesting their innocence, were executed."

The remarkable parallel presented in this well attested history, should convince us how unjust it is to consider the devices of wicked and designing men, as resulting from the principles of any system of religious faith. The passions of our race have always been the same, and from the earliest times, arbitrary power, and

priestly ambition, have sought to maintain their sway, under the names of patriotism and religion. The attempt to fasten the charge of cruelty and bigotry upon any country or any creed, must be vain, for they pervade the world.

In the reign of the impotent Charles II., a grand junta was convoked for the plausible object of reforming the Inquisition. The royal precept, directed to two counsellors of state in each province, recites expressly that they were called together in order to provide some remedy for the conflict of jurisdiction which was daily occurring between the different tribunals of the Holy Office and the general courts of justice. The junta met in May, 1696, and opened their sessions by an address to the king, which is full of spirit and liberal feeling. None of the measures, however, which they recommended, were adopted, and the whole attempt at reform proved abortive, owing, says Llorente, to the intrigues of the inquisitor general Rocaberti. But it appears plainly from the proceedings of the junta, that the Inquisition was crumbling to pieces along with the Spanish monarchy, and that their meeting, in order to accomplish any real good, should have been a century sooner. The king, doubtless, convoked them merely that he might increase his popularity at the end of his reign, and be better able to sustain his nomination of Philip of Bourbon as his successor, against the powerful pretensions of Charles of Austria, afterwards the emperor Charles VI. If this were his motive, his expectations were not disappointed.

Llorente asserts that Philip of Bourbon was a protector of the Inquisition, in obedience to the injunctions of his grandfather Louis XIV., whom he calls the greatest fanatic and hypocrite of Europe. And yet, Philip's reign must be considered the era of the downfal of the ancient power of the tribunal, as is shown by its feeble measures in the extraordinary case of the Mother Agueda and her confessor, the infamous Juan de la Vega, and by the formal trial and banishment of the inquisitor general himself, Don Baltasar de Mendoza y Sandoval.

Philip died in 1746, and was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand VI. Notwithstanding the amiable character of this monarch, and the complete revival of Spanish literature, freemasonry became suddenly the object of a violent persecution, in which the power of the Inquisition seemed to start up with renewed vigour. The matter may be explained by the circumstance, that popular feeling and prejudice had been greatly excited through the agency of inflammatory publications; the freemasons were charged with the commission of abominable cruelties in their secret meetings, and denounced as dangerous to the government. Several of the brethren were sent to practise their mysteries in the galleys, and it is singular to notice the striking resemblance between the violent language of the different parties which arose on that occasion, and

the terms employed in the well known antimasonic publications of our own country and times.

The period from the accession of Charles III. in 1759, to the invasion of the French in 1808, though filled with historic events of the greatest interest, presents but few important transactions of the Holy Office. There are, however, some curious details of proceedings instituted against modern philosophy and philosophers, which seem in spirit to belong to the ancient days of the tribunal, but which may be regarded without indignation, even by those who express most abhorrence of its other enormities.

Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, afterwards minister of state of Charles IV., had published a translation of Voltaire's tragedy of the Death of Cæsar, with a preliminary dissertation upon the origin of the Spanish theatre, and its influence upon the public morals. Urquijo was immediately summoned before the tribunal of the Holy Office, on the charge of having expressed opinions hostile to the Christian religion, and in accordance with the views of the modern philosophers of France. The influence of the then powerful Count of Floridablanca, procured a favourable termination of the affair. But Urquijo was obliged to abjure the principles of modern philosophy, to consent that his work should be suppressed, and perform, in a secret session of the inquisitors, a humiliating penance. This was in 1792.

The young Marquis de Narros, a near relation of the powerful Duke de Granada de Ega, was charged with having read the works of the modern philosophers, and expressed, on different occasions, opinions which seemed to uphold the system of Holbach and other materialists and atheists. His family connexions made great exertions in his favour, but he was absolved only after a humble confession of his fault, and the performance of a secret penance. There were a great many others of equal rank, tried about the same time, upon the suspicion merely of adherence to the same philosophical opinions; some of whom escaped with far less favourable terms. Among the names may be mentioned those of Gonzalo, bishop of Murcia and Cartagena, Abady la Sierra, bishop of Barbastro, afterwards inquisitor general, the able and upright minister of state Jovellanos, who was banished as an anti-Christian philosopher to the Island of Mallorca, and there confined in a convent of Carthusian monks, with orders to study the doctrines of the Christian religion—and even the notorious Godoy, Prince of Peace, and favourite both of the king and queen.

The case of Olavide produced so great an excitement, and has been the cause of so much discussion and misrepresentation, that it may be well to translate the whole of Llorente's account of it.

"Don Pablo de Olavide was a native of Peru. He went at an early age to Madrid, and through the influence of some friends, was introduced to the notice of Charles III. His activity and talents soon obtained the favour of that monarch, who

ennobled him, and made him Intendant of Seville. The mountains of Sierra Morena, which divide Castille from Andalusia, were at that time a famous resort for robbers, who kept the neighbouring provinces in constant alarm. Olavide offered to expel these vagabonds, and fertilize the country. His plan was opposed by several of the counsellors of state, but Charles gave him permission to establish a colony there, and even intrusted to his hands both the civil and military authority. His success was complete, and indeed almost incredible; for in a short time, this desolate region was thickly inhabited by several thousand industrious emigrants, and an easy communication opened between two of the most important provinces. Olavide was now considered a public benefactor, and received flattering testimonials of esteem from several of the monarchs of Europe. But in this moment of triumph, he was suddenly arrested by the orders of the Inquisition, as suspected of heretical errors, principally those of Voltaire and Rousseau—with whom he was known to maintain a friendly correspondence. It appeared upon his trial, that he had spoken of the exterior worship of God in the churches of the new settlements in the Morena, in the same terms that those philosophers had employed in their general treatises upon the subject. He moreover had expressed himself sceptically as to the importance of the ringing of bells, the abstaining from labour on festivals, the administration of the sacraments, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies. Olavide denied some of the charges, and explained others by saying that he had not been understood. But he confessed enough to enable the inquisitors to decide that he was strongly imbued with the doctrines of his deistical friend. He humbly begged pardon for his imprudence, but solemnly declared that he was innocent of the crime of heresy, and that his belief in the Christian religion had never been shaken. Upon the 24th November, 1778, a particular *auto de fé* was celebrated within the halls of the Inquisition, to which seventy persons of high rank were invited. Olavide was compelled to appear before this assembly as a criminal, with a green waxen taper in his hand. He was declared a formal and positive heretic, and sentenced to eight years confinement in a convent, and ordered to conform himself, during that time, to any course of life which might be marked out for him, by the spiritual director to whose charge he was committed. He was banished forever from Madrid, from Seville, and from his own new settlements in the Morena; his property was confiscated, and he was made incapable of honourable offices and employments; he was prohibited from mounting on horseback, from using gold and silver, silk, and fine cloth; and permitted to wear only the coarsest penitential garments. The secretary of the tribunal read a summary of his cause, which occupied four hours; for he was charged with no less than one hundred and sixty-six heretical propositions, and seventy-two witnesses were examined against him. When he heard the sentence by which he was declared a formal heretic, he fainted and fell upon the floor. He was restored by throwing water in his face, and then raising himself upon his knees, he solemnly read and signed a protestation of his faith in the Catholic church, which he had prepared for the occasion. The scene here ended, and he was led back to his prison. The shame and confusion of Olavide were naturally great, because the company that witnessed his humiliation was composed of grandees of Spain, generals and field marshals, counsellors of state, and knights of illustrious military orders, who nearly all were his personal friends. He was in a short time conveyed to the convent designated as his prison, where his treatment was rigid and unfeeling. His friends at length contrived to open a communication with him; he was enabled to escape to France, and resided several years in Paris under an assumed name and title. A longing desire to return to his native country, induced him to publish a work, entitled *The Gospel triumphant, or the converted Philosopher*, which passed through eight editions, and procured his recall to Spain by Charles IV., absolved from all penance. He died in 1803."

The origin of this shameful business was political intrigue; but as the proceedings were in accordance with popular prejudices, many good Christians were edified by them, and assured that the inquisitors were solely actuated by an honest zeal for the purity of the Catholic faith.

We come now to the last and most extraordinary part of the history of the Inquisition, which is also the history of our own times.

The defeat of Marshal Soult, by Lord Wellington, at Toulouse, April 10th, 1814, put an end to the French dominion in Spain. The provisional Cortes had already assembled, and the whole nation looked with anxiety for the arrival of their king.

The Spanish soldiers and peasantry, during the long and sanguinary struggle which followed the abdication of Charles IV., carried upon their banners the motto "*Vencer o morir por patria y por Fernando VII.*" They were deserted by those who should have led them on in the defence of their homes and firesides—they were secretly assailed by all the arts of corruption and bribery—and destitute of the equipments of war, without concert, and without leaders whom they could trust, they had to oppose the well appointed armies of victorious France. But through scenes of dreadful trial and bloodshed—in defeat and in captivity, their courage was unshaken, their hopes were unsubdued. Thousands of these gallant men died nobly in the conflict for their native country. They had not the excitement of ambition and military glory to sustain them in their desperate resistance. They were hunted like wild beasts, and their fall was unpitied and unknown. When the intervening power of England had terminated the war, the first joy of the Spaniards was that their banished king would now be restored to them. The journey of Ferdinand from Valençay resembled a triumph. He entered Madrid amidst the acclamations of multitudes of his subjects, who had already forgotten the perils of the past, and whose only thoughts were of peace and happiness.

The scene which followed contrasted strangely with these rejoicings. The constitution established by the provisional Cortes, was immediately declared invalid. The most influential members of the Regency, and sixty or seventy members of the Cortes were arrested, and orders issued to maintain strict watch over their friends. The Inquisition was re-established, and the Order of the Jesuits recalled, and restored to all the privileges and estates of which they had been deprived, when they were expelled in 1767. A general persecution was organized against political offenders, and a number of the brave men who had sacrificed every thing to procure the restoration of Ferdinand, were now condemned and executed as traitorous conspirators, because they ventured to oppose the tyranny of his new measures. A few of the grandees and counsellors of state boldly remonstrated with the king; but notwithstanding their high rank and great popularity, some of them were banished, and others, who had attempted to escape, thrown into prison, as if to defy the power and indignation of the people. From his restoration, till the revolution in 1820, Ferdinand maintained his despotic sway; and in all his proceedings of severity

and cruelty, the tribunal of the Holy Office was his active and remorseless agent. He entered Madrid, as already noticed, on the 14th May, 1814, and on the 21st of the following July, issued his royal decree, formally re-establishing the Inquisition, with most of its ancient powers and jurisdiction. He also stated in the same decree, that he was solely influenced by a desire to propose some remedy for the evil which the Catholic religion had received from the introduction of foreign heretical troops—to prevent the further propagation of heretical opinions, which had been adopted by many Spaniards—and lastly, to preserve Spain from internal dissensions, and preserve the public security and tranquillity. Don Francisco Xavier de Mier y Campillo, bishop of Almeria, was appointed inquisitor general, and immediately promulgated his edict, from which the following is an extract.

"All the faithful in Christ must behold with horror the rapid progress of heresy, and the frightful corruption of morals which pervades the whole Spanish dominion. Many are ashamed even of the piety and religious zeal of their ancestors, and the same errors and dangerous doctrines which have so miserably ruined the greater part of Europe, now infest and distract our beloved country. In endeavouring to provide a remedy for this fearful state of things, I shall not imitate the burning zeal of the Apostles when they besought Jesus Christ to cause fire to fall from Heaven and consume Samaria—but rather the gentleness and compassion of the divine master himself. I have been counselled by many, to begin the functions of inquisitor general with fire and sword—anathematizing and destroying, as the only means that can save the true faith, and eradicate the evil seed, so abundantly sown by infidels and sectarians, who possess the unhappy liberty of printing and publishing their immoral opinions. But I still retain my original determination, and therefore enjoin and admonish all those who know themselves to be guilty of any crime which belongs to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, that they forthwith voluntarily denounce themselves unto its sacred tribunal, and they shall be absolved in secret, without any penance—provided such denunciation be made before the close of the current year. And I also command all who believe in our holy religion, and all true subjects of the king, that they instantly inform against any person or persons, who they may know *or hear*, are suspected in points of doctrine. And lastly, let all confessors have a special care that their penitents strictly obey the provisions of this edict, under pain of being themselves denounced to the tribunal of the faith."

Llorente observes, that Campillo's edict, like all which ever issued from the Holy Office with expressions of gentleness and suavity, immediately caused general dismay and consternation, and afforded full scope for the gratification of private malice and revenge, while it provided effectually for the accomplishment of the monarch's most despotic purposes. The Spaniards endured this tyranny till 1820, when the revolution broke out, and the country for three years was distracted with the horrors of civil war. There can be no doubt that the liberal party would have triumphed, but for the armed interference of France, under the protection of the Holy Alliance, which was naturally desirous of maintaining the principles of the Holy Office. Immediately after the breaking up of the Congress at Verona, the Duke d'Angoulême marched upon Madrid at the head of one hundred thousand Frenchmen, transformed in a few years, from victorious soldiers

of the Emperor Napoleon, into faithful servants of the house of Bourbon. He entered Madrid the 24th May, 1823, and after a short but bloody campaign, the weak and perfidious Ferdinand was again firmly seated upon the throne of Spain, to tyrannize at pleasure over the most sacred rights of mankind. The Holy Alliance, however, recommended that the Holy Office should not again be established; perceiving, probably, that their own institution had rendered the existence of that tribunal no longer necessary.

Here, then, terminates the history of the Inquisition; which at the present time is not known in any of the monarchies of Europe. A branch of the tribunal is kept up at Rome; but it has jurisdiction only over the conduct and offences of the clergy—a jurisdiction which may be very useful and necessary.

Some of Llorente's details, which stand apart from his regular history, must now be noticed. In one of the chapters of the fourth volume, he gives an account of the most remarkable of the *autos de fé*. The first was celebrated at Valladolid, on Trinity Sunday, the 21st May, 1559. Fourteen persons were burnt alive, and sixteen were *reconciled* after a public penance. Among these victims were some of high rank, and all were of a class above the ordinary walks of life. Llorente says that the *autos* of Valladolid and Seville were more celebrated than the others, by the quality of those who suffered in them. He has, therefore, confined his descriptions mainly to them, and seems to begin and end with the reign of Philip II. The most famous of all was the second *auto de fé* of Valladolid, celebrated the 8th October, 1559, a few months after the first. Philip himself was present at it, along with his son Don Carlos, his sister and her son the prince of Parma, three foreign ambassadors, several archbishops and bishops, and nearly all of the higher order of the Spanish nobility. Thirteen persons were burnt alive, one in effigy, and sixteen were *reconciled* after a public penance. There was unusual pomp and display on this occasion, because most of the unhappy wretches burnt were apostate monks, and Philip was determined that their punishment should strike terror into the whole of the order. The last *auto de fé* celebrated by the Inquisition, was in Mexico, the 27th December, 1815. Its victim was a patriot priest named Morellos, who had been endeavouring to stir up the Mexicans to resist openly the tyrannical measures of the Spanish government. He was at first arrested by the civil authority; but as it was difficult to prove any overt act of treason against him, he was handed over to the tribunal of the Holy Office, charged with adherence to the heretical doctrines of modern philosophy. He was soon made out a materialist and an atheist; but as he abjured those errors, and demanded reconciliation with the Catholic church, the most serious peril seemed to be warded off. His *auto de fé* was celebrated with

great parade and ceremony; and after a humiliating penance, he was degraded by the bishop of Antequera, in person, from his ecclesiastical rank, prohibited participation in any of the sacred offices, and declared "*sospechoso de heregía, con sospecha vehemente.*" Shortly after, the unfortunate man was hanged by order of the viceroy, on the strength of some new testimony, doubtless fabricated for the occasion.

The Inquisition was of great service to the monarchs of Spain in the prohibition of books, and the persecution of authors who maintained opinions that might interfere with their despotic views. This unpopular jurisdiction, in countries where there was no inquisition, necessarily belonged to the sovereign himself, who was often obliged to avow that the political tendency of a book was the only cause of its prohibition. But the Holy Office of Spain took all this odium upon itself; and was always remarkable for the facility with which it could discover religious heresy in every publication that assailed the royal prerogative. The instances of this political censorship are very numerous. One of the most curious occurred in modern times. A lawyer of Madrid undertook to translate the first volume of Filangieri's powerful work, entitled the "Science of Legislation." He had not gone far, however, before his papers were seized, and the book condemned, as full of dangerous heresies, breathing in every line an anti-Christian spirit, and maintaining the fallacious principles of modern philosophy. To any one acquainted with the character of Filangieri's treatise, and the manner in which the reasoning is conducted, the absurdity of this ecclesiastical censure is at once apparent. Filangieri was distinguished, in a time of general corruption and infidelity, for the purity of his principles, and a firm belief in the doctrines of the Christian religion. His brief but useful life was employed in daily acts of unobtrusive benevolence, as well as in the highest intellectual efforts; and at the end of his bright career, he gave a striking proof that he died in the faith in which he had lived. But he boldly declaimed against the injustice of all laws that encroached upon the liberty of the subject, and exposed the destructive tendency of most of the systems of legislation then in force in Europe. His work was therefore directly hostile to despotism; and the example set by Spain, was soon followed in other countries, where the pretext of heresy could not be made available.

Llorente has been at the pains to arrange a long alphabetical list of the different individuals, eminent for talents and dignity, who were exposed to the censures of the Holy Office. It is composed of princes and prelates, soldiers and statesmen, literary men and poets, doctors of theology and civilians, and even some of the venerable saints of the Catholic church. The history closes with a recapitulation of the number of victims sacrificed by the modern

Inquisition of Spain, from the time of its origin; of which the summary is as follows:—

"Thirty-one thousand nine hundred and twelve, burnt alive.
"Seventeen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine, burnt in effigy, and their estates confiscated.
"Two hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and fifty, condemned to public and infamous penances."

Over this scene of savage cruelty, the Catholic religion is represented as presiding;—urging the unhappy victims at the stake to a renunciation of their errors, and increasing the anguish of their last moments by merciless threats of eternal perdition in the world to come. Throughout a large portion of the civilized world, this is a favourite picture, and any attempt to correct its unfaithful colouring, would mark a man at once as a partisan of the Romish Church, and an advocate of superstition and religious intolerance.

Historians have been allowed to show that the schism of the Greek Church was employed as the most efficient means of founding a mighty empire—that the Reformation sprung out of the jealousy of two monastic orders, and was eagerly promoted by the nations of the north, with the hope of forming a religious league against the overwhelming power of Spain—that the Church of England owed its establishment to the licentious tyranny of Henry VIII., and Wolsey's baffled hopes of the pontifical chair—and even that the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and the wars with the Huguenots, originated in the feuds of the princely houses of Condé and Guise. But any inquiry into the political nature of the Holy Office, has ever been regarded by Protestants with distrust and hostility. And there can be no doubt, that in the present instance, it would be vain to dwell upon the manifest bearing of the facts narrated in the preceding sketch of the History of the Spanish Tribunal.

This kind of feeling is not favourable to the progress of enlightened views. The past is the only legitimate source of instruction, and it presents important lessons with regard to religion. The remains of the altars of the Druids, the mighty temples of Elora, the idol of Juggernaut, and the dismantled dungeons of the Inquisition, proclaim with one voice that Superstition has ever held an iron sway over the world. But it appears that the age of intellectual darkness and slavery is for ever gone. Such monstrous inventions would not be tolerated in our own enlightened times. The progress of liberal principles has overthrown the imaginary distinctions of former days, and the different classes of men are now so generally intermingled with each other, that any combination of one order to extend its power and influence, would necessarily be fruitless, and indeed almost impossible. The clergy, for instance, are no longer separated, by great privileges and exclusive inter-

ests, from the rest of mankind. They are brought down to be jostled in all the temporal concerns of society, and often mingle in the bustle of life, without any regard being paid to their character of spiritual teachers. With these views, however, we should expect to find but few ecclesiastical institutions prominent in any of the reformed parts of the civilized world; and least of all, in a country like our own, where there is no established Church, and where the unbounded latitude of religious opinion, would seem to lead directly to general scepticism or indifference.

And yet the extraordinary number of sects which exist in every part of the United States—their strenuous and systematic measures for the propagation of their various tenets—their extensive foundations of charity and education, carefully distinguished by their peculiar names—their widely opposing principles and doctrines—their frequent theological disputes—and their open jealousy and proscription of each other, all tend to prove, that the inclination of the human mind to dictate and tyrannize, has not been diminished—that although the exterior of things may be totally changed, the heart of man remains the same through the course of time.

The Divine Author of the Christian Faith earnestly enjoined his disciples to love one another. He was actuated by an unceasing desire to promote fraternal peace and concord, and breathed but one spirit of charity and good will to men. He blessed the merciful, and although he openly expressed his abhorrence of refined vice and hypocrisy, he was ever gentle and compassionate with the humble and the penitent. His life was an unvarying exhibition of meekness and benevolence, and all of his precepts were illustrated by the persuasive beauty of his example.

It could scarce have been foreseen, that fierce contention, and sanguinary wars, were to arise out of a system so pure and simple, and solely designed to turn the thoughts of men from the delusive pleasures of earth to another and a better world. The dreadful wars of religion, it is true, are at an end. Troops are no longer armed and led out to fight, in order to maintain disputed points of doctrine. But the same sectarian hostility and distinctions continue to pervade the Christian world, and they are deepened and widened by the revolution of every age.

The political questions on which men are so often divided, rouse their worst passions, and sunder the nearest ties. But as parties and their measures, in this varying world, are rapidly changed, although their animosity upon many occasions may be violent, it has no time to grow to settled hatred. Not so with religious dissensions. They are kept up from generation to generation, in the same bitter and vindictive spirit. They pervade every rank and condition of society, and influence even the minutest transactions of life. Heresy may be said to be no longer a crime, nor are ec-

clesiastical tribunals now armed with the power of the Inquisition. But treachery and malice have still an efficient weapon in the religious proscription of modern times, against which the purest virtue and the most exemplary piety are no protection.

Our existence is too brief, and its joys too fleeting, to be thus embittered by fanaticism and hypocrisy. The future will soon be for us like the past—the familiar scenes and images, in the midst of which we have dwelt, are rapidly receding from us, and we are sweeping down the stream of life to a mighty ocean, covered with the mists of doubt and of uncertainty. In these passing moments, let us then be willing to obey the precepts of a religion which inculcates charity and peace; nor longer maintain the fierce sectarian conflict:—lest in the eager attempt to close the portals of eternal rest upon our fellow men, we should haply exclude ourselves for ever.

ART. VIII.—*A History of Egyptian Mummies.* By THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, F. R. S. London: 1834.

MANKIND generally regard all events beyond the limits of their daily experience as extraordinary, and are ready to be astonished when they hear of things to which they had never before directed their attention, or which they had not suspected could exist. If an individual belonging to this class of intelligent beings, should stumble upon something new, and at variance with the current of his thoughts and pursuits, he may perchance pause to examine it, and for a little while bewilder himself with conjectures, and if his ideas be sufficiently definite to form a description, detail an account of his curious discovery to a circle of idle listeners, and here the matter terminates. To some extent the same holds good in the case of those more inquiring, less easily satisfied with the outside view of things, and better accustomed to trace effects to their causes. It is not, however, the want of capacity, which alone prevents investigation in this class. Prior trains of thought and analysis may already occupy their attention, and circumscribe the sphere of exertion. But even with the intelligent and cultivated, the impression of new, and previously unknown ideas, partakes more or less of the effect which those ideas produce upon the mass of the community. The reflective powers are paralyzed, and for the time absorbed in the forcible occupation of the senses, and it is only when the spell of astonishment and wonder has been broken by familiar observation, that reaction is brought about, the mind resumes its dominion, and calmly commences to employ itself upon the subjects which had entranced it.

The monuments and remains of antiquity in the first instance create feelings of bewilderment and awe. They strike us in all their majesty and grandeur, and it is long before sufficient self-possession can be commanded to approach and patiently scrutinize them. The first effect must have worn off, before previously acquired knowledge and information can be exerted in any systematic effort. Other causes also are in operation, to impede the successful result of such an analysis. We find it can be accomplished but imperfectly; the zeal of pursuit diminishes; new objects present themselves; these are likewise skimmed over, and then dismissed for others; a record is made in the mind that they exist; and nothing more. Even if there should be an effort to trace their origin, the purposes for which they were designed, or the means by which they were accomplished, superstitious impressions, credulous beliefs, and vain imaginings, lead us to wonder at the art, but to pity the folly which instigated it. Should some searching spirit commence a thorough elucidation of the truth, the ultimate limit to which he may attain must long remain a boundary for those who follow, and centuries may roll by before one as laborious and persevering as himself shall successfully pursue the same investigation, and bring to light more deeply buried treasure. This is the history of all attempts to extend knowledge; and hence the little progress made in every thing useful or important.

The nations of the world have by common consent been divided into ancient and modern, and without inquiring why there is any difference between the state of things existing at these vastly separated periods of time, it is universally allowed that there is a difference. The facts presented every day, with regard to the existence and condition of former nations, contribute to point out and establish this distinction; and, by comparison, a vast dissimilarity is certainly manifested. But can this be extended to natural and physical causes—and to the laws arising from those causes—which exercise an agency in the revolutions of our globe? Matter may lose its form, and alter its combinations, but not its nature. Man may live in different climates, be civilized in different degrees, practise various manners, customs, and arts; he may speak a more or less polished language, and believe in a more or less elaborate philosophy or religion, but he is still physically man, as he ever has been, and must continue to be. It is wrong to attribute peculiar practical knowledge to remote nations of antiquity, any further than that which arose from the circumstances under which they were placed, dissimilar from those of recent times. The light of modern science, improved and widely diffused, has done much to show that the occult arts and lost practices may be as well executed at the present day as at former periods. For ages no attempt at imitation was made, either in consequence of

a different direction given to the flow of public taste, or because a cloud of intellectual and moral darkness hung over the world, and enveloped its whole surface in obscurity. But the delusion, founded in a belief of impossibility, so enervating to human exertion, has vanished. By many successful trials, we have been convinced, that what has been done, may again be accomplished, and that mystery and latent causes must give way before the influence of popular instruction, and practical information.

Egyptian history, as pursued at the present day, abounds in relics to puzzle the learned, and excite emulation among the inquisitive and curious. And not the least interesting of the numerous subjects which have enticed investigation, is the wonderful preservation of the human body, for many thousand years, in a condition almost as entire as when the vital spark was liberated from its tenement.

The author of the work before us has devoted much time to the examination of these remains, and has ably and learnedly presented to us the result of his researches. To a lover of such studies, his book is highly attractive, whether regarded as a literary and amusing production, or as the record of natural facts, in sufficient number to lead to many accurate conclusions with regard to this ancient nation. Taken in any light accordant with the tastes and inclinations of the reader, its perusal will amply repay him for the time that may be spent upon it. The claims which Mr. Pettigrew can set up for public favour, may be stated in a few words. The acquaintance of Belzoni first directed his mind to this subject, and through his instrumentality, an opportunity was afforded him of witnessing the opening of three mummies. These did not satisfy his curiosity; but, on the contrary, induced him to purchase one with his own funds, which has been called the Græco Egyptian Mummy, and which was examined in the presence of several learned and distinguished gentlemen. By the kindness of Mr. Saunders and Dr. Lee, two subjects procured by them were also submitted to him. From these and several other opportunities afforded him by different individuals, our author obtained a large share of practical knowledge, as to the manipulations necessary in preparing the bodies, and was enabled to verify or refute many of the statements previously made by travellers. The learning necessary to pursue the subject through the records of numerous authors, was not of small amount, and in this also he has acquitted himself most creditably. With regard to his personal investigations, we are glad to have it in our power to speak from actual experience:—the arrival of several mummies in this country a few years ago, having placed at the disposal of scientific gentlemen here, the means of carefully examining these preparations. The result in a great measure coincides with that ob-

tained in England, and corroborates the details presented in the account of our author.

The practice of embalming is not confined to the ancient Egyptians, for many other nations have been in the habit of thus rescuing from decay and corruption, the ghastly remains of inanimate mortality. And it is found even at this late period of time, that the practice is still continued in some of the eastern countries. But nowhere did it attain so great perfection, or so systematically and universally prevail, as in Egypt. Attempts have been made to trace its origin to religious belief and worship, and it has been connected with certain opinions as to man's state of existence in this world and the next. It is true, that the Egyptians gave full credence to the immortality of the soul, and also to the doctrine of metempsychosis. They appear to have cherished great veneration for the departed, as is proved by the erection of beautiful obelisks, and stupendous pyramids and catacombs to receive their slumbering remains. But that these theological and philosophical views were the chief reasons why so much care and trouble were exhibited in the details of an art now almost unknown, is by no means certain. The immaterial nature of the soul was believed by nations who disposed of their dead in a variety of ways, and the peculiar doctrine of transmigration forms a prominent part of the Brahminical code as believed by the Hindoos, among whom the custom of burning the dead, or throwing them into the Ganges, is universally prevalent. It is unnecessary to discuss the various reasons which have been given for the general desire to avoid the results incident to the natural disintegration of the human body. The evil of allowing decay to proceed openly, and of presenting to the eyes of the living the disgusting spectacle of progressing putrefaction, was sufficiently obvious to call early for some remedy, and that which was adopted, more probably arose from habits, local facilities, and prejudices, than from any metaphysical belief or religious doctrine.

The various ways in which the human body was disposed of, may be concisely stated as follows: *Burial* was practised by the moderns, and anciently by the Jews. *Burning*, by the Greeks, Romans, Gauls, and others. *Embalming* was regularly practised by the Egyptians; at times by the Persians, Ethiopians, Chinese, Arabians, Jews, and Christians. The different methods of embalming of these last mentioned nations, and the reasons why the Egyptians have been more successful in the art, will be fully examined, when we come to the immediate subject of putrefaction.

The word mummy has been variously derived. Brochart, Menage, Vossius, and others, have derived it from the Arabic noun *mum*, meaning wax. Avicenna from the same. Salmasius from *amomum*, a kind of perfume. Mumia signifies an embalmed body. In Persian, *múmià* is the name of the bitumen or pisasphaltus found

in the embalmed bodies of the Egyptians. The term in a general sense had several meanings; sometimes explained to indicate the preserving materials, sometimes parts of preserved bodies, and at others more specifically the asphaltum found in great abundance in the regions contiguous to Egypt. But the common acceptation of the term now simply means an animal body preserved, whatever process it may have undergone. Its derivation, however, from the substance which was of so much consequence in the art of embalming, is curious and important.

Mummies may be divided into two classes, the artificial and the natural, and as one will perform an important part in elucidating the account of the other, it will be well to adhere closely to this division. There is no necessity of presenting a minute definition of what is meant by either class; it will be sufficient for our purpose to state that all bodies previously prepared by art, and properly disposed with the design of preservation, belong to the former, and such as have been accidentally retained in their perfect state by physical causes, are included in the latter.

The art of preserving the bodies of men and animals from decay, and of placing them in such a condition, with regard to exterior circumstances, that they will resist its progress for an indefinite length of time, is accomplished by different methods, and by the use of numerous medicaments. And although at first it may appear that as the means are so varied, their modes of operation must be equally various, yet upon strict examination, it will be found that their antiseptic power is dependant upon the same general principles. We shall now commence the specific account of embalming, by following the elaborate history of the process drawn up by Mr. Pettigrew.

Many names have been adapted to express the art and its effects; such as balsamatio, mumisatio, caromomia, &c. The modern Egyptians are unacquainted with the art, and hence we are under the necessity of consulting the accounts of the older writers, imperfect and scanty as they are. Yet so far as their records extend, it is most probable, from the corroborating researches of later times, that their narrative is substantially correct. Herodotus is the first writer who professedly mentions this subject, and the imperfect notice which he gives of it, was doubtless owing to the fact that he was a foreigner, and must have been regarded with more or less distrust by those practising the art, and his means of information proportionably diminished. The several methods of embalming were adapted to the wealth and resources of the different classes of society, and it was therefore more or less completely effected. The price agreed upon regulated the kind of articles employed, and the care bestowed upon the operation. This being settled, the work was commenced, and if performed in the most expensive way, the following are the details.

The brain was removed by perforating the cranium through the nostrils, and then scooping it out. With a sharp stone, an incision was afterwards made in the flank, the viscera were removed through the opening, and the cavities, thus emptied, washed with palm wine, and filled with aromatics. This being done, the preparation was steeped for seventy days in a solution of natron. It was then removed from the solution, wrapped in cloth, and besmeared with gum.

A second method was to fill the abdominal viscera with the oil of cedar, and then immerse the body in the solution of natron. And the least expensive method of all, was the simple immersion in the solution, after having employed internally a preparation called smyrnæa.

Diodorus Siculus, who lived four hundred and forty years after Herodotus, mentions, that all the viscera were removed except the heart and kidneys; he has omitted to speak of the natron.

The workmen employed made it their particular business, and most probably pursued it as a means of livelihood. From the accounts, it could not have been very honourable, and to the individual who performed the incisions, it was an affair of personal risk, as he had immediately to fly from the affected indignation of those who were present. There existed a division of labour, each part being performed by different persons, called by different names. *Parischites*, the cutters; *Taricheutæ*, the embalmers; *Cholchytæ*, the swathers.

We have now proceeded sufficiently in the examination of the means detailed by older writers to effect the preservation of mummies, and our attention must next be directed to an examination of the substances employed, and the manner of employing them. It is usually supposed that the reason why the ancient preparations of human bodies, have so long resisted decay, is involved in obscurity, and that all investigation of the subject has ended in mere conjecture and hypothesis. The preservative principle inherent in substances applied for the purpose, has been regarded as specific; and the combination of causes acting in accordance with the known and settled laws of physical nature, has been in a great measure overlooked. Mr. Pettigrew remarks, that "one cannot but express regret that the present state of chemical knowledge is not sufficiently advanced to be capable of detecting the precise nature of the substances, chiefly of a vegetable kind, that have been used in this ancient operation." But here, in joining with him in the wish that a more detailed account had been handed down, and that a more particular statement had been entered into with regard to the minor steps in the operation, we must still assume that sufficient is known from what has been written, and from the application of chemical and physical laws, to dissipate the veil of mystery and wonder which hangs around the subject, and to convince us

that the art is by no means dependant upon a species of knowledge now lost to the world. The rule universally adopted in philosophizing, is simple and of easy application, and in no instance more suitable than the present. "When known causes are determined equal to the production of an effect, we need seek no further for others." With regard to substances not to be detected by the delicacy of analysis, it appears to us that it is immaterial whether they are brought to light or not. It is probable that whatever they may have been, their effects were but temporary, and that in a short time they were so entirely dissipated as to become inert. It is of more importance to examine those which are known, and whose mode of action is clear and well understood.

The first of these is *bitumen*. This substance is of various kinds, and known by several names, as asphaltum, pisasphaltum, *bitumen Judaicum*, or Jews pitch. Petroleum is the generic name of the material from which the preparations of variable consistency indicated above, are obtained. Petroleum means properly *rock oil*. It issues from the ground, and is collected for the purposes to which it has been applied. Its origin is probably vegetable. This is the substance alluded to by Abd' Allatif, an Arabian physician who flourished in the twelfth century. He states that it "flows down from the tops of the mountains, and mixing with the waters that carry it down, coagulates like mineral pitch, and exhales an odour resembling that of white pitch and bitumen." He calls it *mummy*. It is found in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea, in Persia, Africa, and Italy, besides many other places. The account of Sir William Ouseley is interesting. He visited the Mummy Mountain in the territory of Daratgerd in Persia. He fancied that it presented a darker appearanoe than the mountains adjacent to it. He says that "the mummy is a blackish bituminous matter which oozes from the rock, and is considered by the Persians as far more precious than gold, for it heals cuts and bruises." It appears to have been much more plentiful formerly than at present. It is of a brownish yellow colour, and exhales a peculiar odour, is highly inflammable, and may be rendered more solid and concrete by the removal of its volatile parts by distillation, or the application of heat. It is insoluble in water, or spirits of wine, but miscible with rectified essential oils. Upon the solid substances of this nature, obtained from a specimen of mummy, M. Rouelle performed several experiments. By distillation there was attained a thick oil, having the smell of amber, and a product essentially resinous. This latter in his opinion was identical with the Jews pitch as described by Dioscorides. The bitumen Judaicum, called also asphaltum from the name of the lake whence derived, is a solid, friable substance, of a brownish black colour, brilliant in its fracture, and giving out a bituminous odour. It has been named *funeral gum* and *gum of mummies*, from its use in the preparation of mum-

mies. *Pisasphaltum* is a compound of asphaltum and black pitch. From M. Rouelle's analysis, it results that there were three modes of embalming with bitumen. 1st, With asphaltum. 2d, Asphaltum combined with cedar oil. 3d, Asphaltum with resinous and aromatic matters.

Cedar oil. This preparation was aromatic, penetrating, more or less imbued with the preservative principle of turpentine, and used in the most expensive preparations.

Palm wine possessed less of the conservative power than cedar oil, and was only used as a purifier of the emptied cavities. It had some degree of astringent effect.

Natron. This is a well known saline compound, and at the present day extensively used. The antiseptic characters of this salt, when properly applied, are well calculated to withstand putrefaction for a long time. The solution contained probably either a mixture of carbonate and muriate of soda, procured from the natron lakes of Upper Egypt, or trona* from Fezzan. Professor Blumenbach obtained from some crystals found in a mummy, a true soda.

"The *natrum* or *nitrum* of the Egyptians was used for the purpose of cleansing, scouring, and bleaching their stuffs and linen, and it was also employed in the manufacture of glass. It must have been a fixed alkali." Mr. Pettigrew is inclined to the opinion that it was not nitre, and this conclusion is based upon the experiments of Dr. Ure, who obtained from the Græco Egyptian mummy, salts of soda, but not of potassa.

The immersion in the solution was but one step in the operation, and perhaps was merely intended to procrastinate the final disposal in the cemetery. The large amount of moisture imbibed by immersion, had afterwards to be removed, in order to allow the continuance of the embalming process, leaving the dry alkaline matter deeply fixed in the interstices of the parts.

Spices were abundantly consumed in the most expensive method of embalming; not on account of their antiseptic properties, but most likely as perfumes. Cassia, saffron, aloes, and sandal wood, are mentioned by all writers; the finely pulverized particles of which substances form a large proportion of the dust accumulated around the bodies, in the places appropriated to their reception. Mr. Madden has given an interesting account of this impalpable production of injured preparations. His throat was frequently excoriated by it, and this he thought made him acquainted with the component parts of the balsam employed in the preparation of mummies; which he conjectured essentially to consist of powdered colocynth, commonly called bitter apple. Upon comparing the

* Trona is the name of another salt of soda, called by chemists a sesquicarbonate of soda.

dust with the article itself, he was confirmed in his opinion. Its acrid nature well qualifies it for destroying vermin, and at the present day it is much used in Upper Egypt for this purpose.

Vegetable balm or balsam, the exudation and concretion of the juices of several trees, was also in use. This most probably belonged to the gum-resins, which, combined with asphaltum, would greatly contribute to the end desired. Penicher describes four kinds; that of India, of Syria, of Egypt, and of Mecca. It was aromatic, abounding in volatile oils—colour white, approaching to yellow—taste *astringent* and sharp. Its odour and fluidity were lost by keeping it.

The application of these substances to the art of embalming, is well ascertained. It is proved by the united testimony of those who wrote at the time, or soon after the art was in practice, and is corroborated by the modern investigations of the subject. Other nations employed materials of a character similar to these, which we shall briefly enumerate. The instances of preservation among them are scarce, because the art was not practised in compliance with a regular and settled custom.

The Jews embalmed with myrrh and aloes. If embalming means *fitted for preservation*, this is a wrong method of expressing the Jewish practice. The Persians, Syrians, and Arabians, covered their dead with wax and honey, and in this way preserved them. The Chinese preserve the bodies of their relatives for three or four years in the house, as a token of their devoted love and attachment. They, however, cannot strictly be said to *embalm*, as the coffin is first sealed up, and made air tight, and then carefully kept in a retired place. The nearest approach to the correct method of embalming, was made by the Ethiopians. According to Herodotus, they *desiccated the bodies of their dead*, and after some process, the precise nature of which he does not describe, covered them with plaster, and painted them, imitating life as nearly as possible. Occasional accounts are met with in history, of attempts to preserve for a time the bodies of celebrated individuals. Some of these our author has noticed—thus Josephus states that the Jewish king Aristobulus, whom Pompey's partisans destroyed by poison, lay *buried in honey* until Anthony sent him to the royal cemetery in Judæa. Alexander the Great was rubbed and preserved with honey. King Agesilaus was enveloped in wax, and then conveyed to Lacedæmon.

Having now gone somewhat minutely through the examination of the substances recorded as having been anciently used in the art of embalming, we shall proceed to notice the investigations of travellers and scientific men, with regard to the actual condition of mummies, as they are at present found and removed from their long resting places. In the comparison instituted between former accounts, and those recently laid before the public, we shall take

up the order of detail previously exhibited, since it will greatly facilitate us in the conclusions to be deduced from the facts presented.

The first step to be examined, is the removal of the brain through the nostrils. Many have conceived it impossible to excavate so large a cavity as the cranium, through the narrow and intricate channel of the nasal fossa; and this want of credence is strengthened by considerations founded on the structure, attachments, and appendages of the brain itself. Theoretical suppositions must yield however to demonstrable facts, and as this operation is proved by the inspection of numerous skulls, it can no longer be doubted. Mr. Pettigrew states, that not only had the brain been removed entirely from the head of the mummy which he opened, and which he called the Græco Egyptian mummy, but also the whole of the membranes had been dragged through the nostrils without defacing them, disturbing the septum of the nose, or disfiguring that organ in any manner whatever. In this instance the skull was quite empty; it contained but a few insects, and the pupæ of others. Mr. Saunders's mummy, and three others in the possession of Lord Mountnorris, presented the same fact. Mr. Lancret says, that he found the nose entire, notwithstanding the extraction of the brain through the nostrils. Mr. Rouyer has made the same remark, but observes that several had the nose broken, and in some it was entirely destroyed.

In Dr. Granville's mummy, the brain and part of the membranes were extracted through the nostrils. In many cases, however, the brain was not removed at all, and yet the body was very carefully and perfectly preserved. This was the case in Dr. Lee's mummy; it had sunk down into a cakelike mass, bearing the impress of the crucial ridge on the internal part of the back of the skull, showing that the body had been placed in a horizontal posture after being embalmed. Another head from Thebes, exhibited the same appearance, and the nostrils were plugged with cotton cloth. Mr. Rouelle states, "that in the head of a mummy sent to the Count de Caylus, he perceived a hole in the cranium, made at the extremity of the nostrils, and that the end of the orbit on the right side was actually open. Through these apertures, the brain doubtless had been extracted, and the cavity was, as in many other instances, filled up with bituminous and resinous matter." The same condition was found in the mummies of Dr. Percy, Dr. Mead, and Mr. Davidson. In this last, the nostrils and part of the cranium were filled with twisted cloth, which was drawn out to the extent of nine yards. Mr. Madden gives an account of a head examined by him; it was stuffed with fine linen, which must have been introduced through the nostrils. The head of the mummy opened at Leeds, was found to be rather more than half filled with spices,

in a state of coarse powder, amongst which were a few lumps of resinous matter, particularly about the base of the skull.

Next in order of succession is the incision in the flank, for the removal of the abdominal viscera. In some instances they were not replaced, in others, remains of them have been found. In Dr. Lee's mummy, the viscera were discovered thrown into the abdominal cavity in mass, mixed with powdered aromatics. Belzoni remarks that the entrails of mummies are often bound in linen and asphaltum. In Mr. Davidson's preparation, they were arranged somewhat differently; for after their removal they were rolled up in four distinct portions, enclosed in cotton bandages, and then replaced in the body. The cut surfaces of this incision, in all the subjects inspected by Mr. Pettigrew, were merely brought together, without being sewed. In the Leeds mummy, the contents of the chest and abdomen were removed entirely, with the exception of the liver, the kidneys, and the heart, which had been embalmed, wrapped in fine cloth, and replaced. In the Græco Egyptian mummy, the cavity was quite empty. The heart was found between the thighs, without bandages, or protection of any kind; its muscular structure was made out by maceration. In this specimen, some portions of membrane, a part of the wind pipe, and of the blood vessels, were obtained. The extremities of the latter evinced the use of a cutting instrument. When soaked, they immediately began to putrefy, and could only be preserved in spirits. This ventral incision was not practised in all cases, nor was it necessarily a part of the most expensive process detailed by Herodotus, the amount of cost being regulated by the number of rare articles made use of. Passalacqua informs us, that mummies, very richly furnished, and prepared in the most costly manner, have been found without the ventral incision.

Nor was the abdomen always filled with aromatics; for in the mummy of a child belonging to this last named traveller, it was entirely empty. In Dr. Granville's preparation, no ventral incision had been practised, nor had the viscera been displaced; for upon removing the integuments of the belly, the stomach was found adhering to the diaphragm, the spleen much reduced and flattened, &c. The contents of the chest were entire, and those of the pelvis *in situ*.

We are told that after the introduction of spices, the body was immersed seventy days in a solution of natron. The time specified was sufficient to obtain all the effects which may be derived from this operation, inasmuch as the parts would then have been saturated with the alkaline substances, and all the changes incident to such treatment fully completed. The animal fibres would be contracted and hardened, while the fatty parts would assume a soap-like consistency. The cuticle may have been removed, as our author suspects, but the nails were retained unaffected. In his

Græco Egyptian subject, two of the nails were fastened by threads. If the cuticle were removed intentionally, it must first have been loosened by maceration and the action of a chemical solution.

But the most important conclusion drawn from the inspection of all the preparations examined, is the certainty of the application of *heat* as a part of the embalming process. In no other way can we account for all the circumstances connected with the remains now brought to light. It is not mentioned by Herodotus as a step in the practice of the art among the Egyptians; but as the narration of that venerable author is evidently scanty and defective, and as he particularly notices the method of drying among the Ethiopians, who were a nation contiguous to the Egyptians, it is highly probable that this omission was not owing to ignorance. The perfectly contracted and shriveled condition of the mummies, the collection of resinous matter in layers, flattened upon the surface, shining with glossy smoothness, and assuming a form and location impressed upon them by the position of the body; the complete saturation of all the parts, even to the interior structure of the bones, with bitumen; the dry, brittle state of the ligaments, which when the bandages are removed, allow of disarticulation of the joints; the entire amalgamation of all the enveloping materials; and the partially charred condition of those portions which served as *points d'appui* while the body was undergoing the process, all indicate incontestibly the action of a high degree of calorific influence. The bones are imbued so thoroughly with the resinous substances, and become so brittle, as to render it impossible to perforate them with the ordinary piercing instruments; and fracture so often is the result of the attempt, that where it is necessary to drill holes in them, a hot iron must always be employed. All parts of the body afford a good substitute for fuel; and it is well known that the Arabs make use of the mummies carried off from the catacombs to boil their camp kettles. "The heat would essentially destroy all insects, and remove all fatty matters, so powerful in promoting putrefaction." Mr. Rouyer expresses his belief in this opinion, in the following sentence: "Cette opération dont aucun historien n'a parlé, était sans doute la principale et la plus importante de l'embaumement."

But if it be fully admitted that *baking* was a part of the process of embalming, and that thorough desiccation could not be accomplished without recourse to this means, it is very evident that the advantage gained by rendering the body completely devoid of moisture, could not be well maintained without the application of perfectly tight and impenetrable envelopes; and hence the advantage of bandaging. The application of bandages, however, was not universally practised, as some bodies were met with by Denon and Belzoni, without them. The stuffs employed were cotton or linen, wool being rejected, and great care and neatness are exhi-

bited in the manner in which they were applied. The form of the bandages was various, and suited to the shape of the parts. Strips, compresses, and rollers, affording the greatest mechanical advantage, appear to have been preferred, and were put on with so much precision, as not to destroy the symmetry of the person, or allow the admission of the least air. The thickness of the bandages varied according to the coarseness or fineness of their fabrication, and their length and reduplication were not the same in all instances. The following is a succinct account of the method of application:—"An exterior envelope encloses the whole person. Immediately beneath the envelope, long and broad bandages are found to proceed, somewhat in the figure of 8, from the head to the feet. Of these there are several folds, and then a more regular application of the roller is observable around the body and limbs in a spiral manner. Compresses, at the sides of the body and limbs, extend the length of two feet or more, to admit of the firm and steady application of the rollers, which now become of finer texture, and some of which are continuous for four, five, or even six yards together. After these succeeds a coarser kind, and the cloth increases in looseness of texture, until the bandage comes in contact with the body. Compresses will now be found between the thighs and legs, where papyri and other substances are met with." In Mr. Pettigrew's mummy, an idol was found between the legs in a state of decomposition, although the body had undergone no change. The bandages are frequently so condensed by the application of the bituminous matter, that they cannot be separated, and in many instances must be removed with the hammer and chisel. The same mode of bandaging was not always employed. It varied among the different classes of society, that of the priests being the most ornamental and complete.

From the thorough saturation of the bandages, and their close agglutination, they must have been dipped in heated bitumen before they were applied. The drying process, and bandaging, it is presumable, were also accomplished at the same time, since the impress of the rollers is plainly perceptible upon the limbs. And perhaps heat was continued after the complete investment; thereby forming, when the substances had cooled, an impenetrable case. Resinous substances, apparently at one time rendered fluid by heat, are abundantly found in all the cavities of the body, as before stated. The cutis, when uncovered, is of the consistency of leather, resembling tanned hide in every particular. This is easily accounted for, by the astringent quality of some of the articles used in the operation.

The feet and arms are sometimes noticed separately bandaged, and the soles of the feet, and palms of the hands, have depressions in them, made by the close apposition of bulbous roots. In a mummy belonging to the Royal Society, the feet had been broken off

from the legs, but they constituted the most interesting part of the whole. On cutting into the bandages of the sole of the left foot, they were found to enclose a bulbous root. The appearance of this root was very fresh, and part of the thin shining skin came off with a flake of the dry filleting with which it had been bound down. It seemed to have been in contact with the flesh. This account is given by Dr. Grew, and he remarks, that the whole preparation had the appearance of one uniform mass of pitch.

A mummy examined at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, in 1833, was a female. The arms were bound to the sides of the body, and compressed so tightly as to fracture the bones on one side. Many of the investing bandages had been removed, perhaps when the body was taken from its sarcophagus. The bandages on the arms and legs were of coarse and fine fabrication, and composed both of cotton and linen. Large masses of bituminous substance were found between the folds of the rollers, and also between the rollers and the skin, adhering closely to the latter. On removing the bandages from the hands, an excavation was found in the palm, containing a substance in a pulverized state, probably the bulbous root mentioned in the instances cited before. The same was observed in the soles of the feet. Every finger and toe had been wrapped separately before being included in the general investure. The nails upon the hands and feet were in their position, and coloured brown. The abdomen and thorax were natural in appearance, their rotundity being preserved. The mammary glands had been compressed towards the sides; they were of small size, and retained their shape to some extent; the nipples were distinct. In the left flank was found the incision through which the viscera had been removed. It was three inches in length, and opened into the abdomen. No marks of sewing were evident. The pelvis was filled with bituminous substance, which when heated had been poured into it. The skin of the thorax was converted into a dry substance, resembling old worn leather in appearance, and was detached from the bones beneath. A direct communication existed between the thorax and the abdomen, no trace of the diaphragm being left. These cavities contained cakes of bitumen and dust; particularly in the depressions on the sides of the spine, where the former had settled. Nothing like the proper viscera could be discovered, except a rounded mass in the pelvis, which resembled the uterus, wrapped in cloth and bitumen. On examining different parts of the body, it was not difficult to distinguish the skin from the subjacent muscles, which were separated by cellular tissue. Even the several layers of the skin could be made out in many places. When immersed in water, the animal matter increased in bulk, became soft, and the muscles were restored to their fibrous condition. The tendons

were distinct at several points; the ligaments were very fragile, as were also the bones.

The head of the mummy was detached, probably accidentally. The interior of the cranium had been opened through the nostrils, and there was an opening behind, through the *foramen magnum*, which the examiners believed had also been used in removing the brain. The bones at the base of the cranium were completely deprived of their natural coverings; they presented a deep black, shining, carbonaceous aspect. The integuments were found sound in all the other portions of the head, with marks impressed upon them by the bandages. The hair had been cut off close, with the exception of one lock behind, and the ears were filled with bitumen.

Position seemed of consequence in the arrangement of the different members of the body, although some discrepancy in the narrations of travellers is manifest. The body is always extended, and the head erect. The legs are invariably placed at their full length, and brought close together. The arms are found, either lying along the sides of the body, the palms of the hands in contact with the thighs, or placed upon the pelvis, or brought forward in contact with each other; or else they are laid across the breast; or in some rare instances one arm is extended along the side of the body, whilst the other is carried across the sternum. Mr. Pettigrew states his belief, that these postures were indiscriminately employed, for they were to be found in adult males and females, and in children. Passalacqua says that the greater number of instances in which the arms are crossed are those of females; and M. Jomard, who enjoyed abundant opportunities, maintains the reverse of this assertion. Dr. Granville's female mummy had the arms crossed. This was also the case in the female mummies described by Gryphius and Hertzog. Mons. Villoteau, one of the members of the French Commission in Egypt, and who has communicated to M. de Lacy an account of the observations he made during his stay in that country, states among other things, that in a female mummy remarkably well preserved, and in which he observed that the hair was of extraordinary length, the arms were extended along the sides,—whereas in a male mummy, they were crossed; and he adds, that he had observed this to be constantly the case in male and female mummies. Passalacqua had the mummy of a boy with the arms crossed. Denon had the mummy of a female, in which one hand was inclined to the pelvis, and the other carried to the throat, in the position of the Venus de Medici. M. de Verneuil has suggested, that women of a certain age had the arms crossed, but that virgins and younger females had them extended. In the American mummies, a female child had them extended, an adult female had them inclined to the pelvis, and in a male they were crossed upon the chest. These

instances do certainly give some plausibility to M. de Verneuil's supposition; but then again, we have the record of M. Caillard, who possessed a male mummy with the arms extended. From a summary of these facts, we can come to no fixed conclusion upon the subject, and must remain doubtful whether any position was indicative of sex.

When all these arrangements had been completed, the bodies were in a state of readiness to be placed in the cases or sarcophagi. These were constructed of several materials, and varied in shape. The first kind were made of layers of cloth cemented together, plastered on the inside with lime, and afterwards painted. They were as firm as a board, and required to be sawed through in order to get at the body. The cloths, it is supposed, were dipped in gum of the acacia, and so pressed together, that twenty folds would not form a thickness beyond a third of an inch. Their hardness and durability may easily be estimated by their density. The shape of the sarcophagi corresponds in a great degree to that of the human body. The second kind was of sycamore wood, sometimes formed of a single trunk, but most generally in pieces. A third kind was made of cedar, an abundant product in particular parts of those countries, and it may be considered the least corruptible of all.

Mr. Pettigrew introduces the subject of the final disposition of the dead, by the forcible remark of Roquefort, that polished nations accumulated riches in their temples, and barbarians in their tombs. If this be the case, and the degree of advancement in civilization be measured by this law, the ancient Egyptians certainly will be found included among the barbarians. But if the taste and magnificence displayed in the construction of their tombs, are to have any influence in the estimate of their character, and polished condition, a high degree of intellectual advancement must undeniably be allowed them. Perhaps the most ancient monuments, are those composed of loose heaps of stones, irregular in shape, and augmented by every one who passed. Instances of these are found in Upper Egypt. Near Saccara, the partially decomposed state of the stones forming one of them, seems to mark a date of erection anterior to that of the pyramids. The pyramids and catacombs are certainly the most extraordinary monuments of the ancient Egyptians, and could the veil be withdrawn which shrouds the history of their erection, the moderns would have little to boast of with regard to commanding conception or successful execution. The gigantic and lofty were prominent ideas in the minds of this people, and were always manifested in their sculpture and architecture. Denon had hardly language to give a detailed description of what every where met his astonished gaze—and at last, fairly wrought up to a state of enthusiasm, he exclaims: "It is fatiguing to describe or to read; we are overpowered by

the idea; we cannot believe, even after having witnessed them, in the reality of the existence of so many monuments collected at a single point; in their dimensions; in the untiring industry which their erection demanded; in the incalculable cost of so much magnificence."

But the structures with which we have most concern are the catacombs, or proper repositories of the dead. Five of these in Egypt have been described as being in various states of preservation—those of Alexandria, Saccara, Silsillis, Gournou, and the tombs of the kings of Thebes. They vary considerably in extent. Those at Thebes are the most extensive. Over these hypogæa different cities were built. It must be admitted, that in the selection of places for depositing their dead, which the Nile could not reach, and where the air could scarcely penetrate; in caverns hidden from the view of men, hewn out of solid rock, and surmounted by the bases of pyramids, the ancient Egyptians showed fully that they understood the advantages afforded by situation, in resisting corruption. The soil in the vicinity of Thebes is so arid, that strict obedience may be given to the law of Plato, which enjoins depositing the dead in places where no tree will grow. At Sais, the tombs are erected upon mounds of earth. So numerous are the masses in the catacombs, that they are said to extend several miles, even to the temple of Ammon, and the oracle of Serapis. The city of Saccara is the nearest to the cave of the mummies, as it has been called, and the inhabitants are known to derive the means of subsistence by breaking open this repository, and carrying off the embalmed bodies. The excavations are formed in calcareous soil, where no humidity can remain.

Belzoni has given an interesting account of Gournou; the burial place of the renowned city of Thebes. It is a tract of rocks about two miles in length, at the foot of the Lybian mountains, to the west of Thebes. Without entering fully into his account, we shall select a short portion of it, which bears upon the preservation of the bodies contained in these caverns. "Many persons could not withstand the suffocating air of some of these tombs, which often caused fainting. A vast quantity of fine dust rises, which enters the throat and nostrils, and chokes them to such a degree, that it requires great power of lungs to resist it, along with the strong effluvia of the mummies. This is not all; the entry or passage where the bodies are placed, is roughly cut in the rocks, and the falling sand from the ceiling nearly fills it up. After the exertion of entering such a place through a passage of several hundred yards, almost overcome, I sought a resting place. Having found one, I contrived to sit, but when my weight bore upon the body of an Egyptian, it was crushed like a band-box. I naturally had recourse to my hands to sustain my weight, but they found no better support, so that I sunk among the broken mummies, with

the crash of bones and wooden cases. There was immediately excited so great a dust, that I was kept motionless for a considerable time, waiting until it should subside again."

From this narrative we learn that little or no moisture could penetrate the inmost recesses of the caverns, and even air to a great degree was excluded. The constant attention paid to the exclusion of these elements, not only in the site chosen for the catacombs, but also in their mode of construction, discloses to us in some degree, the extent to which the operation of physical influences was understood in those days.

The facts connected with the artificial preservation of mummies have now been presented. When viewed together, they form a mass of evidence complete in itself, tending to explain satisfactorily, from natural causes, the secret agencies of a process, for ages regarded as veiled in impenetrable mystery. But we must not leave the subject thus incomplete. The reader cannot be expected to apply the conclusions we would have him deduce from this exposition, without laying down the principles upon which these conclusions rest, and the proof of their full adequacy to produce the required result.

That the animal frame must undergo decay and corruption, is a fact as well known to the untutored savage as to the man of science. The elements of decomposition are inherent; they exist with it during life, and when this vital preserver has been removed, they are brought into action with an energy which soon converts the most beautiful of nature's wonderous works, into a mutilated, mouldering corpse. But because this is the natural termination of all organic being, it is not absolutely necessary that putrefaction should always take place. On the contrary, certain prerequisite conditions must be present before it can take place at all, and the reason why there is so universal a tendency to corruption is, that these indispensable agencies are almost every where and at all times in exercise, pervading the material world.

The first we shall mention is *moisture*. The chemical agency of water in altering and increasing the powers of affinity is well known. Substances having the strongest attraction for each other, will often remain for an indefinite period in contact, without altering their relative condition; but if a fluid be added, by means of which their minute particles are brought into more intimate contact, a new set of phenomena exhibit themselves—old and simple forms are lost, new and more complicated bodies are produced, and by a regular series of changes, there results a thorough remodification of the previous state of existence. Water, besides presenting a medium of affinity, plays a more important part in decomposition. Its own elements are separated and brought into operation, and by their union in various proportions with the different elements of the body undergoing the process, distinct com-

binations arise, all of which facilitate the progress of decay. It is not necessary to specify further the particulars of this elaborate operation. It is generally understood that the assistance of a moist condition is indispensable to putrefaction.

The second prerequisite is a due amount of *temperature.* During the progression of the changes which end in putrefaction, a higher degree of heat is generated, dependant upon causes inherent in the operation itself. The putrefactive fermentation will however generally begin when a medium degree has been attained. If the uniform state be above or below the medium degree, no change can occur tending to disintegration.

The presence of *atmospheric air* exercises more or less influence in the process of decomposition, but it cannot be considered as important as either of the two preceding agents. Its mode of operation is similar to that of moisture, affording the materials for new compounds.

These agents, then, in the production of putrefaction, may be regarded as *positive.* A *negative* state, or total absence of them, is highly interesting, and worthy of attention, since it gives rise to results which illustrate and explain their operation when present. Consequently, such facts as point out the difference created by the presence or absence of these agents, will exhibit also their separate influence. But as this negative condition is manifestly connected with *natural mummies,* by devoting a few words to a description of the prominent causes of their preservation, we shall be greatly assisted in the application of the foregoing principles.

In the instances of these remains, there is no difficulty of accounting for the phenomena connected with them, as they are undeniably dependant upon natural laws. Hence we conceive, that if a particular course of reasoning explain the series of negative facts, a parallel course will be sufficient to unravel the positive.

The most striking cases of natural preservation are contained in the catacombs of Palermo, belonging to a convent of Capuchins. Brydone gives the following account of them. "This is a vast subterraneous apartment, divided into large and commodious galleries, the walls of which on each side are hollowed into a variety of niches, as if intended for a great collection of statues. These niches, in place of statues, are filled with dead bodies, set upright on their legs, and fixed by the back to the inside of the niche; their number is about three hundred. They are dressed in the clothes they usually wore, and altogether form a most respectable and venerable assembly. The skin and muscles, by a certain preparation, become dry and hard as a piece of stockfish, and although many of them have been there upwards of two hundred and fifty years, yet none are reduced to skeletons. The muscles indeed in some appear to be a good deal more shrunk than in others, probably because those persons had been attenuated at the time of

their death." Captains Smith and Sutherland visited these cemeteries. The former states, that there is an apartment at the end of one of the galleries, in which bodies in various states of putrescence were undergoing the operation of *drying in an oven*—drying being the means adopted to avoid decomposition.

Sonnini remarks, that the dry and discoloured skin is torn in some places, and glued close to the bones.

The Guanches present another instance where *simple drying* has effected the purpose of preservation. They were the old natives of the Canary Islands, a race now extinct. In this case the viscera were removed, their desiccation was accomplished by the heat of the sun, and the bodies, wrapped in goat skins, were deposited in the caves of the mountains. The bodies of this nation, which have been examined, were in a perfect state.

Peruvian mummies are frequently removed from their places of burial, and several have found their way to Europe and the United States. They are obtained chiefly from tumuli, near Arica. Mr. Feyer says, that the bodies he found were perfectly preserved, dry, hard, and brown, like an Egyptian mummy, but they soon mouldered away upon exposure to the air. He attributes their state of preservation, not to any mode of embalming that had been adopted, but solely to the perfect dryness of the atmosphere, and to the sand and salt in which the bodies were deposited.

Other instances might be adduced of preservation from decay, in consequence of the rapid removal of humidity from the body, as in the case of travellers perishing in the deserts of the torrid regions. Two instances of a similar nature are narrated in the account of the celebrated passage of the desert from Koscein to the Nile, by the Indian army under Sir David Baiard. In these cases the powerful action of the solar heat was the efficient agent.

Intense cold, the very reverse of calorific action, has an equal antiseptic influence. It acts by rendering and keeping the animal fluids in a perfectly solid state, or if it fail to produce this effect, it invariably exerts great control over the chemical changes necessary to decomposition. In illustration of this assertion, may be cited the instances of persons buried for a long time beneath masses of ice and snow, who were found unchanged. But the extraordinary discovery of a perfect mammoth in 1799, places the thing beyond denial. This animal was found in Siberia, on the Peninsula of Tumert, and when the thaw had sufficiently uncovered its huge body, which it required five years to accomplish, there was flesh enough preserved to supply the arctic foxes and wolves with sustenance for two years. Further proof is unnecessary to establish our position, that a due amount of heat is requisite to the promotion of putrefaction—the consequence of its abstraction being fully shown by the preceding facts.

As the whole ground of the preservation of mummies has now

been gone over, as far as the circumstances connected with the suspension of putrefaction are involved, it would be leaving the subject unfinished if some deductions were not set forth, derived from the facts contained in the preceding pages. And to evince that our labour in collating and arranging these facts, has not been undertaken without system or design, we shall close this article by briefly stating the conclusions to be made from a review of the whole subject.

First. That the ancient practice of preserving the dead, and retaining them in a perfect state, has nothing in it occult or mysterious, and that it did not depend upon preparations, the virtues of which are now unknown and lost to the world.

Second. That the preservation of Egyptian mummies depended upon physical causes, which now operate as powerfully in the material universe as at any former period, and consequently that the art of embalming can be as successfully practised by the moderns as by the ancients.

Third. That these physical causes are, the total abstraction of humidity, and the retention of the body in a perfectly dry condition—this being accomplished by the agency of heat carried to a high degree, and by the application of substances capable of resisting any attraction for moisture which the animal structure might retain.

Fourth. That the instances of natural mummies depend upon the same causes, accidentally existing, and brought into operation without the agency of artificial preparation.

If these conclusions be logically made out, according to the principles of the inductive philosophy, the admiration and astonishment excited by the appearance of an Egyptian of former times among us, must at once be dissipated. Vulgar gaping curiosity, based on ignorance and sustained by credulity, must subside and give place to correct views and legitimate impressions. Latent causes will be found not to be impenetrable to the scrutiny of the senses, and nature, unerring—unchanging in her laws and operations, will ever continue to exhibit the faultless system which pervades the vast creation.

ART. IX.—*A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches, by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.* By ANDREW REED, D. D., and JAMES MATHESON, D. D. In two Vols. New York. Harper: 1835.

WE see much to praise and something to censure in this work. There is, however, such a preponderance of the former, that, coming as the book does from the pen of two British tourists, we

are extremely loath to confess our objections, though few, from a desire to meet with what would really be a literary curiosity —an unexceptionable production of an English traveller. The evident spirit of these volumes, that of candour and liberality; the disposition to record matters and things just as they really impress the writer, with no preconceived notions and no preoccupied judgment determined to condemn every thing that does not square with its own ideal standard of fitness—these clear indications of the great requisites of a traveller, worthy to usher his views to the public, commended at once the "Narrative" to our good opinion, and we are sure will secure for it the favourable consideration of our readers. If, therefore, we object, in this hasty notice of the work, to occasional views and statements, or condemn frequent inaccuracies of style and language, it will arise from a proper estimate of the duty of a critic, and not from any causeless wish to carp at the productions of our English brethren. On the contrary, to intelligent and honest observers we have heretofore extended a hearty welcome.

To the public generally, this work, perhaps, may not be of much interest. It is, as its name imports, more immediately connected with the history of the churches in our country, than with any other of its chief features. Nor does it by any means embrace a full account of those institutions. Its title, "*A Visit to the American Churches,*" would lead one to expect something, at least, about all the religious institutions of the various sects with which our land is covered. But the expectation would be disappointed; for, in fact, the visit was paid not to the "American Churches," but to the churches professing the Presbyterian faith, whether strictly Presbyterian or Congregational. The title should have been less pretending; as, with an occasional and meagre reference to the Methodist and Baptist churches; and a visit or two—which the writers always found unprofitable—and an incidental allusion to the Episcopal church; dealing, now and then, a hit at the Roman Catholics, in which the authors take too much evident pleasure; they confine themselves to the numerous and respectable sect we have mentioned, of their own persuasion. This subject, we mean the present condition and prospects of the Presbyterian church in the United States, forms the main topic of the book, although there are others cursorily treated—such as education, common-schools, slavery, temperance, &c.—of more general moment. Some of these subjects are of too theological a character to form the fit theme of a literary review like the present, though possessing in themselves deep interest; upon one, however, a curious feature of our country, and confessedly of great importance, we mean "revivals," we may, if we have space, offer a few remarks, as we, in great measure, accord with the sensible and temperate views of the reverend gentlemen from England.

Of Dr. Matheson, prior to his visit to this country, we had no information. His fellow-author was already advantageously known, by the publication of two works of a religious cast, "*No Fiction*," and "*Martha*;" which had secured for him some reputation. The two were selected by the Congregational Union of England and Wales, (an association formed in the year 1831,) to "make a fraternal visit" to the churches of this country, forming the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies, with whom "an affectionate correspondence" had been previously opened. The design of the mission was to assure the churches in the American Union, of "the Christian esteem and affection" which their English brethren cherished towards them; to bear home again "the responses of kindness and confidence;" and, in fact, to examine and record "the ample fields of nature and religion" which were supposed to be still "unexplored and unreported." The communion which the English Congregational Union so ardently desired, appears to have been embraced with eagerness by their brethren here; for their visiters were received with every courtesy and kindness, and delegates were speedily selected to be sent in return; while the spirit which prompted the delegation has increased in intensity, the English and Welsh Union being now more fully disposed "to renew and perpetuate the delightful intercourse." That the authors came with the "true spirit" of travellers and of Christians, we have, as we before intimated, no particle of doubt; had their report been entirely free from exception, they would have been more than men.

We feel disposed to extract what they say of themselves in their preface to the work. It evinces both modesty and sincerity.

"It was no part of the engagement, that the visit of the Deputation should issue in an extended and published report. But they have been ready, with such ability and opportunity as they might command, to obey urgent request; and the more so, as the interest which the mission has created in their minds, disposes them to contribute to the utmost to render its effects extensively and permanently beneficial. They have felt that this part of their undertaking is attended with delicacy and difficulty. Every statement is likely to be seen through the medium of opposite habits and partialities; and on that account alone, while it gives pleasure to one party, it may give offence to the other. All offence, indeed, might have been easily avoided, by avoiding discrimination; but to write without discrimination would be to write without profit. They have confidence in the manliness of the American character to believe, that candid remark, when meant for improvement, will be candidly received; and if comparison and discrimination should sometimes reveal defects on our own part, they cannot think that it must necessarily give offence. They have sought to fulfil their commission in forgetfulness of prejudice on the one hand, and partiality on the other; and they will not suppose that, on this account, they will be deemed worthy of blame or suspicion. It were ungenerous of them not to do justice to America; but it were unnatural of them to depreciate England for the purpose of exalting America. They are truly sensible that their mission is one of pure charity; they would deeply regret that it should not be consummated in this spirit; and should it seem to be otherwise, in any instance, they crave of the reader to supply the charitable construction which may be wanting in the writer."

It appears that the smaller part of the report, that on Canada

and Pennsylvania, and the arrangement of the statistical tables, was furnished by Dr. Matheson; all of the rest by Dr. Reed.

The Narrative comes before us in the shape of letters addressed to a friend at home; certainly a convenient and agreeable form for such a purpose. It furnishes the details of the Doctors' travels very much in the ordinary manner of such productions, the more important matters being reserved generally for separate discussion. We shall follow our authors principally in their sketches of scenery and manners, as being more likely to engage the attention of readers than the graver portions of the work.

The travellers arrived in New York early in the spring of 1834; at least so we conclude from certain calculations that we made, for the writers show an extraordinary indifference as to dates, not one of their numerous letters having either time or place prefixed, and the day of sailing of the packet from Liverpool being merely stated to be the 16th, without mentioning the month, much less the year. Arrived without accident at New York, and located at Bunker's, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, happy in procuring single-bedded rooms, Dr. Reed says:—

"Before we retired to our rooms, we had expressed a wish for some refreshment; and I expected, on coming down, to see a little breakfast-table set for us. Nothing of this sort was, however, visible. I went into the bar-room, and looked at the papers, still waiting for a summons to the anticipated refreshment. At last I approached to the bar, and ventured to ask for it. The master of the ceremonies, without speaking, placed a small basket of biscuits and a plate of cheese before us as we stood. We were amused, as well as disappointed; and, as we seemed to be without choice, we partook of the supply that was offered. We thought, at least, that the little set-out had been for us; but while we were busy with it, two or three gentlemen came up, and, without permission, or without seeking a separate knife or plate, claimed a share. We asked for a glass of wine; a glass was literally supplied, and the decanter restored to its place. When our repast was over, we still waited in the bar-room, and must have shown some of the awkwardness of strangers. At length our host was conscious of this, and came with an apology for having forgotten to show us to a sitting-room. We were then introduced to a handsome withdrawing-room, which was open to other residents at the hotel.

"While I give you this incident as illustrative of manners, you are not to suppose that the other arrangements of the house were on a level with this: they were excellent. But the case was, our appetite was out of time. The breakfast hour was past, and the dinner hour was not come; and the American inn, while it provides bountifully for periodical hunger, has no compassion for a disorderly appetite. There is one hour, one table, one meal, one summons; and if you are ready, you may fare very well; if you miss the opportunity, you must digest the consequences as you can. It was interesting to see how readily the American, with his love of freedom, submitted to these restraints, while John Bull insists on naming his own dinner, at his own table, at his own time, and in his own room. He has certainly more independence in his *habits*, if not in his *opinions*, than his transatlantic brethren."

Content, therefore, to await the regular dinner, they sauntered forth to see the city, and, accustomed as they were to the crowd and bustle of London, they were not overwhelmed with the first sight of Broadway, though they thought it a very respectable street. In the afternoon, their arrival being known to the clergy

of their own persuasion, they were waited upon by a deputation, invited to private lodgings, and quickly initiated into all the details of the operations of that thriving and active class of Christians.

At one of their earliest visits to a church in New York, they had the opportunity of seeing the employment of the "*anxious seat*," of which they had previously heard only by report; that, with the kindred words "revivals" and "new measures," being peculiar to the religious vocabulary of our own country. As some even of our readers may be ignorant of the exact meaning of the term, we will extract the passage in which notice is taken of it, together with the sensible remarks of the writer.

"When the sermon would have closed with us, I observed that the preacher was giving his remarks a new direction; and I was speedily led to conclude, that he was about to try the anxious seat. He attempted to justify the measure, and then to challenge the people to use it, as a means and expression of religious decision. The persons occupying the two seats immediately before the pulpit were requested to vacate them, that the anxious might use them. Then a pause occurred. Two or three females, by degrees, appeared on the end of the seat. The preacher, with some of the awkwardness of disappointment upon him, renewed his address; and urged the young persons, and especially the young men, to decision, and to this mode of expressing it. Another pause was made; but no young men came. Dr. L., the minister of the church, renewed the appeal; and employed rests in different parts of it, as if waiting for signs of compliance; and when he saw that no greater effect was likely to follow, he changed the terms of the invitation, and begged all those who wished to be *prayed for* to come forward. He then gave out a suitable hymn; and while this was singing, the congregation began to disperse; and many serious persons, as might be expected, went before the pulpit to join in the proposed act of prayer. It was by this time nearly ten o'clock, and we left with the congregation.

"This, then, was the first occasion on which I saw the anxious seat employed; and if employed, I can hardly conceive of its being with less extravagance or more sagacity; but it was certainly a failure. Without deciding here on the abstract merits of this measure, its adoption in this instance was assuredly bad. The sermon had shed seriousness over the congregation, and had produced tenderness on many; and had they been allowed to retire at a suitable hour for reflection in their closets, one could not avoid hoping that the effect would have been most happy. As it was, I had deep regret. When it was felt, indeed, by the people, that the seat was to be used, there was a sensible excitement produced, which the novice might commend, but which the judicious would deprecate. I could perceive that a large portion of the people were excited to see how *others* would act in this crisis, and were thus relieved from thinking of themselves; while another portion, composed of such as had been affected by the discourse, feared that they should be overcome by the alarming appeals usual to such occasions, and by diverting their attention, stopping their ears, or a suppressed shuddering, told you that they were hardening themselves into resistance as well as they could."

But a very different scene was speedily presented. The travellers arrived at New York during the height of the political excitement consequent upon the contest between the government and the Bank of the United States. We all are aware of the heat of the conflict in the "commercial emporium." Our authors do not pretend to discuss the questions at issue; they merely describe what they saw, and their description is amusing, as it shows us how these matters are viewed by indifferent spectators. After alluding to the riots during the election, Dr. Reed proceeds:—

"The Whigs, as the friends of the Bank strangely called themselves, although they had not the majority of votes, considered that they had gained the victory; and they were resolved on a Whig celebration. I readily accepted a ticket of admission, as it enlarged my field of observation. I must endeavour to place it before you. The place of celebration was the Battery; and the manner was by a collation and speeches. The Battery stands on a slip of open ground at the end of the Broadway, and butting on the Hudson river. It is now dismantled; not being used for purposes of defence, but for those of recreation and amusement. When we arrived, many thousand persons were assembled within and without; and it was after delay, and with difficulty, that we succeeded in making an entrance.

"We ascended to the bulwarks, which are built in a circle, and are usually a promenade, but which were now fitted up with a gallery of seats, and filled with spectators. We looked on a circular area of large dimensions, which was also crowded with people. Opposite us was the port by which we entered, and over it some rooms which had been provided for the officers formerly on duty here. On the roofing, parapets, and abutments, were flags, wooden guns, and a rigged vessel surmounting painted waves. This dumb show was animated by a number of spectators, whose ambition could be satisfied with nothing less than the highest point; but their presence gave a ludicrous air to the whole, as there appeared to be men sitting in the ocean, and upholding a vessel which should have held them. A balcony was prepared before the windows of the rooms I have named, for the speakers; a band of music was beneath, to fill in the pauses; colours were displayed in all directions, and were floating gracefully over the many-headed multitude. Immediately over us, and opposite the rostrum, was the national flag, with its dark blue field and brilliant constellation of twenty-four stars; and above it, that all the decorations might not be void of reality, was a living eagle, placed on a perch, and fastened by the leg, as the emblem of liberty!

"At this moment there was a pause in the regular engagements; but the good people were by no means idle. The Americans, who are quick to dine, had finished their refreshments. Many were evidently ready to attend to such addresses as might be made; but many also, who had sat down to eat, rose up to play. These were giving themselves to all manner of practical jokes. Hats and the remnants of bread were flying about; ladders were made of human shoulders to convey water, and glasses, and bread, from those in the area to those in the galleries; while in the centre of the picture a far more earnest group were surrounding and surmounting some barrels of beer, the contents of which they were exhausting with alarming speed.

"A cry was made for silence and attention. The music stopped; but the multitude seemed little disposed to listen. A carman, with his frock on, came to the balcony. The fellow-feeling which the more noisy had with him disposed them to attention. That class of persons in New York is thriving and respectable; and this man was one of the best of his class. He had the good sense to make a short speech; and he uttered himself with plain sense, stout honesty, and especially with decision on the Whig side of the question. Trade, and of course, carts and wagons, had a vital interest in it. When he finished, hurrahs rang round the bulwarks, and ascended into the air; and that nothing might be wanting to the scene, the man who had the care of the eagle twitched the string, and made the bird flap its wings over the assembly. But heroics did not long suit them; they eagerly returned to gossip, or to sport, or to the barrels in the centre of the court, which were still rising in popular favour.

"Another call was made, and one of their orators came forward. He had no doubt claims on them, from his zeal in the cause, but he could have little to oratory, or the people would have been more sensible of it. He raised a stentorian voice; but in vain. Those at the windows and beneath him gazed and shouted; but his words died in his own atmosphere, and could not subdue the conflicting sounds in the distance. This gave a new character to the picture. Speech-making and sport, the grave and the gay, were so mixed and opposed, as to make the whole, to an eye like Hogarth's, exceedingly amusing and comical; while the numbers of the meeting, the beauty of the thronged amphitheatre, opening only into the bright blue heavens, saved it from the trivial, and made it interesting and delightful. I observed

it for some time; and then, as the more respectable portion of the assembly was moving off, I prepared to leave with it.

"I soon found myself moving with a body which had become processional, walking in order, and three or four abreast. It was understood that the celebrated Daniel Webster was at a house in the neighbourhood, and the procession moved in that direction into the Broadway. The people gathered about the residence and cheered him. He advanced to the window. He could not have been heard in a speech, and therefore contented himself with bowing, and throwing out at the top of his voice a few short sentences as watchwords to the party. They received them with hurrahs, and passed on in order. The procession must have been quite a mile in length.

"As this was the first, so it was the largest assemblage of this interesting people, which I witnessed while in the States. There was less of dignity and gravity about it than I had been led to expect from so grave a people; and there was more of English animation, humour, and audible expression of opinion, than I looked for, and more, certainly, than is usual. It is, however, to be remembered, that this was not a deliberative, but a commemorative occasion; and there was no crisis directly before them to point the speeches or to quicken the attention. On the whole, it was a meeting highly creditable to those who composed it. I saw not a single person intoxicated; nor did I hear afterward of a single squabble, or of a pocket spoiled of its contents. It is remarkable, too, and indicative of a great sense of feminine propriety, that I saw not within or about the place a single female. It was feared that the meeting might provoke the Tories to come and create a disturbance; but they were satisfied with the mischief they had already done, and remained quiet at the West End of the town."

The travellers' notices of stage-coaches, canal-boats, steam-boats, rail-road-cars, and the other devices for travelling in this locomotive country, are very graphic, and they come feelingly home to the recollections of all who have gone through the ordeal. We shall present them as they occur in turning over the pages before us. Their first introduction to a stage-coach was in passing from Baltimore to Washington, and the account is as follows:—

"This was the first time of using their stage-coach, and it calls for notice. It is very like the single-bodied coach which you have seen in France. It is heavy and strong, to meet the condition of the roads. It carries no outside passengers; but it has three seats within, and each seat receives three persons. To atone for the want of external accommodation, it is open all round, from the elbow upwards, and the roof takes the appearance of a canopy. If you wish to be enclosed, there are sliding shutters, partially glazed, to the doors, and leather curtains for the other openings; a provision that may do very well in the summer, but which must be far from comfortable in the really cold weather. When we took our seats the vehicle was not full: and as the day was very hot, we hoped not to be crowded; but before we had cleared the skirts of the town, three men, rough and large, sought admittance. Myself and an elderly lady occupied the back seat, and the stoutest of the three directed his movements towards us. We retired into our corners, and left him what room we could in the middle. He showed some desire for the outer seats; but this was not regarded, and he took his place. I soon saw that he had the abominable habit of chewing the 'noisome weed,' and began to fear for myself and the good lady; and he as soon began to look about him for relief. He looked on my side; I sat forward and looked very grave; he looked on the lady, and regarding her as the weaker sex, he put his head forward and spat across her face into the road. Nobody, not even the lady, seemed surprised at this, though she must have been annoyed. It was so often repeated as to induce her to change seats with him; and I fear it must be said that the annoyance was the more readily renewed in the hope of such an issue."

With Washington and what they beheld there, the doctors were not much pleased. The public buildings are, we think, underrated

by them; and though there is some truth in what they say concerning our Congress, the neglect of business, and the total inattention to what is passing around them, both of which are imputed to the members, are alike exaggerated. The reverend gentlemen are not sufficiently *au fait* in politics to make what they record upon that topic worthy of much attention. The president himself, and the style of "the government," are more within their compass.

"Our kind friends had taken care to supply us with many letters of introduction for Washington, and among them was one for the President. If we had intended, we had no occasion to use it. An intimation was made by one of the household that the President would have pleasure in receiving a call from us. It was of course accepted. It was in the evening of the day; and Mr. Post was with us. We were received with respect, but without formality. The President is tall; full six feet in height. He stoops now, and is evidently feeble. The thermometer was at 72°, but he was near a strong fire. He is sixty-eight years of age. He is soldier-like and gentlemanly in his carriage; his manners were courteous and simple, and put us immediately at ease with him. He conversed freely; chiefly of the older country, as interesting to us. He expressed pleasure at the growing intercourse between the countries; at the arrival of ourselves as a deputation in evidence of this; and at the prospect there was of continued peace. He spoke of the Banking question also without reserve. He thought there was a resemblance between the state of the moneyed interest in America, and its state with us in 1825, and was desirous of information. We conversed of it freely, and for some time. Without judging his opinions, with which, as they are political, I have nothing to do in this communication, my impression was, that he held them with a strong conviction that they were right, and beneficial for the country. After remaining about half an hour, we took our leave, with very pleasant recollections of our interview.

"Some days afterward we received an invitation to dine with the President. By this time the excitement on the Bank question had risen very high; and it was reported that his dwelling was guarded by troops, from fear of assault on his person. Instead of which there was less of form than before. When we arrived, the entrance-doors were open; and on being conducted, by a single servant, to what we thought an ante-room, we found the general himself waiting to receive us. We were soon led into the dining-room. The table was laid only for six persons; and it was meant to show us respect, by receiving us alone. Mr. Post, whom the President regards as his minister, was requested to implore a blessing. Four men were in attendance, and attended well. Every thing was good and sufficient; nothing overcharged. It was a moderate and elegant repast.

"After dinner, we retired to the drawing-room. Conversation was there renewed; and by the general on the Bank affairs. It was a delicate subject; we passed from it to other interests of the new country. On leaving, the President inquired of our route; and when he found that I was designing to travel into the west, very obligingly pressed me, if I should visit Tennessee, to tarry at the Hermitage, the name of his estate in that country, and to which he retires in the summer.

"The President regularly attends on public worship at Mr. Post's, when he is well. On the following Sabbath morning I was engaged to preach. Himself and some fifty or sixty of the Congress were present. His manner was very attentive and serious. When the service had ended, I was a little curious to see how he would be noticed. I supposed that the people would give way, and let him pass out first, and that a few respectful inclinations of the head would be offered. But no; he was not noticed at all; he had to move out, and take his turn like any other person, and there was nothing at any time to indicate the presence of the chief magistrate. You might be disposed to refer this to the spirit of their institutions; but it has a closer connexion with the character of the people. They have, in most of the States, less aptitude to give expression to their sentiments than the English. When afterward the general was passing through Lexington, on his way home, where a strong feeling existed on the part of the merchants against him, I inquired if any marks of disapprobation were offered to him. The reply was, 'O no, we merely kept out

of his way, and allowed him to change horses, and go on without notice.' I think it may be safely said that John Bull would have acted differently in both cases: in the one, he would have offered some decided marks of respect; and in the other, he would not have been backward to show that he was offended."

A visit to Mount Vernon was made during their stay in the capital, which appears to have been most congenial to their feelings. We confess that the narrative of a view of the tomb of Washington, by Englishmen, with such sentiments as these gentlemen experienced, gave us unmingled gratification. They were far above the sensation of national envy or enmity, and evinced that they regarded the great and good qualities of that illustrious man as the inheritance not merely of America but of mankind. The epitaph which follows, does credit to both the head and the heart of Dr. Reed.

"About a mile and a half before you reach the house, we entered the estate. It is in fact a continuation of the forest; as wild, as quiet, and as beautiful. We were received by a black servant, old and worn out in the service of the family. We presented our cards, and the servant was instructed to attend us over the grounds. We walked quietly round. They assorted with our feelings. Every thing had an appearance of desertion and decay. No hand of repair had seemed to have passed over the cottage, the garden, the plantations. We were about to visit the dead, and all was dying around us, except only vegetation, and that had been allowed to grow so thick and high, as to throw heavy shadows and quiet solemnity on all things.

"At length we descended a bank, and stood before the tomb of Washington. It is built of brick, with an iron door. All, except the face of the vault, is hidden; it is grown over with dwarf cedar and forest-trees. I cannot tell you my emotions. I chiefly longed for hours to rest there in silence and solitude.

"We went to the cottage. The interior was in harmony with all the external appearances. We were received in the library; it was just as the general had left it. We saw the curiosities: they were just where he had placed them. The inmates, too, were affectingly in keeping. Three females: a widow, an orphan, and an unprotected sister. And they moved and spoke as if the catastrophe had just happened, and they had dried up their tears to receive us. I shall never forget that day. I have had more pleasure and more melancholy; but I never had more of the pleasure of melancholy.

"Mrs. Jane Washington was indisposed; but she sent us kind messages as to Englishmen, and some small remembrances of the place and the departed. We wound our way quietly from the cottage, and we soon left the domain, perhaps for ever, which was once dignified by the presence, and which is still sacred by the remains of Washington:—

WASHINGTON,
THE BRAVE, THE WISE, THE GOOD:
WASHINGTON,
SUPREME IN WAR, IN COUNCIL, AND IN PEACE:
WASHINGTON,
VALIANT, WITHOUT AMBITION; DISCREET, WITHOUT FEAR; AND CONFIDENT, WITHOUT PRESUMPTION:
WASHINGTON,
IN DISASTER CALM; IN SUCCESS MODERATE; IN ALL HIMSELF:
WASHINGTON,
THE HERO, THE PATRIOT, THE CHRISTIAN;
THE FATHER OF NATIONS, THE FRIEND OF MANKIND;

WHO,
WHEN HE HAD WON ALL, RENOUNCED ALL;
AND SOUGHT,
IN THE BOSOM OF HIS FAMILY AND OF NATURE,
RETIREMENT;
AND IN THE HOPE OF RELIGION,
IMMORTALITY.

"Forgive me, my dear friend, this ebullition. I never can turn to the name of Washington without enthusiasm. But I will glance at a more sober and worldly view of the case. It is said the government made an offer to purchase the property of the family. How could they make such an offer! How noble it was in the family to decline it, since it would have brought them moneyed advantage, and they are in confined circumstances! Again: How can the people suffer the place to pass to ruin, and the remnants of the family to exist without the means of sustaining it? Surely, if the people of America really knew the state of the case, they would rather sell New York than suffer such things to happen."

The Delegation hastened to New York in order to be present at the "anniversary meetings" about to be held in that city. Our nation has been charged with being comparatively destitute of religion. We may remark, by the way, that Drs. Reed and Matheson entertain a different opinion. But, however the truth may be in regard to the essence of true religion, of which we do not pretend to judge, we are certain, that with respect to the "appliances and means to boot," no country on earth is better or more liberally supplied than our own. Every engine, with which it seems possible to operate upon the moral or religious feelings of the community, is put in requisition. The appellatives of societies, indeed, appear to be almost exhausted. To satisfy any doubt upon this point, let the reader cast his eye over the following list of meetings for purposes either religious or *religiouswise*, for *one week*, in *one city* of our Union, and composed principally of the members of *one religious persuasion;* Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists, not being included.

"FIRST OF MAY.

"ANNIVERSARY WEEK.—The following is a complete list of the meetings for the Anniversary Week, so far as we have been able to ascertain:—

"*Monday, May* 5.

"AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY, at Chatham-street Chapel, half past 7 o'clock P. M.

"AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; meeting of Delegates at Society's rooms, 130 Nassau-street, 4 P. M.

"*Tuesday, May* 6.

"AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at Chatham-street Chapel, 10 o'clock A. M.

"REVIVAL TRACT SOCIETY, at Third Free Church, corner of Houston and Thompson-streets, 4 P. M., and in the evening.

"Convention of Delegates, AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, 4 P. M., at Society's house.

"AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, at Chatham-street Chapel, 4 P. M.

"NEW YORK SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION, at Chatham-street Chapel, half past 7 P. M.

"CHILDREN OF THE SABBATH SCHOOLS appear in the Park at half past 3 P. M.

"*Wednesday, May 7.*

"American Tract Society, at Chatham-street Chapel, 10 A. M.
"Delegates to American Bible Society, at Society's house, 4 P. M.
"New York Colonization Society, at Chatham-street Chapel, 4 P. M.
"American Home Missionary Society, at Chatham-street Chapel, half past 7 P. M.
"Delegates to American Bible Society, at the Bible House, 4 P. M.
"American Baptist Home Missionary Society, at Mulberry-street Church, 7 P. M.

"*Thursday, May 8.*

"American Bible Society, at Chatham-street Chapel, 10 A. M.
"Directors of American Home Missionary Society, at their rooms in the Tract House, 4 P. M.
"Seventh Commandment Society, at Chatham-street Chapel, 4 P. M.
"Presbyterian Education Society, at Chatham-street Chapel, half past 7 P. M.
"American and Presbyterian Education Society united.

"*Friday, May 9.*

"Meeting for the Foreign Mission Board, at Chatham-street Chapel, 10 A. M.
"New York City Temperance Society, at Chatham-street Chapel, half past 7 P. M.
"New York Infant School Society, in Canal-street Church, 10 A. M.
"Morning prayer-meetings will be held at half past 5 o'clock on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, in Chatham-street Chapel, and in Mr. Patton's church, Broome-street, near Broadway."

The human strength of one individual would fail to carry him through the task. The deputation acknowledged the exhaustion that followed an attendance upon part.

These authors furnish a detailed account of the proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which sat at Philadelphia during the last year. It was natural that the reverend gentlemen should feel a deep interest in the proceedings of this body; but even their strong preference of their own sect—(which, on more than one occasion, they too strongly express—) should scarcely have warranted the assertion, that "the Assembly was next in importance to the Congress itself." Without wishing to undervalue the importance or dignity of that highly respectable body, we confess we received the announcement with some surprise; and if it be the fact, certainly public attention should be more earnestly directed to its proceedings. While, as we have seen, the debates in Congress, during a time of high public excitement, which called forth the talents of our ablest men, were listened to with disappointment, and with an impression that the American Parliament did not embrace the most distinguished sons of our soil, the discussions in the General Assembly were heard with "unfeigned admiration." In this session of the Assembly, the contest was carried on between the advocates of what were called "*new measures*" and those who were for adhering to the "*old measures*"—terms, that with some are, no doubt, perfectly understood, while to the majority, we presume, they must be unintelligible.

We cannot, for want of space, follow our authors through all the stages of their journeying, though there is something to remark upon in almost all. We must content ourselves with occa-

sional extracts. The following description applies to too many of our country-bridges, over which, with a heavy load, we have often passed in a stage-coach, notwithstanding the prohibition, at a smart trot, and with fear and trembling.

"We began now to meet with the wooden bridge, which abounds in this country. It is usually sustained on stone or wooden uprights, and composed of trussed girders, with loose boarding, and mostly with a roof to protect it from the weather. A notice is put up at each end, of *No trotting over this bridge;* a most needful provision, for certainly a good trot would bring some of them down. A few of the more important ones have been constructed recently on an excellent principle, and are very steady. They say you should 'speak well of the bridge that carries you safe over;' and certainly I never felt so much disposition to do a set of bridges justice, for while they always discharged their duty, they often left me wondering how they were able to do it."

They, of course, visited Niagara; and their description of the Falls is among the best we have seen, and accords most with our own impressions. The first view taken by Dr. Reed of this wonder of the New World, was from Table Rock; undoubtedly the best: and the first impression, therefore, (always of great importance in any *sight-seeing*,) was all-powerful, and any thing but a disappointed one. This feeling, by the by, of disappointment, which some have professed, we do not understand with reference to Niagara. Our traveller says—

"At length we saw the spray rising through the trees, and settling like a white cloud over them; and then we heard the voice of the mighty waters—a voice all its own, and worthy of itself. Have you never felt a trembling backwardness to look on what you have intensely desired to see? If not, you will hardly understand my feeling. While all were now searching for some glance of the object itself, I was disposed to turn aside, lest it should surprise me. This, no doubt, was partly caused by the remark I had so often heard, that the first view disappoints you. I concluded, that this arose from the first view not being a fair one, and I was determined to do justice to the object of my reverence. In fulfilling this purpose, I reached the Pavilion without seeing any thing; disposed of my affairs there, and hastened down towards the Falls; and found myself actually on the Table Rock to receive my first impressions.

"Let any one pursue the same course, and he will not talk of first impressions disappointing him; or if he should, then he ought to go twenty miles another way. Niagara was not made for him.

"From the Table Rock I descended to the base. There I clambered out on the broken rocks, and sat—I know not how long. The day was the least favourable of any we had. The atmosphere was heavy; the foam hung about the object and concealed one half of it; and the wind blew from the opposite side, and brought the spray upon you, so as to wet you exceedingly. The use of cloak and umbrella were troublesome; you could not wholly forget your person, and think only of one thing. However, had I not seen it in this state of the atmosphere, I should have wanted some views which now occupy my imagination. The whole is exceedingly solemn when nature frowns; and when much is hidden, while yet the eye has not marked the outline, there is a mysteriousness spread over the object which suits your conception of its greatness, and in which the imagination loves to luxuriate. I can scarcely define to you my impressions on this first day; I can scarcely define them to myself. I was certainly not disappointed; but I was confounded. I felt as though I had received a shock, and required time to right myself again.

"I now looked fairly on the scene as it presented itself at my window, in the fair lights of the morning. It is composed rather of the accompaniments of the fall than of the fall itself. You look up the river full ten miles, and it runs in this

part from two to three miles in breadth. Here it has formed, in its passage, beautiful little bays; and there it has worked through the slips of mainland, putting out the fragments as so many islets to decorate its surface; while, on either hand, it is bounded by the original forests of pine. At the upper extremity you see the blue waters calmly resting under the more cerulean heavens; while nearer to you it becomes agitated, like a strong man preparing to run a race. It swells, and foams, and recoils, as though it were committed to some desperate issue; and then suddenly contracts its dimensions, as if to gather up all its power for the mighty leap it is about to make. This is all you see here; and it is enough.

"I left the hotel, and went down to the Table Rock. This is usually deemed the great point of sight; and for an upper view it undoubtedly is. It is composed of several ledges of rock, having different advantages, and projecting as far over the gulf below as they can to be safe. But how shall I describe the objects before me? The mysterious veil which lay heavily yesterday on a large part of it, was now removed; and the outline of the picture was mostly seen. An ordinary picture would have suffered by this; but here the real dimensions are so vast, and so far beyond what the eye has measured, that to see them is not to fetter, but to assist the imagination. This fall, which is called the Horseshoe Fall, is upwards of 2,000 feet in extent, and makes a leap, on an average, of about 200 feet. Now just enlarge your conceptions to these surprising dimensions, and suppose yourself to be recumbent on the projecting rock which I have named, as near the verge as you dare, and I will assist you to look at the objects as they present themselves.

"You see not now above the cataract the bed of the river; but you still see the foaming heads of the rapids, like waves of the ocean, hurrying to the precipice; and over them the light clouds which float on the horizon. Then comes the *chute* itself. It is not in the form of the horseshoe; it is not composed of either circular or straight lines: but it partakes of both; and throughout it is marked by projections and indentations, which give an amazing variety of form and aspect. With all this variety it is one. It has all the power which is derived from unity, and none of the stiffness which belongs to uniformity. There it falls in one dense awful mass of green waters, unbroken and resistless: here it is broken into drops, and falls like a sea of diamonds sparkling in the sun. Now it shoots forth like rockets in endless succession: and now it is so light and foaming that it dances in the sun as it goes, and before it has reached the pool, it is driven up again by the ascending currents of air. Then there is the deep expanding pool below. Where the waters pitch, all is agitation and foam, so that the foot of the fall is never seen; and beyond it and away, the waters spread themselves out like a rippling sea of liquid alabaster. This last feature is perfectly unique, and you would think nothing could add to its exquisite loveliness: but there lies on it, as if they were made for each other, 'heaven's own bow.' O never had it, in heaven itself, so fair a resting-place!

"Besides, by reason of the different degrees of rarity in the waters and the atmosphere, the sun is pervading the whole scene with unwonted lights and hues. And the foam which is flying off in all directions, is insensibly condensed, and forms a pillar of cloud, which moves over the scene, as it once did over the tents of Israel, and apparently by the same bidding, giving amazing variety, and sublimity, and unearthliness to the picture. Then there is sound as well as sight; but what sound! It is not like the sea; nor like the thunder; nor like any thing I have heard. There is no roar, no rattle; nothing sharp or angry in its tones; it is deep, awful, one!

"Well, as soon as I could disengage myself from this spot, I descended to the bed of the fall. I am never satisfied with any fall till I have availed myself of the very lowest standing it supplies: it is there usually that you become susceptible of its utmost power. I scrambled, therefore, over the dislocated rocks, and put myself as near as possible to the object which I wished to absorb me. I was not disappointed.

"There were now fewer objects in the picture: but what you saw had greater prominence and power over you. Every thing ordinary—foliage, trees, hills—was shut out: the smaller attributes of the fall were also excluded; and I was left alone with its own greatness. At my feet the waters were creaming, swelling, and dashing away, as if in terror, from the scene of conflict, at the rate of twenty miles an hour. Above and overhanging me was the Table Rock, with its majestic form, and

dark and livid colours, threatening to crush one. While immediately before me was spread in all its height and majesty—not in parts, but as a whole, beyond what the eye could embrace—the unspeakable cataract itself; with its head now touching the horizon, and seeming to fall direct from heaven, and rushing to the earth with a weight and voice which made the rocks beneath and around me fearfully to tremble. Over this scene the cloud of foam mysteriously moved, rising upward, so as to spread itself partly on the face of the fall, and partly on the face of the sky; while over all were seen the beautiful and soft colours of the rainbow, forming almost an entire circle, and crowning it with celestial glory. But it is vain. The power, the sublimity, the beauty, the bliss of that spot, of that hour—it cannot be told.

"I have been thus particular in my account of these Falls, because the world knows nothing like them; and because I wished you to participate in my pleasures. I have seen many falls, and with unspeakable delight; but nothing to be named with this. It would in parts present the image of them all; but all united would not supply a just idea of it. It is better to see it than a thousand ordinary sights; they may revive sleeping emotions, and so bring delight; but this creates new emotion, and raises the mind a step higher in its conceptions of the power and eternity of Him whom 'to know is life eternal.' The day on which it is seen should be memorable in the life of any man."

En passant, we may remark, that the height of the fall is misstated, as being, at an average, two hundred feet. No one part exceeds one hundred and sixty-four feet.

In passing from Sandusky to Columbus, (Ohio,) it was again Dr. Reed's lot to enter a stage-coach which did not meet his approbation. All of us, who have passed over our western roads that are not "turnpiked," will bear witness to the correctness of the following graphic and sprightly description:—

"Having rested here over the Sabbath, I arranged to leave by coach early in the morning for Columbus. We were to start, I was told, at three o'clock; I rose, therefore, at two. Soon after I had risen, the bar-agent came, to say that the coach was ready, and would start in ten minutes, as the rain had made the roads bad. This was rather an ominous as well as untimely intimation. But there was no remedy; so I made what haste I could in dressing, and went down to take my place. I had no sooner begun to enter the coach, than splash went my foot in mud and water. I exclaimed with surprise. 'Soon be dry, Sir,' was the reply; while he withdrew the light, that I might not explore the cause of complaint. The fact was, that the vehicle, like the hotel and the steamboat, was not water-tight, and the rain had found an entrance. There was, indeed, in this coach, as in most others, a provision in the bottom, of holes, to let off both water and dirt; but here the dirt had become mud, and thickened about the orifices so as to prevent escape. I found I was the only passenger; the morning was damp and chilly; the state of the coach added to the sensation; and I eagerly looked about for some means of protection. I drew up the wooden windows; out of five small panes of glass in the sashes, three were broken. I endeavoured to secure the curtains; two of them had most of the ties broken, and flapped in one's face. There was no help in the coach; so I looked to myself. I made the best use I could of my garments, and put myself as snugly as I could in the corner of a stage meant to accommodate nine persons. My situation was just then not among the most cheerful. I could see nothing; everywhere I could feel the wind drawn in upon me; and as for sounds, I had the calls of the driver, the screeching of the wheels, and the song of the bull-frog, for my entertainment.

"But the worst of my solitary situation was to come. All that had been intimated about bad roads now came upon me. They were not only bad; they were intolerable: they were rather like a stony ditch than a road. The horses, on the first stages, could only walk most of the way; we were frequently in to the axletree, uncertain whether we should ever get out; and I had no sooner recovered from a

terrible plunge on one side, than there came another in the opposite direction, and confounded all my efforts to preserve a steady sitting. I was literally thrown about like a ball. How gladly should I have kept fixed possession of that corner, which I at first occupied with some degree of dissatisfaction! Let me dismiss the subject of bad roads for this journey, by stating, in illustration, that, with an empty coach, and four horses, we were seven hours in going twenty-three miles; and that we were twenty-eight hours in getting to Columbus, a distance of 110 miles. Yet this line of conveyance was advertised as a 'splendid line, equal to any in the States.'"

The great forests of our land are also well delineated; and the sense of awe and of high antiquity, which they excite, are ably portrayed.—

"But the most interesting sight to me was the forest. It now appeared in all its pristine state and grandeur, tall, magnificent, boundless. I had been somewhat disappointed in not finding vegetation develop itself in larger forms in New-England than with us; but there was no place for disappointment here. I shall fail, however, to give you the impression it makes on one. Did it arise from height, or figure, or grouping, it might readily be conveyed to you; but it arises chiefly from combination. You must see it in all its stages of growth, decay, dissolution, and regeneration; you must see it pressing on you and overshadowing you by its silent forms, and at other times spreading itself before you, like a natural park; you must see that all the clearances made by the human hand bear no higher relation to it than does a mountain to the globe; you must travel in it in solitariness, hour after hour, and day after day, frequently gazing on it with solemn delight, and occasionally casting the eye round in search of some pause, some end, without finding any, before you can fully understand the impression. Men say there is nothing in America to give you the sense of antiquity; and they mean that as there are no works of art to produce this effect, there can be nothing else. You cannot think that I would depreciate what they mean to extol; but I hope you will sympathize with me, when I say that I have met with nothing among the most venerable forms of art, which impresses you so thoroughly with the idea of indefinite distance and endless continuity; of antiquity shrouded in all its mystery of solitude, illimitable and eternal.

"The clearances, too, which appeared in this ride, were on so small a scale as to strengthen this impression, and to convey distinct impressions of their own. On them the vast trees of the forest had been girdled to prevent the foliage from appearing to overshadow the ground; and the land at their feet was grubbed up and sown with corn, which was expanding on the surface in all its luxuriance. The thin stems of Indian corn were strangely contrasted with the huge trunks of the pine and oak, and the verdant surface below was as strangely opposed to the skeleton trees towering above, spreading out their leafless arms to the warm sun and the refreshing rains, and doing it in vain. Life and desolation were never brought closer together.

"It appeared, in this morning ride, that the storm which passed over Sandusky had spent its power chiefly on this road. I passed by a spot where it had been very destructive. A man had been killed by the lightning, and two cottages crushed by the falling timber. A road crossing ours was entirely stopped by the fallen trees; and along our course they were lying great in ruin. This variety in the scene has a surprising effect upon you in such circumstances. In travelling through these dense and elevated forests, you are awed by a deep sense of their power and majesty; but here was a Power, to which their resistance was as nothing, that struck them, crashing, groaning, to the ground. Like Niagara, it puts you surprisingly near to Deity.

"The storm in the forest is not only awful; it is very dangerous. Even in a fair wind there is considerable danger. A great portion of the trees are always in different stages of decay. They creak and groan in the wind, and with every gust they come dashing, like the avalanche, to the earth."

At Frankfort, Kentucky, Dr. Reed, for the first time, became

acquainted with the fondness of our countrymen for placing their legs and feet in positions other than those which nature intended them to assume.* He describes it pleasantly thus:—

"All the sights were not quite so rural as these. In moving about the town, I observed a fair supply of accommodation for religious services. There were also two schools. One was large, and for common purposes. The boys were, at the time, making a little use of their American liberties; they were coursing, not only over the desks, a very English trick, but over the roof also. There were five windows on this side of the structure, and there was not one pane of glass unsmashed: but this was all the better, in such a climate, for the present; and what have boys to do with the future?

"Of the other school I had rather a curious notice. The shades of the evening were coming on, and as I suddenly turned the angle of a street, I saw a dark object projecting on my path from a window at a little distance. I soon perceived that it was the booted leg of a human being; and on coming nearer, I found it belonged to a pedagogue in class with some dozen youths, who, if not learning manners, were digesting Latin syntax as they could. This sort of trick is so peculiar, and so common, as to be almost an Americanism. I certainly never saw legs so strangely used as by many men in this country. To be on the fender, the jambs of the stove, the chair, the mantel-piece, is nothing; it is, perhaps, European. These aspirants seem never satisfied till their heels are on a level with their head; and at one hotel the feet have attained to the height of the door-way, and it is a point of serious ambition with young men to see who shall score the highest mark. This is certainly turning the world upside down, and inventing a new field of aspiration. The old strife among men has been to see who should carry his head the highest: it is now to be seen what distinction a man's heels may bring him; and this experiment, for aught I can see, is to be made in America."

At Lexington, the ill-judged efforts of the friends of the temperance cause, to thrust it unadvisedly ahead, are noticed as follows:—

"At sundown, as it is called, a bell began to toll. I concluded that there was to be a meeting of some sort and somewhere; and as my object was to mingle with the people, I followed its voice, and soon found myself at the Court-house. It was a meeting of the friends of Temperance. There was a poor promise of attendance when I arrived; but at last there were nearly a hundred persons assembled; they were all men. An individual moved to the chair. He had no speaking powers, and simply called on the Secretary to read the minutes. It appeared from these that monthly meetings had been resolved on, at which questions should be discussed; and that this was the first meeting. The question before them was, 'Whether, in the last one hundred years, intemperance had not done more harm to the human race than murder, disease, war, and all other evils?'

"When the subject was thus announced, there was a pause. The chairman solicited remark. Still there was a pause; and nothing to relieve it. The lights were few; the room looked heavy and dull; and those who occupied it looked heavy also and dull. All was sombre and silent; except that spitting was engaging the interval, and was so continuous as to be like rain pattering from the roof, and so universal as to make you feel that you must get wet. I had a man sitting next to me who kept me constantly on the look-out; but while he often made me jump, he did me no harm. These men have surprising cleverness in spirting their tobacco-juice; and, like good drivers, they seem to have pride in showing how near they can run to an object without touching it.

"But to return to my company. By this time you are to understand that a worthy clergyman arose, and had the boldness to take the affirmative of the question. Another pause occurred, with the same interlude. At length a person ad-

* The English themselves are as fond of *postures* as the Americans; the only difference is, that being less agile, they are more stiff and ungainly.

vanced, who, by his rough manner and bad expression, I took for a mechanic of the town, delivering himself honestly, but unused to the exercise. However, he quickly showed that he was an agent, and he made in the end a very indiscreet speech, in a most unwinning style. His statements relative to Lexington provoked some remarks. He hailed them—he hoped that he should be opposed—he delighted in it. A lawyer, of repute at the bar, spoke, but so strangely, that none could tell whether he was friend or foe. Some one expressed a fear that they should do no good without opposition; and proposed that they should adjourn to get up an opposition; he really feared that nobody would come again without it. And so it ended. It reminded me forcibly of a manœuvre played by one of our minor theatres lately. It had failed to get attention by other means; so it gave notice, by large placards, of *A Row at the Cobourg*, trusting in this as a last remedy for an empty house."

In their religious views—(we mean, of course, to say nothing of the correctness or incorrectness of their doctrines as members of the Presbyterian Church)—the authors appear discreet, sensible, and sincere; opposed to fanaticism and blind enthusiasm, and in favour of order, peace, subordination, and rule. The ridicule which, through a neglect of these, is likely to be cast upon religion and religious worship, may be well divined from the following account of what took place in the city of Baltimore, at a Methodist meeting-house. Sermons of this description may be aptly denominated "choruses;" in which, by the by, the congregation will be disposed to sing the larger part of the song.

"*Preacher.* 'The duty here inferred is, to deny ourselves.'
"*Elder.* 'God enable us to do it!'
"*Preacher.* 'It supposes that the carnal mind is enmity against God.'
"*Elder.* 'Ah, indeed, Lord, it is!'
"*Preacher.* 'The very reverse of what God would have us be!'
"*Elder.* 'God Almighty knows it's true!'
"*Preacher.* 'How necessary, then, that God should call on us to renounce every thing!'
"*Elder.* 'God help us!'
"*Preacher.* 'Is it necessary for me to say more?'
"*Elder.* 'No, oh no!'
"*Preacher.* 'Have I not said enough?'
"*Elder.* 'Oh yes—quite enough!'
"*Preacher.* 'I rejoice that God calls me to give up every thing!'
"*Elder* (clasping his hands). 'Yes, Lord, I would let it all go!'
"*Preacher.* 'You *must* give up all.'
"*Elder.* 'Yes,—all!'
"*Preacher.* 'Your pride!'
"*Elder.* 'My pride!'
"*Preacher.* 'Your envy!'
"*Elder.* 'My envy!'
"*Preacher.* 'Your covetousness!'
"*Elder.* 'My covetousness!'
"*Preacher.* 'Your anger!'
"*Elder.* 'Yes, my anger!'
"*Preacher.* 'Sinner, how awful, then, is your condition!'
"*Elder.* 'How awful!'
"*Preacher.* 'What reason for all to examine themselves!'
"*Elder.* 'Lord, help us to search our hearts!'
"*Preacher.* 'Could you have more motives?—I have done!'
"*Elder.* 'Thank God! Thank God for his Holy Word. Amen!'"

There are many important subjects which our authors discuss, and upon which they record as well what they saw, as the facts

furnished from the best sources of information by others. We refer to camp-meetings, temperance-meetings, and other matters which the spirit of inquiry of the present age has rendered so prominent. These would well deserve an investigation of an extent that we before said we could not afford. A word or two, however, as we promised, upon the topic of "revivals," of the permanently beneficial effects of which we have heretofore doubted; and our impression has been confirmed by what we have seen in these volumes. There appears to us to be too much evident *mechanical arrangement* in them; and too much of operation upon the mere passions, to render the conversions, so called, produced by their agency, desirable results. We select, as an example, the account which was furnished, of a revival that occurred in the winter of 1833–4, in the town of Northampton, Massachusetts.

"'At the close of the year the state of religion was low, religious meetings were thinly attended, and great apathy prevailed. The week after the dedication of the Edwards Church, a committee was appointed by its pastor and brethren, to go, two and two, and visit all the members of that church, to excite them to activity in their Master's service, and to fervent prayer for his presence and blessing. The effects were apparently good, considerable feeling was discovered or elicited, and a desire for a revival produced. The first Monday of January, by recommendation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, was extensively observed in this country as a day of fasting and prayer, for the conversion of the world. It was thought best here, that the exercises during the day should have special reference to the condition of these churches and this community. Accordingly prayer-meetings were held in the different districts of the town in the morning, and in the afternoon a public meeting was attended, at which the pastors made a full and particular exhibition of the proofs of a cold and dead state of religion here, and urged on the churches the importance of awaking from their lethargy, and engaging in united and earnest prayers and exertions for the prosperity of our Zion. The meeting was fully attended, and solemn, as was the monthly concert in the evening.

"'It soon became evident that a decided impression was made on that day. Religious meetings were fuller, prayer was more fervent, religion became a subject of more conversation, and a general desire for a revival seemed to pervade the churches. The interest increased; and the last week in January, the pastors thought it advisable to appoint special meetings, in reference to the peculiar circumstances of the people. Daily morning meetings for prayer, in private houses, in different parts of the town, were now commenced; and a public service was appointed for each evening in the week. The morning meetings were conducted by laymen; some of the evenings were occupied by the pastors, in endeavouring to arouse the churches, to make them feel their responsibility, and engage actively in stirring up each other, and in conversing freely with the impenitent—duties which had been greatly neglected. On other evenings, the churches met for united prayer; while non-professors were invited to assemble in another place, and were solemnly urged to attend to the concerns of their souls. These meetings were well attended, and deep impressions were made on some minds. At the close of the week an inquiry-meeting was held, at which a considerable number were present.

"'The next Sabbath, the two churches celebrated the Lord's Supper together; and it was a solemn and interesting occasion. During the week, similar services to those already mentioned were held. Towards its close, it became evident that increased effort was demanded, and that a crisis was near—the standard of the Lord would go forward or backward, according to the faith and zeal of those who bore it. The church had not yet, *as a whole*, come up to the work; nor had the convictions of the unconverted, in many instances, resulted in submission of the heart to God. On Saturday, a select meeting of brethren was held, to confer with the pastors; and the result was a determination that brethren, in equal numbers

from each church, should, the ensuing week, visit, two and two, every *family* belonging to the two *congregations*, to press on professors of religion their obligations, and the importance of consistent and decided action, and to pray with them in behalf of the unconverted members of their families, and also to converse fully with the impenitent, and beseech them now to be reconciled to God. The visiters were animated, the visits were thorough and solemn, and the results happy. This week, in addition to the (now) usual morning and evening meetings, there was preaching every afternoon. The meetings were thronged—a general solemnity pervaded the people, and the inquiry-meetings brought together a large number, anxiously asking what they should do to be saved. Instances of hopeful conversion began now to occur, and religion to be regarded as 'the one thing needful.'

"'Yet there was no visible excitement either in the meetings or in the town. A passer-by would have noticed nothing peculiar in the aspect of things abroad; and the meetings were distinguished only by numbers, profound attention, and the head bowed down, indicating unwonted emotion. The next week the morning and evening meetings were continued, and, in the afternoon, social meetings were held by the visiters in their several districts, for conversation and prayer. It was now easy to converse freely on the subject of religion, with all classes of persons: the conscience was tender, and the impenitent, generally, seemed to expect and to desire to be addressed. The inquiry-meetings were thronged: from 130 to 200 persons were present, and it was a scene of thrilling interest. All were invited to attend, who wished for personal conversation in relation to the state of their minds. During these meetings, the churches were always assembled in another place, to pray for a blessing. So large a number came now, as inquirers, that it became necessary for the pastors to call in several laymen to assist.

"'The meetings were conducted as follows:—One of the pastors commenced with a prayer and a short address; after which, the pastors and brethren took different parts of the room, and conversed with each individual in a low voice, endeavouring to ascertain the precise state of mind, and to give such advice and directions as the case required. Lists were taken of the names and residence of each person present, that they might afterward be visited and conversed with at home. An hour was thus spent in conversation, and, in some instances, afterward, those who had come to the decision to renounce their sins, receive Jesus as their Saviour, and dedicate themselves to the service of God, were requested to rise; and it is believed that such a call was, to some, the means of conversion at the moment. Those not occupied in conversation were advised to spend the time in silent meditation and prayer, giving their whole minds to the subject, and bringing them to an issue at once. The meetings were closed with an address and prayer, and seasonably dismissed. They were eminently blessed, and were, doubtless, the birthplace of many souls.

"'The morning and evening meetings were continued for some weeks, and also those for inquiry. The number who entertained the belief that they had been renewed in heart became large; and one or two evenings each week were occupied by the pastors, in giving instructions, in presence of the churches, to such, in relation to the duties and dangers of their new situation.'"

Many other instances are given, where these religious excitements have been produced by the combined efforts of two or three, and the effects of protracted meetings. Dr. Reed's remarks upon this head are temperate and judicious. It will be seen, that he, (and we presume the same of every Christian,) is in favour of *true* revivals.

"Are there any evils attendant on the approved revivals?

"Yes, there are. They are liable to run out into wild fanaticism. The extravagances to which I have referred grew out of an approved revival; they were not consequent from it, but were incidental to it; they were an unlovely excrescence on one of the fairest reforms in the history of the churches. A revival is a crisis. It implies that a great mass of human passion that was dormant, is suddenly called into action. Those who are not moved to good will be moved to the greater evil.

The hay, wood, and stubble, which are always to be found, even within the pale of the church, will enkindle, and flash, and flare. It is an occasion favourable to display, and the vain and presumptuous will endeavour to seize on it, and turn it to their own account. Whether such a state of general excitement is connected with worldly or religious objects, it is too much, and would argue great ignorance of human nature, to expect, that it should not be liable to excess and disorder.

"The evils to which this state of excitement exposes, may, however, be greatly qualified, if not wholly prevented. I know, indeed, some imagine, that they are already so fully master of the subject, that they can adjust the whole affair as they would a machine, and determine beforehand how it shall act, and where it shall stay. But I do not admire their mechanism; it is too nice and too complicated, to be wise in itself, or useful for the occasion; and I freely confess, that the churches, both here and there, have something yet to learn on the question.

"Perhaps, however, the evil to which the revival, as it now exists, is most liable, is the danger of relapse. That there is room for this complaint must be admitted; and it is open to two or three remarks.

"First, where revivals are pressed into excess, they carry the seeds of this evil in their own nature. We are so constituted, that our nature seeks indemnity for all violence done to itself. Excess of excitement brings excess of exhaustion, as surely as night follows day. Hence, when those have managed a revival who have not known where to stop, they have been confounded to find, instead of the results they expected, a deep sleep come over the people, from which none could awaken them.

"When revivals are allowed to take, in common expectation, a periodical character, there is danger of reaction. Those who have received benefit by a certain method, if they may calculate on its return, will be disposed to look to it exclusively. Hence, some churches have an exaggerated hope in the extraordinary means, and almost no hope in the use of the ordinary; they have obtained a dispensation to slumber through the intervals, on the promise of being thoroughly awake at the revivals. These circumstances, connected with a partial reliance on the same causes, have affected many ministers. They wear an air of despondency, and often preach under its chilling or paralysing influence, except they are expecting a revival, or in the midst of one; and, on this account, if such men would be more efficient in a revival than most, they would be less so at any other period.

"This evil might be mostly prevented, by not allowing them to receive an intermitting and periodical form. Care should be taken to show that they are of a special and an extraordinary nature; and are not of equal importance with the means that are ordinary. They should be made subservient to, and not subversive of, the regular institutions of Divine mercy. They should be regarded as a remedy for a disease, and not as the aliment of vigorous life; to be used only as occasion required; and which occasion ought not, in fact, to arise.

"Are the fruits of the revivals equally good with those produced under ordinary circumstances?

"I should say, decidedly, Yes, quite as good, and frequently better; only admitting that the work is real, wisely managed, and associated with proportionate instruction. Persons, so converted, are surrounded by more affecting circumstances, and receive deeper impressions. Perception is more awakened, conviction is more pungent, prayer is more ardent, the will more resolved. There is a prostration and a solemnity of feeling, which is never forgotten. There is, therefore, greater evidence of character, stronger motives for progress, and, as an effect of these, more decision of conduct. Most of their active and devoted Christians have been born in the revivals; and their most intelligent, pious, and successful ministers, have either received the truth at these seasons, or have had their incipient character formed and moulded in them.

"Would not a continued advancement in knowledge and piety be preferable to these occasional movements?

"Undoubtedly it would, if the average result of the supposed uniform movement were equal to the occasional one. But is not this a begging of the question? Do we know any thing, in fact, of this continued and uniform advancement? We are speaking of a mode of life; and all modes of life, known to us, are subject to the alternations of declension and progress. Is the spiritual life, whether personal or social, exempt from these vicissitudes? Has it no winter, and may it know no

spring? In the course of twenty years, where is the church that has not had a comparative season of depression? And, at such a time, what could have been a greater blessing to it than a sound revival? And might not such a revivification have been expected, in the use of the means of grace, in a special form, and with condensed power, as a remedy for a diseased and dangerous state?

"Besides, let us take the best of the case, and suppose that the churches are not sinking into declension, but are making gradual and uniform advancement; have we ever known any churches in so happy and palmy a state, as that the blessings meant to be conveyed by a revival would be superfluous? Have we not a thousand congregations, and these the most prosperous, to which, as it relates to one half of their body, the blessing of a revival would not be as life to the dead?—who are untouched by ordinary means, and who require a last remedy,—if, indeed, there be such remedy,—and who appear as though they would perish if it is not applied?

"Are revivals, on the whole, desirable?

"After what has been said, need I pause on this question? I speak not now of type or circumstance, but of a true revival; and I should say, it is unspeakably desirable. It is the one thing desirable. For ourselves, for our families, for our churches, and for the nation, most desirable! It would heal our divisions; humble our spirits; and convert us from the insignificant and perishable, to the unseen and eternal. It would infuse into our efforts for the world's conversion, intelligence, life, and power; and a measure of this comprehensive and decisive character, whatever may be its type, by which, not a few, but a multitude may be gathered to Christ, is demanded by the emergency of the times, and by the spirit and grandeur of prophetic testimony.

"This, then, authorizes a concluding remark, which is by no means least in importance. It is this: that special circumstances demand special means. If the church has fallen into a manifest state of depression and worldliness; if she is making but slow and feeble advances in comparison with her privileges, the claims of the times, and the fair interpretation of the will of God, concerning her; if, within, she is afflicted with disorder, division, or lethargy; if she fails to shed forth a saving influence on the world around her; or if that influence and agency is not attended with a just measure of success; then her circumstances are special; and they require not that we should devise new and special means for her help, but that we should give special use to the ordinary means, and thus confer on them the charm of novelty and the force of condensation."

It is, however, time for us to close. The style of these volumes is far from being free from exception. It is less so, indeed, than we had anticipated from the literary reputation of Dr. Reed. We supposed that the use of the phrase "to leave," as a passive, instead of an active verb, was confined to careless speakers in a certain section of our land; but on the contrary, we find, either that it is a vulgarism also in England, or that our travellers have had their taste spoiled by association here. On almost every page we meet with the expressions—"after leaving"—"before we left"—"we left by stage," or, "we left by steam-boat."

A few words are, also, occasionally to be met with, which may be justified by their having received a certain technico-religious signification, though the language is any thing but adorned by the employment of them.

The authors, however, are chargeable with errors of a graver kind. They call Baltimore "the second city of the Union," because "it has now a population of eighty thousand persons." They say, that "the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, is an *Episcopal* College, with one hundred and twenty students," when it is well known to be of no particular religious connexion, and to

have (including medical students, who are embraced in the statement of the number of attendants at the other colleges) upwards of five hundred students. Judge Story is called "a professor" in the law department of Harvard University, without an intimation being given of his holding any other or higher station in a country whose judicial reputation he has contributed so much to exalt. It is mentioned as "a remarkable circumstance," that the Law Library at Cambridge contains a complete set of the Law Reports of Great Britain; and last, not least, our own Review, the "American Quarterly," is said to issue from this same University!

ART. X.—*Matthias and his Impostures: or, the Progress of Fanaticism. Illustrated in the extraordinary case of Robert Matthews, and some of his Forerunners and Disciples.* By WILLIAM L. STONE. Harper & Brothers. New York: 1835.

AFTER all the researches of metaphysicians and theologians, there is no department in nature which has been so imperfectly explored, or in which so little is certainly known, as in the phenomena of mind. The reason of our deficient knowledge on this subject, is found in the fact, that almost every human being, in his intellectual organization, is a problem by himself, as developed in the idiosyncrasies of *each*, distinguishing him from *all* his fellow beings. Indeed there is a much greater diversity in the mental and moral characteristics of our species, than is found in physical structure, and hence, as each individual mind is in some aspects *sui generis*, the study of intellectual and moral science must necessarily be endless, and our attainments will for ever be imperfect, until "this mortal shall put on immortality." The philosopher has no other refuge, than the assurance of Holy Writ, that "what we know not now, we shall know hereafter."

The extraordinary case of Robert Matthews, or MATTHIAS, as is his chosen appellation, is in some respects without a parallel in ancient or modern history. For although the presumptuous claim of the Divine attributes has been arrogated by many individuals known to be *insane;* and in other numerous cases, men have made similar pretensions for purposes of *wilful imposture;* and false Christs have been numerous in almost every period of the Church; yet no one of these can at all compare with Matthias in some of the peculiarities which his brief history exhibits. And although the author of the work under notice has found examples of analogous character in the records of the past, yet, as we shall

presently see, there are features in the present case which demonstrate, that though somewhat similar instances of imposture, they are by no means parallel in enormity or absurdity.

The instances of confirmed lunatics, who have persuaded themselves that they possess omnipotent authority, and attempted its exercise, are ordinarily the harmless tenants of some asylum for the insane, where they expend their thunder in high-sounding words, or writing decrees, which are impotent in their nature, and innocent in their results: while those who for purposes of fraud and imposition have made pretensions to superhuman or divine prerogatives, have been mischievous only by a preconcerted plan, which they have had the talent to devise, the learning to vindicate, and the desperate energy to carry out in practice, upon *chosen* victims; who were either made accessaries in the imposture, by initiation into its villanies, or if unfit for this dignity, were such as by reason of intellectual imbecility became the easy prey of deception and fraud.

No one of them, in the long line of false Christs, whose history has been written, either pretended to be himself a maniac, or selected insane men as his prime ministers. No one of them all commenced his career by harmless eccentricities, gradually advancing from religious enthusiasm to wild fanaticism, as times and circumstances changed; enlarged his pretensions, varied his doctrines, altered his creed, and occupied essentially different and even opposite positions, without order, system, or arrangement. All of them *suddenly* assumed the attitude which they had determined to maintain, after counting the cost, and then firmly pursued the course they had marked out, and gave evidence that a definite system had been arranged, which should have the semblance of consistency, and thus give plausibility to their imposture. This is unquestionably true of all such as have been wilful impostors; while maniacs, or those suffering under monomania, who were clearly the victims of their own delusion, have been equally *sudden* in making pretensions to divinity of person or character, and have not been led to this pretension, unexpectedly to themselves, by a train of circumstances, in the development of which they had no agency, and which they could not have foreseen.

But we will not longer detain the reader from the impressive and instructive narrative before us, presenting the extraordinary case of Matthias's and other kindred delusions, as it does, with a minuteness of detail, and apparent accuracy, seldom attained under similar circumstances. Indeed the author has succeeded in collecting a chain of documentary testimony, comprising the whole life of Matthias, and especially the history of his own crimes, and the infatuation of his deluded disciples, which is truly surprising under the circumstances of the case. He has not only had access

to the diary kept by one who was the high priest of the prophet, but he has received a full and frank confession from two of the victims of his delusion, who, though they once fully believed the prophet to be "God the Father," have escaped from his snares, and been restored to the dominion of common sense. Their narrative bears intrinsic evidence of truth, and entitles them to the sympathy of their species.

The following account of the prominent circumstances in the life of Matthias, and the earlier portion of his imposture, will be found to possess much interest.

"Robert Matthews—for that is the real name of the subject of this history—is a native of Washington county, in the State of New York, and of Scotch extraction. He is about forty-five years of age, and of respectable parentage, though a mental eccentricity has characterized several members of the family. He was left an orphan at a tender age, and was brought up in the family of a respectable farmer in the town of Cambridge, in the county already mentioned, belonging to the church of the Anti-burgher branch of Seceders. It is related of him, that when the clergyman visited the family on a certain occasion, to catechize the children, he became much pleased with Matthews, then about seven years of age. As the good man departed, he laid his hand on the head of Robert, and gave him his blessing. From that moment the lad said he always expected to become a distinguished personage.

"He was married in the year 1813, in the city of New York (while on a visit for the purchase of goods), to a young lady, the daughter of a respectable Scotch mechanic, who had formerly resided in Washington county, where his daughter was born. Returning to Cambridge, he continued business as a merchant three or four years longer, and was still considered a very respectable man, maintaining his standing in the church as a regular worshipper and a consistent Christian. About a year after the close of the war, say in 1816, he commenced building a large edifice for a store, but became unfortunate in his pecuniary affairs, and failed before its completion—involving in his ruin an aged and honest mechanic, who, by industry and frugality, had secured a competency for his family. Some hard things were said of Matthews in relation to these transactions; but, perhaps, without any greater or more aggravated cause than is to be found in most cases of similar misfortune.

"Being thus broken up in his mercantile business, he returned to New York with his family, and resumed his former handicraft as a house-joiner. He remained in the city four or five years, but was not satisfied with such employment, and resolved once more to try his fortunes in his native county; for which purpose he removed to the town of Argyle, where he followed the occupation of a mill-wright. Not succeeding to his wishes, however, he removed to Albany in 1827 or '28, and resumed the joiner's business as a journeyman, taking good care of his family, and attending constantly upon the public services in the sanctuary—attaching himself to the congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Ludlow. The reason of his leaving the Scotch Church, to which he had previously belonged, was understood to be some personal difficulty with his minister in Washington county, resulting in a settled dislike to that denomination. He very soon appeared to take an increasing interest in religious matters; attended church and social prayer meetings, and conversed frequently upon the subject. Some time subsequent to this period, the late Dr. Chester being absent for his health, notice was given that a young clergyman from New York, the Rev. Mr. Kirk, was to occupy the pulpit on a certain evening. Matthews went to hear him, and on his return home appeared to be in a state of great excitement, declaring that he had never heard any thing like preaching before, and sat up the greater part of the night repeating, expounding, and commending passages from the sermon. His enthusiasm was so great that Mrs. Matthews remarked to her daughter in the course of the night, 'If your father goes to hear this man preach any more, he will go wild or crazy.' He did go again to hear him a number of times—was always exceedingly pleased, and became more and more excited. Still he behaved rationally enough

until one evening when he went to hear Mr. Finney. The services were continued until a late hour, and Matthews came home in a state bordering upon phrenzy.

"A brother of Mrs. Matthews, now a respectable tradesman in New York, who had resided some years with his sister soon after her marriage, made him a visit just at this crisis. He was kindly received by Matthews, and observed no alteration in his manners, except that he soon introduced religion as a subject of conversation, which was contrary to his former habits; for although, as we have seen, a professor of religion, yet he had never in former years shown himself forward or ostentatious in these matters, but was, on the contrary, rather reserved. He now inquired of his brother-in-law whether he yet remained in connexion with the Scotch church, and being answered in the affirmative, replied, 'Why, I wonder at that: you are all wrong: I used to think that church was right, too; but I find that although I have been a professor these twenty years, I never had any religion until now—never until I heard the preaching of Mr. Kirk and Mr. Finney.'

"As he continued his religious conversation, he gradually became excited, and in the end somewhat vehement,—especially on the subject of temperance—strenuously maintaining that intemperance was the great evil at the root of the matter, and that the world could all be converted, if men would only live up to pure temperance principles. Already had he introduced a rigid system of temperance dietetics in his own household—not allowing the use of meats, and keeping his family upon bread, fruits, and vegetables. It was then the season of blackberries, and these, with bread and vegetables, constituted the sole diet during this visit of his relative—who left him in a frame of enthusiasm bordering upon fanaticism. Indeed, there were moments when, from the wildness of his eye, the brother-in-law began to tremble for his reason, as also did the relatives in New York on hearing of his proceedings.

"During the year 1829, his conduct became more and more wild and unregulated. His employment was still that of a journeyman house-joiner; but instead of minding his work, he fell into the practice of exhorting the workmen during the hours of labour, and of expounding the Scriptures to them in a novel and enthusiastic manner, until at length he became so boisterous, that his employer, a very pious man, was obliged to discharge him from his service. He claimed at this time to have received by revelation some new light upon the subject of experimental religion, but did not as yet lay claim to the Messiahship, or to any supernatural power. Being thus discharged from regular employment, however, he had abundant leisure for street-preaching, which he commenced in a vociferous manner,—exhorting every one he met upon the subjects of temperance and religion, and holding forth to crowds at the corners of the streets. Having made a convert of one of his fellow-workmen, they procured a large white flag, on which was incribed 'Rally round the Standard of Truth;' this they raised on a pole, and bore through the streets every morning, haranguing the multitudes whom their strange appearance and demeanour attracted. A young student of divinity, catching the infection, as it seemed, united himself with Matthews, and with him visited the abodes of profligacy, intemperance, and vice, on the Sabbath days, preaching repentance to their inmates. But he was yet of sound mind, apparently, if he chose so to appear.

"In his street-preaching, consisting for the most part of more incoherent harangues than are often uttered by men in any condition of mind, his declared object was the conversion of the whole city of Albany,—a work which he had been commissioned to undertake. In the spring of 1830, finding that the city would not be converted, he declared to his wife that it would be destroyed, and he thereupon began to proclaim the impending destruction of the Albanians and their capital publicly.

"It was about this time that, coming home one night, he sat down before a table to shave himself, with an open Bible before him, in which he read while preparing the soap for the operation. All of a sudden he exclaimed, 'I have found it—I have found a text which proves that no man who shaves his beard can be a true Christian;' and thereupon declared that he would go to the installation of Dr. Wilson (that having been his intention when he sat down to shave) with his beard untouched. His wife remonstrated, but to no purpose; and he went, unshaved, to attend the ceremony. While it was in progress he continued quiet, until near the close, when he stood up and requested from the congregation leave to ascend the pulpit and ad-

dress them. Being well known, the permission was given, but, to the great astonishment of his hearers, he burst forth in wild ravings, denouncing vengeance against the people and the land; and, claiming authority from God, announced to the people, that the end of the Gentiles was come—that he was commanded to take possession of the world in the name of the King of kings—that all nations and institutions established on any other foundation than the law of God were henceforth dissolved—and that the law of God was from that date the only rule of government for the world. He attempted to continue his harangue, but before he had time to finish it, or to proclaim the full purport of his commission, the lights were extinguished, and the people dispersed.

"Like the Jewish prophet of evil to the city of Jerusalem, during the siege by Vespasian, Matthews continued his denunciations of wo against the city for several days—frequently urging his wife to fly with him from the approaching destruction. Finally, about the middle of June, soon after midnight, he aroused his wife and her five children from their slumbers, and told them they must fly with him to the hills, as the city would be destroyed the next day. Not being able to persuade the former into his belief, he then declared his purpose of escaping himself, with his children, leaving the mother to destruction. The eldest daughter, however, being of age sufficient to discover the wildness and absurdity of her father's conduct, refused to accompany him; the mother clung to the infant; while the semi-lunatic or impostor took with him his three little boys—the eldest six, and the youngest but two years of age—and departed in the dead of night.

"The mother at first thought but little of the occurrence, having seen his vagaries so frequently of late, and presuming that by morning light they would all be safely at home again. But morning came, and the day passed, and they did not return. He seemed indeed to have left the city, nor could any trace of him be discovered. Her anxiety now became intense, as also was that of the citizens to whom she communicated the circumstances. An alarm was given, and the people turned out in great numbers to search for the wanderers. It was seriously apprehended that the father might have put them to death and destroyed himself. The unhappy mother's distress increased with every succeeding hour; the press sounded the alarm; and the mayor issued a proclamation, announcing the facts, and offering a reward for the return of the children.

"But a few days elapsed, however, before tidings were received that the fugitives were all safely housed in the town of Argyle, Washington county. Matthews had a sister living in Argyle, a distance of forty miles from Albany; and it subsequently appeared that the cruel parent had travelled the whole distance, regardless of the tender years of his children, without stopping—going the whole way on foot—and arriving at the house of his sister shortly after midnight, and in twenty-four hours from the time of his departure from Albany. Under any other circumstances, the children would have sunk midway from fatigue; but the terror in which they were kept by their father seemed to invest them with supernatural strength.

"Arousing his sister and her family from their sleep, he greatly terrified them by his conduct. They had heard nothing of his strange proceedings; and his incoherent ravings, coming thus suddenly upon them, and at such a gloomy hour, were appalling. He declared that he had fled with his children from Albany, which was to be destroyed on the day of his flight, and he supposed that his wife and the remaining children, who, like the sons and daughters of Lot, had refused to escape, were destroyed also. His sister admitted them with fear and trembling, not doubting that he was raving mad. Having partaken of some refreshments, notwithstanding his fatigue, and the still greater weariness of his children,—sinking from exhaustion,—he would not allow them to be taken to bed, or to leave his side, until after the performance of his evening devotions. He then pulled a Bible from his bosom, and after reading a chapter, and singing a hymn, in which his children were compelled to join, thus closed the first day of his wanderings as a prophet.

"The next day, being the Christian Sabbath, Matthews repaired to the old church in Argyle, entered during the service, and, walking midway up the aisle, while the minister was yet preaching, broke forth into one of his vociferous exhortations. He declared that on the preceding day, judgment had been pronounced at Stillwater, on all kingdoms, nations, and institutions not founded on the law of God. He denounced the congregation there present, as sitting in darkness, and warned

them to repent; and proceeded to finish what he called his declaration. He was of course seized and taken out of the church for thus disturbing the public worship; and on the receipt of the tidings of his flight from Albany, was carried back to his family.

"Here again his conduct continued equally strange as before. Having now suffered his beard to grow for many weeks, it began to look formidable. He continued to traverse the streets, in grotesque attire, and to utter his violent declamations, and harangue such crowds as he could collect around him. Repeatedly was he arrested for disturbances of the peace by his performances, and was sometimes confined on suspicion of lunacy; but, crazy or not, he was always discharged on examination, as of sound mind. He next disposed of his working tools, and urged his wife to relinquish labour and follow him. She remonstrated; but he persisted; and in reply to her inquiries how she and her children were to be provided for, he said they must live by faith—that the Almighty would provide for them—and that if they had no other supplies, food enough might be found among the roots and herbs of the woods. It was their duty to go upon a mission for the conversion of the world, and their wants would all be supplied.

"Mrs. Matthews had of course too much sense to listen to these vagaries of fanaticism, and refused to go. He for a time yet continued his street-preaching, urging to repentance, temperance, and abstinence from meats, and growing daily more and more loud and boisterous, and more savage in his looks. He denounced all who refused to follow his doctrines, though his ravings were so disjointed and heterogeneous that nobody could understand them, and vented curses upon those who scoffed and derided him. He read his Bible much, particularly the Old Testament, and poured forth quotations in the greatest profusion, but without method, fitness, or adaptation—rendering its sublimest passages but a confused and incoherent jumble of words, and odds and ends of sentences; and yet there was often a shrewdness in some of his own sayings, particularly in reply to questions, or in an occasional repartee, which raised a laugh, and convinced his miscellaneous auditors that he was less of a fool than a knave. But from the wild screams and piercing exclamations which he indulged in in his incomprehensible orations, he became a nuisance of which the people had great cause of complaint.

"It was now that he assumed the name of Matthias, and gave out that he was a Jew. He then departed upon his mission for the conversion of the world, taking a western course, for the purpose of visiting his brother in Rochester, and everywhere attracting attention, from the length of his beard and the novelty of his behaviour. This brother, as has already been remarked, was a rare mechanic—inventive and curious. Before his death, he had obtained between thirty and forty patents for as many different mechanical discoveries. The itinerant preacher soon quarrelled with his brother, however, and his stay in Rochester was but a fortnight; and it was then, and from thence, that he commenced his first grand apostolic tour. While in the anti-masonic region of New York, he declaimed against free-masonry, as against what he considered other abominations of the land. Directing his face towards the setting sun, he traversed the Western States, through the deep forests, and over the prairies, until he had proclaimed his mission amid the wilds of the Arkansas. From thence he turned his steps to the south-east—recrossed the Father of Rivers, traversed the States of Mississippi and Tennessee, and penetrated the Cherokee country, in Georgia, and commenced preaching to the Indians. Here he was seized by the authorities of Georgia, and imprisoned;—but he was an overmatch for them. They knew not what to make of his conduct, or what to do with him. His appearance was eccentric; his kindling eye flashed with fury as he poured forth his maledictions upon them; and they were at length constrained to unbar the prison-doors, and bid him depart. From thence he bent his footsteps to the North, and passing through Washington, came to the city of New York. He immediately visited the brother-in-law heretofore mentioned, and was at first very mild and agreeable in his manners and conversation, though of course forbidding in his aspect, since his temporal affairs did not then enable him to array himself in broadcloth and gold, and fine linen, and his beard presented a most unchristian appearance. On being asked why he had assumed such a disguise—why he had abandoned his family, and conducted himself so strangely, he soon became greatly excited, grew furious, and uttered a shower of bitter curses. Foaming with rage,

his eyes kindled with passion, and he denounced his relative as a devil, with great violence—declaring that he had burnt his fingers by coming into the devil's house. He thereupon departed in a towering passion.

"Little is known with certainty either of his proceedings or his tenets and pretensions at this period. He remained for some time in the city of New York, exhibiting himself frequently in various parts of the city, grotesquely but meanly clad, and sometimes mounted upon an old and half-starved horse—wandering from place to place—preaching whenever he could find listeners—and attracting little attention, except from the younger members of the population, who used to gather round him with wondering eyes, and an evident disposition to make themselves merry at his expense, which was kept within bounds by his fierce looks, and his apparent activity and strength of body. As yet his proceedings were seldom, if ever, mentioned in the public prints, and although some curiosity existed respecting him, it was confined to a narrow circle of observers. By one of these the writer has been favoured with the following memorandum, containing the most explicit account of the man's pretensions at this epoch which he has been able to obtain.

"'I should think it was about three years ago, that I was acquainted with a lodger in the same house with Matthias, near the Battery. My friend was desirous that I should have a conversation with the prophet, as they called him, and managed that an interview should take place at the tea-table. I treated him with great respect, and used no small degree of delicacy in my questions; this deference seemed to win his confidence, and he gave me something of his creed. I followed up my inquiries in a second interview, but found that he had in some measure changed his ground; but taking all that he said together, as far as such incongruities could be put together, it was this:—That from time to time God had sent his messenger on earth to enlighten mankind, from Moses to Jesus Christ, and from him to Matthias himself. Of his own nature he spoke freely: he acknowledged that he belonged to the human race, but had been set apart as a chosen vessel to be filled with inspiration of a lesser or greater degree, as the Father directed his services; and that sometimes he was ordered to speak in the first person. He did not appear to have a very extensive knowledge of the Bible in general; his recollection of the prophecies was good. He was particularly fond of quoting from Isaiah, and more than insinuated that the prophecies concerning the Messiah, which he quoted, were said of him and his mission. He seemed vain of his person, and quite charmed with his beard. On my pushing a few questions a little closer on my next visit, he became quite cautious of committing himself, and I found it would be useless for me to spend any more time on him and his creed. I thought him to be more of a knave than a fool; but still, I believe, at that time, he was a dupe to his own fraud, as the actor made himself crazy by so often repeating the character of the madman.'

"Thus much, of Matthews himself, must suffice for the present: before his further progress can be intelligibly developed, it is necessary to take up a different chain of events, and show how perfectly and strangely withal the way had been prepared for his reception by others, who knew nothing of him, and of whom, at that time, he had never heard."

The writer proceeds in his next chapter to narrate a series of antecedent events, occurring in New York, which served to prepare the future victims for the arch impostor who constitutes the chief subject of the volume. By this it will be seen, that, as in most instances of extensive mischief, there was "a *woman* in the case,"—a Mrs. * * *—who originated a sect of fanatics in her own and other churches, the extent and extravagance of which, if they were not amply proven, would be absolutely incredible. Among the "female brethren," as they are quaintly called, who became the dupes of this lady and her enthusiastic religious delusion, was one who had been a highly respectable, intelligent, and pious man, and who, with his wife, had consecrated himself to the

work of doing good. This was Mr. Elijah Pierson, who was induced to found a new church, of which he was to be the pastor, and in which all the crude fantasies of Mrs. * * * were to be incorporated. The wife of Mr. P. shortly after became sick unto death, when both she and her husband had an imaginary revelation, that she ought to be anointed with oil, and prayed for by the elders of their newly organized church, and that thus she would be miraculously restored to health. The following attendant circumstances, and her attempted resurrection, will be found to be beyond measure extraordinary and absurd.

"Assembled around the bedside of Mrs. Pierson, now evidently near her end, Mr. Pierson quoted the passage from James, heretofore referred to, and urged that it was indispensable to the recovery of his wife that he should literally fulfil that injunction. He had called the elders of the church together, and she must be anointed. Arrangements were accordingly made for that ceremony. Among the persons present on the occasion, were Mrs. ***, and the black woman Isabella, who was very forward and active. According to the impressions of persons in the adjoining apartment, who were too much shocked by the procedure to be present, Isabella must have been one of the principal actors and speakers in the religious rites and ceremonies that were observed. The fact of the anointing is briefly noted in the diary of Mr. Pierson, thus:—

"*Monday, June* 23, 1830. Anointed Sarah with oil in the name of the Lord, according to James v. 14, 15.

"It is not known or believed by the friends of Mrs. Pierson that she altogether approved of this fanatical procedure, notwithstanding what it will soon be perceived her husband said upon the subject; or, if she did, her mind and body had become so much debilitated by disease, that her own views at this time, need scarcely be taken into the account. Either way however, it is now of but little consequence. In a very few days after the anointing she was no more of this world—her purified spirit having ascended to the bosom of her Saviour.* Preparations were made for the funeral, as usual, and a large number of special invitations were issued. Mr. Pierson himself declaring, however, that it would be no funeral, but rather a resurrection. Indeed, he seemed to be fully persuaded that she would that day be restored to life again by the prayer of faith. The universal respect which the deceased had enjoyed while living, as a lady of eminent piety and unbounded benevolence, would of course have produced a large attendance at her funeral, to say nothing of the peculiarity of the case. About two hundred persons attended, a majority of whom were females. There were also several clergymen of different denominations present. From the lips of one of these, the writer has noted down a full account of the whole of the solemn and awful procedure which followed, and by a physician who was also present he has likewise been favoured with a written account. The latter remarks,—'The hall and rooms being filled, I stood upon the piazza, which opened by a large raised window into the parlour where the corpse lay in a coffin, clad in grave-clothes. Soon after I took this position, where I could hear and see the anticipated ceremonies, I was questioned by several persons whether I believed that she would be raised. As I saw they were followers of Mr. Pierson, and addressed the same question to others who looked sceptical, I evaded a direct answer.'

"Meantime Mr. Pierson was sitting in an adjoining room, opening into the par-

* "In relation to the disorder of which Mrs. Pierson died, a medical gentleman, acquainted with the whole proceedings at the Bowery Hill, remarks in a letter to the writer:—'I always attributed Mrs. Pierson's sickness and death to her excessive fasting, being so frequently repeated and long continued. Indeed it is very probable that Mr. Pierson himself lost both health and reason from the same cause. I had frequent occasion to speak to patients, whose health was so rapidly declining, in relation to the mischief of this delusion, and received for answer that they belonged to the Retrenchment Society and must fast.'"

lour where the corpse was laid, with the utmost tranquillity and composure. One of his clerical friends sat with him for a time, and as the funeral seemed to be delayed, he at length suggested that they had better proceed, and inquired whether there was any particular order of service which he wished to be observed. His reply was—'wait a minute;' and he sat with the same unmoved composure a time longer. Taking an open bible in his hand, he then rose, and entered the room of the assembly, where the body lay, and a scene ensued which almost baffles description. He approached the coffin with a measured and solemn tread, and with deep solemnity, and a hollow sepulchral voice, read the following passage from the Epistle of James, v. 14, 15.

"'Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them *pray over him, anointing him with oil*, in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and THE LORD SHALL RAISE HIM UP.'

"Having read the passage, and looking round upon the audience, with deep and solemn emphasis, he added—'This dear woman has been anointed in the name of Israel's God, and in obedience to this divine command; and I believe that God will fulfil his promise.' He then repeated the last six words of the quotation several times, emphasizing the word '*shall*,' with great force and feeling, and proceeded to argue that the whole passage was to be understood *literally*, which he affirmed to be its certain infallible meaning as revealed to him, and to that dear woman, (pointing to the corpse), and in this faith, he said, she died. He then related a remarkable *revelation* made to him in a carriage as he was coming out from the city a short time previous, and declared, that the same *revelation* was simultaneously made to his wife, then nigh unto death. He stated that the word of the Lord came to him and commanded him to have faith in that promise, and in that faith to conform to the conditions, and the promise should be fulfilled. When he arrived home, he found his wife anxious for his return, and she told him, without hearing anything from him touching the extraordinary communication from Heaven which he had received on the way, that the Holy Ghost had directed her to instruct her husband in the faith of St. James's testimony, and assured her that she should be raised.

"Mr. Pierson farther proceeded to say, that finding that the *moment* she had received the revelation was the *identical time* when his manifestation was communicated, he felt it his duty, and so did that dear woman, (again pointing to the corpse), to do as the Lord had commanded them. He accordingly collected together a number of pious friends who were in the faith, and they proceeded literally to anoint her body with oil, and pray over her, trusting in this promise, 'The Lord *shall* raise him up.' And though her physicians had told them that she must die, for the consumption had destroyed her lungs, yet they knew the Lord, the Heavenly Physician, could heal the sick, and even raise the dead; and they had strong faith in His word, that if they anointed her, and prayed, the promise would be fulfilled, for 'the Lord *shall* raise him up.' In that faith, he repeated, that dear woman died. And after exhorting all present to exercise similar faith, and affirming in the language of the Saviour, 'she is not dead but sleepeth,' he commented on the wickedness of unbelief, and the sin of doubting the word of God. He then unequivocally declared, that whereas, the elders of the church had anointed her with oil and prayed over her, if she were not raised up *to-day, now, on the spot, the word of God falls to the ground.* But expressing his full confidence that the miracle would be performed, for the strengthening of the faith of his disciples, and that the mouths of gainsayers might be stopped, by her instant resurrection, he invited all present to unite with him in prayer. He then spread forth his hands over the coffin, closed his eyes, and began a solemn and impressive prayer. The following sentences he *repeatedly* used with most impassioned feeling, and with very little variation of language. 'O Lord God of Israel! thy own word declares that if the elders of the church anoint the sick and pray over him, the Lord *shall* raise him up. We have taken thee at thy word; we have anointed her with oil, and prayed the prayer of faith, and thou knowest in this faith the dear woman died, and in this faith we thy children live. Now, Lord, we claim thy promise! God is not man that he should lie, and if this dear woman is not raised up this day, thy word will fall to the ground; thy promise is null and void; and these gainsaying infidels will rejoice, and go away triumphing in their unbelief. Lord God! thou canst not deny thyself. Thou knowest we have performed the conditions to the very letter. O Lord, now fulfil thy promise—now, Lord—O

let not thy enemies blaspheme—show that thou hast Almighty power—thou canst raise the dead—we believe it, Lord. Come now, and make good thy word, and let this assembly see that there is a God in Israel!' Thus he continued to pray with a loud voice, and great effort, for nearly an hour, when he closed and sank down into a chair, apparently much exhausted, but yet with the calmness and serenity of perfect and entire conviction. The manner and matter of the prayer had evidently a wonderful effect upon the audience. The attention of every one was riveted upon the preacher, and all eyes save those of the afflicted and weeping relatives were fixed upon the coffin, as anxiously as though they themselves had yielded to the delusion, and were expecting to see the lifeless body rise up in full health and vigour before them. In the course of the enthusiastic effusion, a number of ladies who were in the faith, and one of whom, as the writer has been assured, was Mrs. ***, stood around the coffin, looking intently for the miracle, and occasionally touching the face and hands of the corpse, expecting to discover signs of returning life. This they continued to do, during the solemn pause which followed the prayer, and a drop of blood oozing at the moment from one of the nostrils, inspired strong hopes that she would indeed be raised up; and two of the ladies stepped up to one of the physicians present, and inquired whether that circumstance was not a token of returning life. Upon this point he himself says, 'I could suppress the emotions produced by this scene no longer, and after telling them it was an infallible evidence of death rather than life, and a token of incipient putrefaction, I followed them into the room, and requested the Rev. Mr. ——, who stood by and saw and heard this solemn mockery, to address the people, and if possible to remove the erroneous impressions which would otherwise result from our afflicted brother's delusion.' The effect of the whole scene is described as having been paralyzing. A breathless silence prevailed. They looked at each other, and even the clergymen present seemed to know not what to say. The appeal to one of them, however, made by the physician, as just noted, was responded to in a very judicious and appropriate manner. He rose and remarked with emphasis,—'Yes, this beloved and lamented Christian SHALL rise again—AT THE RESURRECTION OF THE JUST! for it is the promise of God, that all those who are Christ's, he will bring with him at his coming.' This remark was followed by a series of timely observations, which had the effect of tranquillizing the feelings of the audience. He proceeded to explain the passage in St. James, and rejoiced in the certainty of its fulfilment. 'The Lord will raise her up, but not to-day, nor to-morrow; yet, dying in the Lord, she shall have part in the first resurrection,' &c. Several friends then united in requesting the sexton to close the coffin, which was strenuously opposed by a few of the disciples, who insisted that they must wait till 12 o'clock (it was a morning funeral, and had been appointed at 10 o'clock), when the miracle would certainly be performed. In the sequel, when they found it did not take place, the failure was ascribed by Mrs. ***, Mrs. ——, and other votaries of Mr. Pierson, to the unbelief of some of the persons present, and they upbraided them upon the subject.

"Mr. Pierson said nothing himself, but seemed to be lost in devout contemplation, and sat with perfect confidence, awaiting the moment when his prediction would be verified by the restoration of his wife. He was viewed by those not labouring under the delusion, as an afflicted brother, who was entitled to all their sympathies, in his melancholy bereavement, and his yet more melancholy state of mind; it was at first apprehended that he might interpose objections to the interment of the body; but he did not; and it was laid in its narrow bed in the church-yard in Amity street. Some of Mr. Pierson's particular friends accompanied him back to his now desolate home, for the purpose of endeavouring to converse with him, and if possible, restore him to a sound state of thinking—re-adjusting the balance of his mind. But all was in vain. He now believed as firmly that she would be raised at 12 o'clock at midnight, as he had done that she would arise at the close of his prayer at noon. Under this impression, he directed her sleeping apartment to be set in order, the bed made up, night-clothes prepared for her accommodation, and all the little affairs arranged, as for the reception of a bride. He also sent down to the city, and procured such delicacies as he supposed would gratify her taste.

"On the following day, in conversations with his friends, who continued their attentions to his singular case, he still insisted that she would rise again: God, he said, had promised it, but had not specified the particular day. He now believed her

resurrection would take place at sun-rise on the following Sabbath morning; and such was the strength of his faith, that he actually repaired to the grave early on that morning, taking his little daughter with him, to receive her embrace. And yet down to this period, upon every other subject than that of religion, and his religious duties, his mind was as regular, and apparently as sound, as it had ever been. In all business matters, moreover, he was as accurate and acute as ever."

That Mr. Pierson was at this time, and subsequently, suffering under well marked insanity, cannot be doubted; and his progress, as exhibited in the extracts from his diary, which this volume contains, amply demonstrates the characteristic marks of mental derangement; and it is deeply to be regretted, that he was not taken care of by his friends. Instead of which, he was suffered to go at large, and gathered around him a number of persons little less crazed than himself, who listened to his vagaries as the fruits of the direct inspiration of Heaven. Among these was an amiable and wealthy gentleman, designated in the volume by the letters M. H. S., who had been suffering from religious melancholy, until his health had been prostrated, and his reason overthrown. He and Mr. P. alternately preached at the houses of each other, for they were truly kindred spirits, and prepared by similar mental afflictions to feel the sympathies of maniacs in absurdities and extravagances.

The following extracts from the volume will enable the reader to resume the history of Matthias, to which these events were but incidental.

"Indeed, both Mr. Pierson and himself were exactly in a state of mind to look for extraordinary events; and thus situated, a stranger presented himself before them on the 5th of May, with the beard of a patriarch, a tall form, and a peculiar cast of countenance, who not only entered into all their extravagant notions, or rather took possession of them as original with himself, but entertained an inexhaustible fund of kindred extravagances, which they construed into new light and wisdom, on the momentous subjects that engrossed their contemplations. With pretensions sufficiently high to fill their disordered imaginations, they at once received him as a being of surpassing excellence, who was to establish the personal reign of God the Father (not the Messiah) upon the earth. This imposing stranger was none other than ROBERT MATTHEWS, or Matthias, as he proclaimed himself. He declared to them that he was the Spirit of Truth: that the Spirit of Truth had disappeared from the earth at the death of the Matthias mentioned in the New Testament: that the Spirit of Jesus Christ had entered into that Matthias, and that he was the same Matthias, the Apostle of the New Testament, who had risen from the dead, and possessed the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth. That he (Jesus Christ), at his second appearance, was God the Father, and that he (Matthias) was himself God the Father, and had power to do all things, to forgive sins, and communicate the Holy Ghost to such as believed in him. He was not, however, always consistent in regard to the character and attributes to which he laid claim. A religious friend, who, hearing of the arrival of the prophet, and the extraordinary proceedings at Pierson's house, sought an opportunity of visiting him there, informs the writer, that he did not exactly learn from him then that he claimed to be the Deity, or the Messiah. But he nevertheless declared himself, distinctly, to be the angel spoken of in Rev. xiv. 6, 7. '*And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying, with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.*' Be all this, however,

as it may, neither of the gentlemen to whom he presented himself, was in a state of mind then, or afterward, to observe discrepancies of this character. They believed all that he set forth of himself, then and subsequently, no matter how extravagant or how blasphemous; and he in turn recognised them as the first members of the true church, which, after two years' search, he had been able certainly to identify. He announced to them that, although the kingdom of God on earth *began* with his public declaration in Albany in June, 1830, it would not be completed until twenty-one years from that date, viz. in 1851; previous to which time wars would be done away, the judgments finished, and the wicked destroyed. The day of grace was to close on the first of December, 1836, and all who by that time should not have come to the true light, or at least, who should not have begun to reform before that period, were to be cut off. Such were the pretensions with which he came before them, and such the doctrines he poured into their minds and ears; all of which, and many more matters equally ridiculous and absurd, they received with unbounded confidence, and forthwith looked up to him, as to a celestial being, with veneration and awe. It was indeed rendered more plausible to Mr. Pierson, probably, by the coincidence of dates. Matthews had been called in June, 1830, and so had he. Matthews began his declaration at Albany on the ninth of June (we believe); he had declared that judgment was proclaimed at Stillwater on the nineteenth of June; and he had completed the declaration at Argyle on the twentieth—the self-same day on which Pierson had received the commission, 'Thou art Elijah the Tishbite, and thou shalt go before me in the spirit and power of Elias, to prepare my way before me.' He now said, that from the date of that commission, he had preached that the kingdom of Heaven was at hand, until the appearance of Matthias. John the Baptist had preached that the kingdom of Heaven was at hand until the Messiah came. Elias, as every body knows, was only another name for John the Baptist; and hence he concluded that the spirit of John the Baptist had taken up his abode in him, and that he was the forerunner of Matthias. The latter was not slow to favour this deception, and Mr. Pierson was thenceforward known only among the members of 'the kingdom' as John the Baptist; in which character he evinced the docility of a child, and the sincerity of a true disciple.

"When Matthews first visited Mr. Pierson's house, the latter was absent from the city on a short visit. Mrs. * * * and her family having previously removed from thence, there was only a servant at home, from whom the impostor learned the day on which Mr. Pierson would return; so that, probably, he was not altogether unprepared for the reception of the stranger, who was at once received as an inmate of the establishment. Their time was for a few days devoted to an interchange of views and opinions upon the subject of religion, and preaching alternately—Mr. M. H. S. being an attentive and enraptured listener. Among Mr. Pierson's papers there are various memoranda of what seem to have been questions of theological discussion between them. There are likewise notes of what were probably the heads of a sermon, or points of doctrine, maintained by his new spiritual guide. The following is a specimen, and may have been a catalogue of the abominations denounced by the prophet on the day of its date.

"*May* 9, 1832.

"R. MATTHIAS:—

"All who say that the Jews crucified Jesus.
" " that the first day of the week is the Sabbath.
" " that immersion with the clothes on is baptism.
" " that sprinkling is baptism.
" " preaching to women without their husbands.
" " who drinketh wine in bowls.
" " who eateth the Passover in a lower room.

"That these memoranda combine the heads of one of his incongruous discourses, and that those who practised such things were anathematized, there can be no question, from the circumstance that they were frequently the objects of his denunciations afterward. At one time he would break out furiously against all men who wore spectacles, who, he said, would be damned; at another, he would denounce bitterly all women who did not keep at home. Like Sarah of old, he insisted that

it was the duty of women to remain in the tent. All who did not follow her example would be damned; and such like nonsense.

"Mr. Pierson very soon relinquished preaching, as did Mr. M. H. S., and the work of the ministry devolved alone upon Matthews, who, jealous of his dignity, would bear no rivals near his throne. He (Mr. Pierson) suffered his beard and nails to grow long, in imitation of his new master, and conformed in all respects to his instructions. The reasons assigned for thus cultivating the beard without cropping it, and for allowing the nails of their fingers to grow uncut, were, that unless they had been good things, fitting and proper to be worn, men would have been formed without them: and as God had formed Adam with a beard, and as the patriarchs and Jews, God's chosen people, wore their beards long, we have no right to cut them off. This reasoning was conclusive. The houses of both gentlemen were thrown open to him, and their purses and all their earthly substance placed at his disposal. Indeed, it was one of the fundamental doctrines he taught, that the earth, and all that it contained was his own; and he practised accordingly.

"The prophet was now invited to take up his residence at the elegantly furnished residence of Mr. M. H. S., and acceding to the invitation, he remained with him three months. He would doubtless have done so longer, had it not been for what was to him an untoward circumstance, as will appear in the sequel. The best apartments in the house were allotted to his service, and the whole establishment was submitted to his entire control. It was not long before he arrogated to himself, and received divine honours, and his entertainer washed his feet in token of his humility. The female relatives of the family, who had remained there after the decease of the lady of the house, were sent away by the impostor, and he allowed no women to reside there but the black domestics who were of the true faith. From fasting, he taught his disciples to change their system to feasting; and having their houses at his command, and their purses at his service; loving the good things of this world, and taking all the direction in procuring supplies; they fared sumptuously every day.

"But this splendid style of living was not enough. The prophet, as the reader was early told, was vain of his personal appearance, and proud of wearing rich clothes. It was now necessary that he should be arrayed in garments befitting his character, and the dignity of his mission. His liberal entertainer therefore, at his suggestion, accompanied him to the most fashionable drapers and mercers in Broadway, of whom an ample wardrobe was ordered and obtained, made of the richest broad-cloths, and the finest linens that could be procured—embracing every variety of garment, and as many of them as he chose—some of which were made of peculiar patterns, and worn as canonical costumes of his own. He displayed fine cambric ruffles around his wrists and upon his bosom, and to a rich silken scarf, interwoven with gold, were suspended twelve golden tassels, emblematical of the twelve tribes of Israel. His fine linen night-caps were wrought with curious skill of needlework, with the names of the twelve apostles embroidered thereon. Thus decked with finery at the expense of his two special disciples, and feasting on the choicest dainties, under pretext of sacraments, he lived upon, and with them. Meetings were held alternately at the houses of the two gentlemen, where he declaimed in the wild, disjointed, and incoherent manner already described, and often with considerable energy and effect. In addition to his own immediate followers, many others were from time to time led by curiosity, or other motives, to attend the meetings, who were as often shocked by his blasphemies, as amused by his crudities. Some of these occasional auditors received special invitations from Mr. M. H. S. to attend, and others were attracted by the notices which he posted at his place of business and elsewhere, announcing that *Shiloh* would preach at his house at a certain hour, &c. A gentleman who was drawn thither by curiosity, has furnished the writer with a report of one of his desultory harangues, taken down in short-hand at the time. Being brief, it is here inserted. It will be seen by a remark in the discourse, that the cholera was then prevailing in New York.

"'The spirit that built the Tower of Babel is now in the world—it is the spirit of the devil. The spirit of man never goes upon the clouds—all who think so are Babylonians. The only heaven is on the earth. All who are ignorant of truth, are Ninevites. The Jews did not crucify Christ,—it was the Gentiles. Every

Jew has his guardian angel attending him in this world. God don't speak through preachers, he speaks through me, his prophet.

"'John the Baptist,' (addressing Mr. Pierson,) 'read the tenth chapter of Revelations.' After the reading of the chapter, the prophet resumed speaking, as follows:—

"'Ours is the mustard-seed kingdom which is to spread all over the earth. Our creed is truth, and no man can find truth unless he obeys John the Baptist, and comes clean into the church.

"'All *real* men will be saved; all *mock* men will be damned. When a person has the Holy Ghost, then he is a man, and not till then. They who teach women are of the wicked. The communion is all nonsense: so is prayer. Eating a nip of bread and drinking a little wine won't do any good. All who admit members into their church and suffer them to hold their lands and houses—their sentence is, 'Depart ye wicked, I know you not.' All females who lecture their husbands, their sentence is the same. The sons of truth are to enjoy all the good things of this world, and must use their means to bring it about. Every thing that has the smell of woman will be destroyed. Woman is the cap-sheaf of the abomination of desolation—full of all deviltry. In a short time the world will take fire and dissolve—it is combustible already. All women, not obedient, had better become so as soon as possible, and let the wicked spirit depart, and become temples of truth. Praying is all mocking. When you see any one wring the neck of a fowl, instead of cutting off its head, he has not got the Holy Ghost.

"'All who eat swine's flesh are of the devil; and just as certain as he eats it, he will tell a lie in less than half an hour. If you eat a piece of pork, it will go crooked through you, and the Holy Ghost will not stay in you, but one or the other must leave the house pretty soon. The pork will be as crooked in you as rams' horns, and as great a nuisance as the hogs in the street.

"'The cholera is not the right word; it is choler, which means God's wrath. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are now in this world: they did not go up in the clouds as some believe: why should they go there? They don't want to go there to box the compass from one place to another. The Christians now-a-days are for setting up the *Son's* kingdom. It is not his; it is the *Father's* kingdom. It puts me in mind of the man in the country who took his son in business, and had his sign made 'Hitchcock & Son,' but the son wanted it 'Hitchcock & Father,' and that is the way with your Christians. They talk of the Son's kingdom first, and not the Father's kingdom.'"

It is obvious from the foregoing, that Matthias, at this juncture, essentially changed his plan of operations, that he might avail himself of the services of these maniacs, and secure the "fleece" which they had at their disposal. The luxurious habits he now cultivated, and the splendour of his costume, all at the expense of his new proselytes, are set forth in the narrative. The following extract will give the reader a full disclosure touching the character of each of the parties in this most extraordinary delusion.

"It was during the same season—the summer of 1832—while residing with Mr. M. H. S., though spending a good portion of his time, as we have seen, with Mr. Pierson, that a remarkable interview took place between Matthias and his two chief disciples and another gentleman, which is not only interesting in itself, but will serve strikingly to illustrate the state of mind under which at least two of the parties were labouring. The gentleman referred to has great strength and precision of memory, and the narrative has been carefully taken by the writer from his own lips. For the purpose of preserving the scene in a dramatic form, the gentleman referred to will be called Hervey. It is as follows:—

"One morning in the summer referred to, Mr. M. H. S. called upon Mr. Hervey, and inquired whether he would attend a meeting at his house, in ——— street, at half-past three o'clock that afternoon. He added that he had the privilege of enter-

taining under his roof, the most extraordinary man that ever set his foot upon this earth.

"*Mr. Hervey.* You do not presume to say that he was a greater man, or a greater being, than the Lord Jesus Christ, surely?

"*M. H. S.* Sir, it is Shiloh himself! He who was, and is, and is to come.

"*Mr. Hervey.* Sir, you will excuse me from attending a meeting where such a being as you represent is to officiate.

"*M. H. S.* But I am extremely desirous that you should hear the words of wisdom which continually flow from the lips of this extraordinary personage.

"*Mr. Hervey.* Well, since you are so desirous that I should see him, in order to gratify you I will call upon you after the meeting shall be over, if you will name the hour.

"*M. H. S.* At about five o'clock, sir.

"And here the morning interview terminated. At the hour designated, the gentleman presented himself at the house of the merchant who had been so desirous of procuring an interview, where he was cordially received, and conducted into the front parlour. Judging from the number of benches, chairs, and other seats in the apartment, it appeared as though there had been a meeting of considerable magnitude. They had all retired, however, with the exception of one person—an individual who was sitting in one corner of the room, in the most humble, meek, and docile attitude that can be imagined. His beard was bristling out about an inch long, and his hair—like his beard, black as jet—was parted over his forehead, after the manner of the pictures of the Messiah. The following dialogue ensued:—

"*Mr. Hervey.* Is that the gentleman to whom you alluded as being the Shiloh?

"*M. H. S.* Oh no, sir! This is John the Baptist.

"*John the Baptist.* Who is not worthy to unloose even the shoe-latchets of the one who is up-stairs.

"On approaching yet nearer to this grotesque and demure-looking gentleman, and scrutinizing him closely, the dialogue was continued.

"*Mr. Hervey.* Why, you are my old friend Pierson, whom I have met abroad. Surely (surveying him yet more closely) you are Elijah Pierson; nothing more or less. And do you presume to say that you are the veritable John the Baptist? Surely you do not pretend to say that this head upon your shoulders (laying his hand upon his head), is the very identical head that was taken off by Herod, and brought to his daughter in a charger?

"*M. H. S.* The very same.

"*Mr. Pierson.* No: I do not mean to be understood as saying that this head of mine is the very same head that was cut from the body of John the Baptist; but I mean to say, that the spirit of Elijah Pierson, leaving this tabernacle (significantly pointing to his heart), the spirit of Elijah the Prophet thereupon entered, and abode for awhile;—and that now the spirit of John the Baptist has taken the place of that of Elijah. And therefore I may justly be considered, and am, in fact, and to all intents and purposes, John the Baptist.

"Here a somewhat general conversation ensued—Mr. Hervey urging upon the deluded man the absurdity of his conduct and pretensions. Among other matters, Mr. Hervey inquired why he disfigured himself by suffering his beard to grow thus.

"*Mr. Pierson.* Jesus Christ wore a long beard when upon earth, and we are commanded to follow his example in all things.

"After pursuing the conversation for some minutes, Mr. Hervey, turning to Mr. M. H. S., inquired:—

"'Do you really pretend to say that you have under this roof a being who styles himself Shiloh?'

"*M. H. S.* The very self-same being, sir, and who has told me all things that ever I did. But you shall see and judge for yourself, sir.

"Saying which, he left the apartment and ascended the stairs in the hall. Returning presently, he said:—

"'Prepare yourself to receive him who was the first and the last—the great I AM!'

"A noise of footsteps moving slowly across the floor above was now heard, from whence the sounds descended the stairs, and some person entered the back parlour, communicating with the front by folding-doors.

"*M. H. S.* Let us rise, and prepare for his reception.

"No sooner said than done: and the folding-doors being at the same instant thrown open by a servant stationed on the other side for that purpose, behold, there stood a being of whose appearance some idea may perhaps be formed from the description already attempted to be given. 'Figure to yourself,' says Mr. Hervey, 'a full-sized man, with a full head of hair, parted over the top, and falling down in clustering curls over his shoulders; a long beard, extending down his breast, midway of his body, and covering nearly the whole of his face to the eyes, which were small and sunken, but sharp and piercing.' He had on a bottle-green frock-coat of the finest quality; white pantaloons and waistcoat; with a broad crimson sash, richly inwrought with gold, around his body. To this were suspended the twelve golden tassels already described, and he wore ruffles around his wrists. This singular figure approached with a very slow and majestic step, and proffered his hand to the stranger, but from which the latter withdrew, saying:—

"'No, sir; excuse me, if you please. If you are what you pretend to be, I am certainly not worthy to take you by the hand—'

"*M. H. S.* Bravo! (flying into his embrace and kissing him.)

"*Mr. Hervey.* But stop: I had not finished my sentence. If you are not what you pretend to be, sir, then you are not worthy to take me by the hand.

"At this turn of the period, there was some confusion. John the Baptist kept his seat with the most imperturbable composure, but M. H. S. uttered some ejaculations of surprise at the indignity with which his Shiloh was treated, that are not retained. The prophet drew himself up with dignity, and frowned for an instant as he supposed with terror. Presently, however, the gathering storm passed away, and Shiloh, M. H. S., and Mr. Hervey seated themselves together upon the sofa—upon which lay an open Bible.

"Mr. Hervey commenced a conversation by putting a question to him touching his pretensions, and desiring to know whether they were willing to enter into a discussion as to the truth of his assumptions—adding, that he knew of no other standard of truth, than that blessed volume (pointing to the Bible).

"*The Prophet.* In my presence there is no other speaker than myself; and if a plurality of speakers is necessary, I shall at once leave the room.

"*Mr. Hervey.* I have come here for discussion, rather than for information. My religious principles are fixed; and my faith, and all my hopes of future salvation, are derived from that sacred volume.

"*M. H. S.* The being in whose presence you are was present when that Bible was made; of course it must be taken for granted that he understands its doctrines better than any of us do.

"Finding, however, very soon, that there was to be no discussion, and discovering, by repeated attempts, that it was almost impossible to get in a word edgewise, yet desirous of hearing something from the oracle, Mr. Hervey contented himself to remain for a short time a silent listener.

"The prophet thereupon began a discussion, pouring forth a tissue of greater absurdities than can well be conceived—mingled with shocking blasphemies. There were, to be sure, occasionally, quotations from the Scriptures, the Old Testament in particular, and chiefly from the writings of Moses, fluently cited in support of his pretensions, and sometimes adroitly. But there was so much of wickedness and nonsense mixed up in his harangue,—with now and then a few grains of sense among his crudities—that Mr. Hervey's patience became exhausted. The whole performance was disgusting from its profanity, and the ignorance of the impostor, notwithstanding his familiarity with the language of Scripture, too disgusting, indeed, for repetition. One or two of his assertions will be cited for examples. For instance, he declared that on the 9th of July, 1836, time should be no more; that the consummation of all things would take place; that the Gentiles would all be damned, and none but the Jews be saved.

"*Mr. Hervey.* But how is that? If so, and such is to be the fate of all the Gentiles, our friends M. H. S. and Pierson, here, are after all to be damned!

"*M. H. S.* Oh! but I am a Jew!

"*Mr. Hervey.* A Jew! how is that?

"*The Prophet.* Why, several generations since, one of his ancestors married a

Jewess, and he has therefore sufficient Jewish blood running in his veins to save him.

"*M. H. S.* And as to Pierson, as you call him, you forget that he is John the Baptist, and is therefore a Jew of course.

"The oration having been thus interrupted, was not resumed; but, during its utterance, both the host and Pierson seemed to drink in every word of it, with as much eagerness as though the impostor's lips had really been touched with the live coal from the altar; as though his incoherent ravings were in truth the words of more than mortal tongue. Indeed, it was the custom of these two disciples to sit hour upon hour, and day after day, gazing with rapture on the countenance of their prophet, and rolling every sentence he uttered as a sweet morsel under their tongues. One of them would kiss his feet in token of reverence and humility.* 'Look there!' said S. to a friend at his house, one day; 'did you notice the hair upon his upper lip, how it looks like a lion! I tell you, sir, he is a lion—he is the lion of the tribe of Judah!'

"It was now past six o'clock; and it was moreover a day on which the twelve apostles were to partake of their love-feast—for which purpose the table was now spreading in another apartment. Mr. Hervey was invited to remain and partake—Mr. M. H. S. assuring him that he should positively sup with the twelve Apostles. But the invitation was declined. Having seen and heard enough to satisfy his curiosity, Mr. Hervey then took his departure—adding, emphatically, in conclusion—'that by such proceedings, they were assuming responsibilities which he would not bear for worlds.' He recommended them to search the Scriptures; for therein they would find that there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby they can be saved, but the name of Jesus; and he hoped, that, one and all, they would yet be brought to a saving knowledge of the truth as it is in Him. He then departed, resolving within himself, as soon as an opportunity should offer, to warn these deluded men to be on their guard against the arts and designs of this wicked impostor. Events, however, soon conspired to prevent such another interview with Mr. Pierson and his companion in the delusion, as he desired to procure; and his purpose was frustrated."

Subsequently to these events, both Matthias and M. H. S. were shaved, and sent to the lunatic asylum for a time; but Mr. Pierson was strangely left at liberty to propagate and perpetuate the delusion. And as Matthias was soon released from confinement by *habeas corpus*, Mr. P.'s house afforded him a home, where he continued to thrive at the expense of his benefactor. Among the victims of his imposture were Mr. Benjamin H. Folger and his wife, rendered so by the fanaticism of their relative Mrs. * * *, who herself contrived to shun Matthias, though she still adhered to Mr. P. Up to this time, Mr. F. had been a merchant in prosperous business, and with his lady had sustained an excellent character. But in August 1833, their house at Singsing became the abode of Matthias, and they were warned by Mr. P. of the sin and danger they would commit and suffer by rejecting him. They

* "Washing the prophet's feet, and also each other's, by his followers, was common among them. The following entries upon this subject are from Pierson's diary:—

"*May 5th*, 1832. Washed R. Matthias's feet.

"*Nov. 10th*. Washed Michael H. B——'s feet.

"*Dec. 15th, evening*. The Lord directed me to have my feet washed. Mrs. B—— and Isabella also washed each other's. After this was done, prayed with them, and ate supper, breaking the bread. It was a very solemn time, and the Lord was there. The Lord gave good promises respecting Mrs. B—— and Isabella."

soon fell into his snares, acknowledged him to be "God the Father," and obeyed him in all things. The property of Zion Hill, with all its appurtenances, was regularly conveyed to the prophet, as also Mr. P.'s property in New York. And it was not until the death of Mr. Pierson, and the suspicions of foul play on the part of Matthias in reference to that event, that the establishment was broken up, and Mr. F. and his wife escaped from his wiles. The narrative furnished by them comprises a large portion of the volume before us, and will be read with astonishment, even by those who had some knowledge of the prophet and his villanies. It is truly a humiliating picture of poor human nature, under the influence of incorrigible fanaticism.

The history of Matthias's arrest, trials, and the various legal proceedings against him, is full of interest, and the author concludes the volume by a description of various impostors who have appeared at different times, somewhat resembling the present wretch, and a well-merited criticism upon the religious fanaticism and ultraism of the day, so dangerous to individuals, and so mischievous to churches and to Christianity itself. The moral reflections naturally suggested by the circumstances of the present extraordinary case, are for the most part judicious and scriptural.

We cannot help doubting, however, the conclusion of the author, that Matthias is an example of the "compound of *insanity*, knavery, and self-deception," since we honour the intelligence and firmness of the jury of Westchester county, who declared him to be of sane mind, obviously holding his villanies to be the result of wilful depravity, for felonious purposes. We acknowledge the ingenuity and plausibility of the writer, and honour the exuberant benevolence of a heart which would fain cover even the multitude of his sins. Some of the reasons for our doubts we have given in the introduction of the present paper, and we will only add, that the well-marked knavery, the consummate craft, and the *profitable* schemes of imposture of which the author clearly convicts him, present a chain of testimony in proof of his sanity, and exhibit such a series of deliberative and designing action on the part of the pretended prophet, that we humbly submit whether it be not incompatible with the admission that he is *non compos mentis*. That his conduct before the Court was assumed for the purpose of escaping under the plea of *insanity*, is manifestly certain, and we have yet to learn, that a maniac was ever willing to be so considered, much less that he took special pains to convince others that he was insane. His crimes, however, he knew could go "unwhipt of justice" only by the plea of insanity, and that he hoped to escape thus, and was grievously disappointed when he failed, is fully apparent. His cowardly fears are therefore to be attributed to remorse, and other moral causes, rather than to any physical malady involving mental derangement.

An examination of the early history of Matthias, in which he exhibited religious fanaticism bordering on phrenzy, will be found to contain evidence that even then there were motives operating upon his depraved heart, which might lead such a man to practise hypocrisy even in his more harmless eccentricities, and voluntarily to assume the mask of an enthusiast in religion and temperance. It is obvious that he had become too lazy to work, and he had shrewdness enough to learn that by the garb of extraordinary sanctity and religious pretension, others were driving a profitable trade, and that he might thus make a noise in the world, and *live without the labour of his hands.* This seems to have been uppermost in all his thoughts, and accordingly when his lucky stars threw him in the way of Mr. P., Mr. F., and others, who were clearly suffering under *monomania,* we find that *idleness, luxury,* and *ease,* were the objects which he sought; nor was he content with the present enjoyment of these immunities, but wisely aimed to provide for the future. Hence he always complained of living in a "hired house," though all his luxurious wants were gratuitously supplied, and he persecuted his pliant disciples into the transfer of their property and money, until at one time he was the legal owner of all their real and personal estate, as well as the proprietor of their bodies and souls. The tenacity of the grasp with which he held these possessions, was only relaxed by the terrors of the law, which, had he been insane, would have been utterly inoperative, for lunatics indulge no fears but those of personal violence, their "proverbial cowardice" arising alone from *bodily fear.*

But apart from the accurate and interesting history of this extraordinary man, and those remotely or proximately connected with his impostures, there is another aspect of the volume, in which the author must be regarded as performing an important part, and rendering essential service to the public. We allude to the practical use he has made of the whole subject, by demonstrating the tendency and results of religious fanaticism, and that wretched ultraism in morals, politics, and religion, so prevalent in the American community.

No one who is not indifferent to the character and happiness of his fellow citizens, can view the present aspect of our country, without mortification and alarm. It is obvious that a state of feverish excitement has been worked up in almost every portion of our land, which ever and anon exhibits itself in outbreakings of disorder and misrule. Our political institutions are annually endangered by party spirit, developing itself in outrages upon reason and law; and popular assemblages for the exercise of the right of suffrage and for other purposes, are too often scenes of tumult and lawless violence. Our civil rights are not only threatened but absolutely endangered by the abuse of the liberty of speech and of

the press, which in many instances, disregarding the restraints of the constitution, has degenerated into the grossest licentiousness. Our liberty of conscience, though guarantied to every citizen in the very foundations of our government, is rudely invaded by systematic persecution, and bitter reviling; so that both our politics and our religion are sought to be authoritatively taught us by the would-be reformers of the age. Nor have Christian churches escaped the contagion of this moral epidemic. Even ecclesiastical assemblies of learned divines have given evidence, in more than one instance, that they too have suffered from the prevailing infection. Enthusiasm, fanaticism, extravagance, and every form of ultraism, instead of being exhibited as formerly in rare instances and single examples, known to be avoided and pointed at to be shunned, are becoming rife in every department of society—and too often find countenance and even exemplars in high places.

The author before us has alluded to some melancholy developments of this evil spirit in ministers and churches, by whose folly the cause of Christianity is suffering irreparable mischiefs; a spirit which, if similar extravagance should ever become general, would render religion contemptible, and its very name a by-word and a reproach. And while he vindicates the religion of the Bible from all share in originating or justifying the ultra measures which he deplores, yet he is constrained to admit, that even good men are too often misled and ruined thereby. The remedy he proposes is doubtless the only, and would be an all sufficient one, if universally adopted, for "when men begin to be better than the BIBLE, they are sure to be wrong."

This will be found to be the source of all the error, superstition, and fanaticism in the religious world, since men are ever prone to call forth the exclamation of Jeremiah,—

"Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord. For my people *have* committed *two evils;* they have *forsaken me the fountain of living waters,* and hewed them out cisterns, *broken cisterns,* that can hold no water."

And it is obvious that when men forsake the Bible, they are, upon religious subjects, out at sea, without chart, compass, or a single star, to guide their wayward course. Hence enthusiasm and mysticism are inevitable: they are "driven of the winds and tost," for when "the light that is in thee become darkness, *how great is that darkness!*"

There are two topics of much interest at the present crisis, that have become the subjects of much angry declamation, each of which might be appropriately alluded to in this connexion, with the view of illustrating the nature and tendency of attempting to be wiser and better than the Bible;—we mean Intemperance and

Slavery. The former of these topics has been noticed by the author in a very correct and appropriate manner.

In the progress and success of what is significantly called the Temperance reformation, we have always rejoiced, and so long as Temperance societies devoted their energies to promoting total abstinence from intoxicating liquors as a drink among their members, and laboured, both by precept and example, to inculcate similar sentiments and practice upon their fellow men, we have regarded them as among the most important and useful institutions of the age. Indeed, adhering to this, their legitimate object, they have for several years been effecting a great revolution in the opinions and practice of the inhabitants of our own and other lands. Such has been their success, that there was good reason to hope for the utter extermination of intemperance from the nation and from the world. But while this benevolent enterprise was in "the full tide of successful experiment," in an evil hour, some of its friends, and we regret to say, a few of its able advocates, have gone over to the ultraism of the day, and instituted a sect, created a party, within the Temperance societies as such, which seriously menaces the overthrow of all our sanguine anticipations. Not content with anathematizing ardent spirits, even when mixed with wine or fermented liquors, as a drink, they attempt to dictate to the churches of Jesus Christ in relation to the holy ordinance of the Eucharist, insisting that some substitute should be found for the "fruit of the vine," this being brought under the ban of unconditional reprobation. And thus, in more than one instance, a Temperance society has prescribed to ministers and churches the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper, and both the medicinal and sacramental use of wine has been prohibited by the terms of the pledge. This has destroyed the simplicity, uniformity, and sublimity of this great and good work, and instead of bringing up a mighty phalanx of augmenting millions against intemperance, marshalled under one common banner, and organized under one single pledge, the curse of sectarianism and party spirit among temperance men, begins to divide our ranks, and turn our weapons of assault upon one another, instead of wielding them against the common foe. Hence, at this very hour, the bitter waters of strife and discord are in agitation among the professed friends of temperance, and opposition societies are arraying themselves, and a separation of the *total* and *tee-total* abstinence men, is taking place in our own and other countries, which jeopards the further success, if not the very existence of the temperance enterprise. Multitudes of the best friends of the cause have been brought to a stand; ministers and churches have been constrained in conscience to suspend their activity and zeal, because of the attempts made to sow dissensions in their ranks; and members of the same temperance society are becoming estranged from each other by the in-

temperate and rash denunciation of fiery zealots, whose zeal has got the better of their discretion. And even learned professors of divinity are labouring to prove that the Scriptures afford no authority for the use of fermented wine even for sacred purposes.

A like spirit of fanaticism and wild extravagance has taken possession of a small portion of the community on the question of Slavery, and one which threatens to be equally subversive of judicious efforts at promoting emancipation; and unless it can be cured, it will necessarily defeat all hope of abolition, if it do not inflict upon our common country untold and unutterable calamities.

These misguided men, and we lament to record that in some instances pious and excellent citizens have espoused their cause, having adopted the truism that "slavery is an evil," contend that it "ought to be immediately abolished, without regard to consequences." This they argue, first, because it is a *sin*, and they can make no compromise with sin; forgetful that Christianity authorizes no compulsory process to effect the abolition of sin, for "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal;" and forgetful also that no sinner was ever driven or intimidated to genuine repentance or true reformation. Secondly, they deny the "right of property in man," in the face of the tenth commandment of the decalogue, which distinctly recognises the right of property in "a man servant and maid servant," as fully as it does in "an ox or an ass." And regardless of the example of Jesus Christ and the holy apostles, neither of whom attempted to interfere with the relation of masters and slaves, there are Christian ministers who employ themselves in arraying the churches against all who hold slaves, and excluding such from the privileges of the Gospel, making a term of communion for which there is not the semblance of a scriptural warrant.

Such have been the excesses of this new sect of immediate abolitionists, organized in the name of anti-slavery societies, that the true friends of abolition, gradual and ultimate abolition, have been discouraged and disarmed. The citizens of the southern states, where slavery is recognised by law, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of these United States, are not only denounced from our northern pulpits, and by the northern press, as robbers, pirates, and murderers;—but many thousands of incendiary tracts, pamphlets, and newspapers, are sent into their borders, which are calculated, if not designed, to promote insurrection and bloodshed; or at least to intimidate those states, by the apprehension of a servile war, to an act of emancipation.

This blind conspiracy against the civil rights of our southern brethren, and this anti-Christian crusade against our neighbours, whom we are taught to love as ourselves, though it threatens the dissolution of our national union, and has already prompted to

deeds of infamy and blood, is sought to be justified by the perversions of Holy Writ to which we have alluded; and the enthusiasts who have created these mischiefs persist in their career of madness, unmoved by any consequences, taking special care, however, that none of those consequences fall upon their own heads.

All this delusion is but another modification of the purest fanaticism, and its votaries, however unconsciously, are verging rapidly to the career of Matthias and other kindred spirits. We refer now only to those who are sincere in their extravagance, and not to designing men whose agency in this work may be prompted by fiendish malignity or venal motives. These may serve their purposes of individual aggrandizement, or political perfidy, and may therefore earn for themselves a place in the records of guilt and infamy, while the victims of their wiles may merit our commiseration rather than our censures.

But we must conclude the present paper, having already exceeded the ordinary limits of a review, by expressing our hearty conviction, that the author of the present narrative of imposture has done ample justice to the subject he has undertaken, and that his work, wherever it is read, will tend to promote a healthy tone of public sentiment, on the general subject of *ultraism*, which, prevalent as it is in our country, must be regarded as alike dangerous to our liberties and to our religion.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

The Italian Sketch Book. By an American. Philadelphia: Key & Biddle: 1835. 12mo. pp. 216.

A book on Italy sounds common place, and seems to promise little more than the uninteresting reiteration of trite topics and stale remark. The author of this volume, however, has judiciously avoided the beaten path of description and comment, and struck out new sources of interest to his readers, by directing their attention, not so much to the scenery, the antiquities or the present condition of Italy, or its treasures of art, as to the mood of mind which these call up in the observer. He dwells not on the palpable objects which touch the chords of feeling, but endeavours rather to deepen and prolong the vibrations which they have produced, and to swell the melody of thought onward in the heart of the reader, and prolong it through the various forms of reflective sentiment. The design of the writer seems to be purely ideal; and he developes the treasured resources of the land of his sojourn, for the purpose of imparting their mental value: he exhibits them not as specific objects of admiration, but as the means of enriching and ennobling the moral associations to which they give occasion.

It is this peculiar feature of the present work, which forms its chief recommendation, and which greatly enhances its value, as a production of American mind, particularly as the first attempt of a young writer. The life of intellect is sentiment. Thought, in all its most vivid and generous forms, springs from the native soil of the affections, and is not to be elicited by mechanical processes, or direct cultivation. In no era of the world has ideal power been so signally manifested, as in those most distinguished for a generous nurture of the heart. It is not a cold intellectual beauty which has preserved the great productions of antiquity; it is the impassioned life that glows in them.

The present forms of society, the prevailing pursuits, and the customary modes of education in England, are all confessedly injurious to mental character, in their tendency to repress sentiment and excursive thought. The absorbing interest of subjects connected with physical science and political economy, is withdrawing the general attention from the resources of literature and the pleasures of taste. Conventional habits are daily gaining upon whatever remains of ideal or poetic character, in society and in individuals. The struggle for mere subsistence is generally become too arduous and too serious an affair, to leave room for those recreations of body and of mind, which formerly served the office of embodying imagination and cherishing taste, while they filled up the hours of leisure.

Whatever is true of England, in these respects, is emphatically so of America. For, if the plentiful resources of our own country, leave the majority, among us, free from the pressure of anxiety, in regard to a livelihood, the devotion to gain has an effect not less baneful on character than the causes before mentioned; tending, as it does, to blunt the finer sensibilities, and repress the nobler aspirations of the soul. We are unfortunate, too, as respects the influence derived from education. The narrow course to which we are limited, and the hurried manner in which the du-

ties, both of pupil and of teacher, are despatched, leave us no scope for those excursive habits of thought, which form the main design of education, and which redeem so nobly the character of the literary institutions of England. Our brief processes of parsing and construing the letter of the classics, preclude us from one of the amplest sources of mental inspiration. Education, even in its highest forms, effects little for the discipline of the intellect, and exerts still less influence on the formation of character.

From all these causes the general mind suffers deterioration. The standard of intellectual attainment and of intellectual effort, remains comparatively low; and such must be the condition of any community, in which all ingenuous aspiration after the ideal, is deadened or depressed, by the counteracting influence of mercenary views regarding the pursuits and purposes of life.

The element of deep and vivid feeling is that in which our intellectual atmosphere is lacking. But it is this principle alone which can lift up thought to the dignity of sentiment, and identify it with that which is imperishable in man, or diffuse it throughout the character of a community. We set a peculiar value, therefore, on every work which indicates the predominance of ingenuous feeling and ennobling sentiment, in the mind of the writer; and the volume before us seems happily adapted to impart the emotions under which it seems to have been written.

We quote the author's reflections on the Coliseum, as a pleasing specimen of the tone and style of the whole book.

"Of all impressions from antiquity, derived from the ruins at Rome, none is more vivid and lasting than that inspired by the Coliseum, when viewed under circumstances best calculated for effect. Such are the quiet and mystery, the shadowy aspect and mild illumination of moonlight. Availing myself of a season like this, it was with something of awe that I approached to partake of a pleasure, in its very nature melancholy, yet in the highest degree attractive to the imagination, and calculated to awaken many of the deepest sentiments, especially those by which the fellow-feeling of our race is nurtured and sustained. And as the scene, in all its actual beauty, environed by associations more impressive than its past magnificence, and reposing in a light more tender than gleamed from the eager eyes, which once shone out from its now dim arches, broke upon my sight, I seemed to have come forth to hold communion—not with the material form, but with the very spirit of antiquity. There, its massive walls circling broadly, pre-eminent in lingering pride, stands the Coliseum. As the monarch of ruins, its dark outline seems defined with most commanding prominence, while surrounding objects are lost or blended in shade. Its many arched recesses are rendered still more obscure by the veil of shadow, or partially revealed in the congenial light. Through some of them the silent stars may be seen at their far-off vigils in the heavens, and again a fragment, which the hand of time has spared, abruptly bars the view. Over some, the long grass, that sad frieze which antiquity ever attaches to the architecture of man, hangs motionless, and, as a lattice, divides the falling moonbeams, or waves gently in the night breeze. But it is when standing beneath one of those arches, and vainly scanning the length of the half-illumined corridor, or looking down upon the grass-grown area, marked by a single path, that a sense of the events and times of which this ruin is the monument, and its suggestions the epitaph, gradually gains upon the attention, like the home thoughts which a strain of familiar music has aroused. The gorgeous spectacle of Rome's congregated wisdom and beauty thronging the vast galleries, now lost or crumbling through age, the glitter of wealth, the pomp of power, the eagerness of curiosity, and the enthusiasm of varied passions, which once rendered this a scene of unequalled pageantry,—all come, at the call of memory, to contrast themselves with the same scene now, clad in the solemnity of solitude and decay.

"But yet another retrospection, inducing deeper emotions, occupies the mind and throws over the scene a higher interest. What an amount of human suffering have these dark walls witnessed! Could they but speak, what a tale of horror would be

unfolded! How often has man, in all his savage or his cultivated dignity, been abandoned in this wide area to the beasts of the forest,—more solitary when surrounded by his unpitying kind, than when alone with the lordly brute in his desert domain! How much of human blood has this damp earth drunk, and how often upon its calmny surface has the human form been stretched in agony or death! Nor was this the theatre of effort and wo only to the physical nature. Who can estimate the pangs of yearning affection which have wrung the departing spirit, the feeling of utter desolation with which the barbarian has laid down his unsupported head and died in the midst of his enemies? Who can distinctly imagine the concentration of every sentiment in that of the love of existence, which has nerved the arm of the combatant, and the stern despair with which he has at length relinquished his dearly sold life? Far less might one hope to realize the deep energy with which the martyr to his faith has here given proof of its power. There is something holy in a spot which has witnessed the voluntary sacrifice of existence to the cause of Christianity. Of beautiful and sublime, as well as terrible spectacles, has this been the scene. Where has youth seemed so pure in its loveliness, or manhood so noble in its might, or age so venerable in its majesty, as here? If, in this ruined amphitheatre, humanity has been most debased, by the despoiling hand of cruelty, where has she exhibited more of the sublimest of her energies—the spirit of self-sacrifice? Often as this air has wafted the sigh and groans of suffering and remorse, has it not likewise borne upward the prayer of faith and the thanksgiving of joyful confidence? Though glances of ferocity and revenge have been turned, in impotent malignity, through this broad opening to the smiling sky above, how often have eyes, beaming with forgiving love, or fixed in religious fervour, looked into its blue depths, from the awful death of the Coliseum!

"And yet, while the abandonment and decay of Flavian's amphitheatre plainly indicate the departure of those ideas and customs, in accordance with which it was reared, the question forcibly suggests itself to the observer of its remains, has the principle, which sustained so long an institution like this, utterly and forever departed? Have we nothing in *our* experience, resembling what seems to have originated in a deeper sentiment than caprice, and from its long continuance and popularity, has an apparent foundation in our nature? The reply to such self-interrogations is affirmative. What student of humanity, or observer of man, does not recognise the same principle operating eternally? Those who hold the system of Christianity, in its purity, hold the whole philosophy of the principle. Individual man has arrayed against him the varied force of circumstances without and passion within. Of the insidiousness, the power of these opponents, who is ignorant? And there are, too, spectators—too often as heartless, curious, and cold lookers on, as those which thronged the galleries of the Coliseum."

The vein of sentiment by which the author of this work seems to be characterized, is that of deep and vivid sympathy with the noblest attributes of man. The pervading grandeur of the external scene amidst which he pursues his reflections, conduces to this effect; and its not less impressive traces of decay, tend to throw a pensive shade over his solitary musings. The tinge of thought which is imparted by the characteristic scenes and objects of Italy, passes naturally into the style of the writer, and colours the expression with an appropriate and not unpleasing hue. His language, in general, is characterized by dignity and impressiveness, and yields gracefully to the expression of those gentler moods of thought which his subject often inspires.

The dim and floating ideas which haunt the mind, in scenes such as this author describes, it is not always easy to express in forms distinctly felt, yet not too much defined. There is, accordingly, an occasional sentence in his book, which is chargeable with vagueness and obscurity. Another ground of criticism is the too uniform effort to sustain the diction to a given point. The style, therefore, lacks sometimes that variable and pliant character which is an essential attribute of spontaneous and natural thought. A fondness for particular turns of expression, and the habitual choice of a peculiar word, are also chargeable among the slight defects of style.

But these minor topics of criticism we consider as matters more appropriate for the daily press; and we would take leave of the author in terms of approbation and encouragement, as having, in his present attempt, given promise of no ordinary excellence in the department of miscellaneous writing.

Indian Sketches; taken during an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes. By John T. Irving Jr. 2 vols. Carey, Lea & Blanchard: 1835.

We confess that we have rarely read a book, whether of fact or fiction, that has interested our feelings more than the above work of young Mr. Irving. There were two circumstances that rather predisposed us to regard it with dispositions not the most cordial. We had perused with satisfaction the "Tour on the Prairies," and were inclined to consider any other production of a similar character as altogether superfluous, after the neat and graphic delineations from the pen of Geoffrey Crayon. A publication, too, from one of the name of *Irving*, who had not the prefix of *Washington*, was rather grating to our ears; as that particular combination was associated in our recollections with so much that was attractive, nay, fascinating in our literature. It appeared a bold step to connect that familiar name with any new attempt in composition; and we should have deeply regretted the occurrence, if failure, or even mediocrity had attended the effort. But our apprehensions were soon dissipated; and we felt assured that the name of Irving was in no danger of being tarnished at the hands of the youthful author of the "Indian Sketches." Though perused by us shortly after the work alluded to above by his eminent relative, this expedition to the Pawnee Tribes had none of the sameness of a twice-told tale. The greater extent of the journey in which our author bore a part, and the more varied tribes of the far west, with which the business of the mission connected his companions and himself, enabled him to give greater diversity to his narrative, and placed in his possession more materials for anecdotes illustrative of Indian character and habits. Of these he has most happily availed himself; and we doubt, whether, from any work that has seen the light for several years, better and clearer ideas of the savage life, and occupations, and dispositions of the aborigines who roam over the vast prairies of our western possessions, could possibly be collected. To say that the "Sketches" are as well written as the "Tour on the Prairies," might be thought hazardous; and yet, with some occasional and slight inaccuracies, which a very little care would correct, we may fairly pronounce it, admirably done; and that, except with the productions of his distinguished namesake, and a few others, it may well bear a comparison with the writings of any of our American authors. We can moreover assert, that though in point of *composition* it may yield the palm to the "Tour;" in that of *interest*, it is decidedly superior. There is in it much more that is spirit-stirring; more that enchains the attention, and hurries the reader along with the narrator. The second expedition went farther among the savage tribes of the frontier; it encountered a greater degree of real danger—and the personal adventures, too, of the writer of the present book, were of considerably more interest. He had a better subject for a production that was likely to attract public notice; and he had the ability to avail himself of his advantages.

A vein of sprightly humour pervades these volumes, which lends them an additional charm. There is an easy, quiet manner about Mr. Irving, that renders his mode of narration very attractive. There is no pretension; no affectation; all is simple and natural, yet lively. We had marked several passages for extraction; but

as our limits in this rapid notice, would not allow of any extended criticism, we think it would be doing injustice to the author to present merely a few pages of his book, and we therefore content ourselves with these general remarks; referring our readers to the book itself, from which we may confidently promise that they will receive abundant satisfaction.

The Conquest of Florida, by Hernando de Soto. By Theodore Irving. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard: 1835.

"ANOTHER; and yet another!"—There really appears some strange affinity between the name of Irving and the aptitude for authorship. We had scarcely read the "Indian Sketches," when we alighted upon another production of this prolific family. Like most of the works of his distinguished uncle, and analogous to that we have just mentioned, it is devoted to the illustration of the history and manners of the aborigines, and of the conquerors and settlers of the new world—American subjects, treated, as they should be, by American pens. All efforts, worthily to record the history of our continent, and the biographies of those who have adorned its pages, should assuredly meet with lively encouragement—especially upon the part of those who are training their youthful pens in the service of their country. The present attempt, however, of this young author, would well bring credit on a much older man, for he needs no special indulgence on the score of youth or inexperience. The History exhibits considerable research and industry; and is proof of a discriminating and inquiring mind. It developes, also, much good taste; and the style is lively and agreeable, disfigured by as few inaccuracies as are generally encountered in a production of its length. If any improvement were suggested, it might be, perhaps, in a curtailment of its size; the second volume, particularly, containing descriptions very similar to what had been before recorded. We may hint, also, that many incidents are stated, which carry with them so much of the air of the marvellous, that their insertion should have been accompanied with some doubts as to their perfect accuracy, or some qualification of the terms in which they are set down. These are, however, but slight imperfections; and there is authority, too, for all that is comprised in the volumes.

The "Conquest" is a compilation, principally from the works of Garcilaso de la Vega, and the anonymous Portuguese author, who has also treated of the adventures of De Soto. Occasional use is made of Herrera. The first writer named is chiefly followed by Mr. Irving, for reasons he details, and which may be satisfactory, though it is very easy to perceive now partial Garcilaso is, throughout, to the Spaniards. This partiality is a little extraordinary, as Garcilaso was a Peruvian by birth, and would be supposed to entertain a deep feeling for the barbarities exercised towards his unhappy country, by her selfish and blood-thirsty conquerors. But there is none of this latter sentiment in the Indian's book. All, on the side of the Spaniards, is chivalrous and noble. So, for the most part, Mr. Irving seems to think. We differ here from him in toto, and confess, that we could not read the details of the slaughter of so many thousands of the unoffending natives—though their death was surrounded with all the glitter of chivalrous war, and their slayers professed to fight under the banners of the Cross of Christ—without deep shuddering. There was much room for philosophic reflection. Mr. Irving has omitted it; probably from a fear of extending his book; or because his plan may have been merely to furnish a clear statement of the facts as they have been handed down

by the early authorities. These, indeed, constitute enough to reward attention; for there is much in these volumes to excite both the imagination and reason. The subject, too, is one generally less familiar than the other conquests of the Spaniards in the New World.

Anne Grey. A Novel. Edited by the author of Granby. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia: 1835.

This novel belongs to the same class with those of Miss Austen. It is full of lively and graphic descriptions of domestic scenes, and of dialogues rather more remarkable for naturalness and *naiveté*, than for piquancy or wit. The characters are cleverly drawn, and well sustained; and the interest is kept up to the end of the book. The character of Charlotte Daventry, the villain of the piece, seems rather forced and unnatural in some respects, although for the most part true to nature. Her leading motive, that of avenging the supposed wrongs of her father, against her real and substantial benefactors, is out of all keeping. But one of the chief difficulties of a novel writer, undoubtedly, is to invent adequate motives for the conduct of his personages; such motives as will supply sufficient and consistent action throughout the narrative. The writer who accomplishes this, must be a philosopher as well as a genius; and the want of ability to effect it is one of the most frequent causes of failure. One feature in the novel under consideration must strike every reader, namely, that the whole business of the story—the beginning, the middle, and the end—is *love*. All the characters are gentlefolks of good estate; and their whole employment seems to be to make love and negotiate marriages. When the younger parties are all "*married off*," and the Marplot of the play is punished according to the laws of poetical justice, the curtain falls, and the audience is dismissed.

The book may be safely recommended as a complete Lover's Manual and Vade Mecum.

The Gipsey. A Novel. By the author of Richelieu, &c. Harper & Brothers. New York: 1835.

Mr. James, the author of the Gipsey, has written several historical novels, Richelieu, Darnley, &c., which have procured him some reputation, both at home and in this country. He has now attempted a work of pure fiction; and has produced rather an interesting story, marked, however, by several faults and deficiencies, some of which we will proceed to enumerate. The first is one which we have noticed in another article, namely, the want of ability to invent sufficient motives for the conduct of his characters. This deficiency, which, in the instance already alluded to, only occasioned a want of consistency in the character of one personage, has, in the case of the novel we are now noticing, rendered the whole story utterly and totally improbable. For example—an English nobleman is shot by his brother for not supplying him with money to support his extravagance; and the brother, supposing he has killed his man, enters upon the title and inheritance, and holds them for twenty-one years, or thereabouts. Meantime, the earl, who is not killed, changes his name, deserts his own daughter and his country, comes to America, and lives among the Indians. At the end of the time, he goes home to procure money to accomplish some benevolent purpose for the Indians, and remains for a time in concealment in the neighbourhood of his brother, and in close communion with a certain gipsey, who was the witness of the supposed murder. After

a great deal of bustle and intrigue, "too tedious to describe" in a miscellaneous notice, he comes forward and claims his title and estate—not to reinstate his heir, or punish his brother, or for any reason supposable on the principles of common sense—but to save the gipsey from the necessity of telling the truth, in order to escape from a criminal prosecution. This is the plot of the "Gipsey," and it is what a Yankee would call a "very likely story."

The next fault of Mr. James, apparent in his other novels as well as in this, is a total want of dramatic power. He cannot distinguish and individualize his characters by their language. They do not speak in character. The style of the dialogue is hardly distinguishable from that of the narrative. The nobleman and the gipsey, the gentleman and the groom, all use as good and as dull English as Mr. James himself. Almost the only attempt at characteristic language, is in the case of the old gipsey woman, who is coarse and vulgar enough, without being racy or peculiar in her expressions. This is a grievous fault. It deprives the story of that vividness and verisimilitude, which, in Scott and Shakspeare, give the world of fiction the interest of real life, and make their characters our personal acquaintance.

Mr. James's historical novels are much better than the Gipsey, and we have a recollection of having read the story of John Marston Hall with an unusual degree of interest.

Horse Shoe Robinson: a tale of the Tory Ascendancy, by the author of "Swallow Barn."

"I say the tale as it was said to me."
Lay of the Last Minstrel.

In two volumes. Second edition. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard.

The author of this work is as remarkable for the variety as for the extent of his talents. Before the appearance of *Swallow Barn* he was known as an able lawyer, an acute politician, and an accomplished speaker. Since, by the publication of Swallow Barn and Horse Shoe Robinson, he has placed himself in the front rank of the literature of his country. He does every thing with great apparent ease;—at the bar, in a public assembly, or with the pen, he is equally at home.

Swallow Barn and Horse Shoe Robinson both bear the impress of high talent, but though from the same pen, they are of a decidedly different intellectual character—so much so, that if Horse Shoe Robinson had appeared anonymously, perhaps it would have been attributed as soon to any of the distinguished literary characters of our country as to the author of Swallow Barn. Not only is the style different, but the cast and train of mind seem of a different mould and fashion. In Swallow Barn the incidents are few, and a very slight story—if it may be called a story—serves as a thread to connect a number of well written and highly graphic sketches—most of them of a quiet and humorous character. In Horse Shoe Robinson, stirring incidents, startling developments, and powerful emotions, rouse you almost in the first page, and bear you on to the last. We place ourselves in an easy attitude when we open Swallow Barn, and we love to linger on the page so full of sly humour and of minute and beautiful description—given too in racy and pointed language, such as would have delighted the old worthies of English literature. In Horse Shoe Robinson we stop not to think of the style—we do not pause over a happily turned sentence, though there are many of them, but we hurry on—like Horse Shoe himself—with our feelings all in a glow, while moving accidents, wild

adventure and devoted love, heroic achievement, and partisan profligacy and abandonment, arrest our attention by turns, but never suffer it to muse. Horse Shoe is a new creation, original and striking, but perfectly natural. And though the author has placed him in many different situations, he has, with great tact, discrimination, and talent, preserved his characteristics throughout. The reader cannot but feel that such a character has been, and he involuntarily recurs to the author's motto,—

"I say the tale as it was said to me."

But how little was in fact said to the author—and what a glowing and dramatic genius he must possess who can call up such vivid incidents, and preserve the unity —the oneness of character—through all their changes.

To find what fault we may, for we had forgotten it was a part of our duty, we should say that Major Butler has perhaps too little *character* for his office and the situation in which he is thrown. He is too much like most of Scott's heroes—the mere creature for the development of others' energies—the slave of circumstances which he never controls. And though Mildred's character is well drawn, yet there is a striking incongruity in relation to her. The author labours to account for Mildred's devotion to Butler, and for the confiding love that in its intensity throws off its maiden reserve, and prompts her to go to the camp of Cornwallis, with the hope of seeing him, to her secluded and romantic education, her ignorance, or rather her disregard of the mere forms of society, and to the early loss of her mother, which left her enthusiastic spirit to its bent. After accounting in this way for the *resolves* which take her on her journey under the guidance of Horse Shoe, it turns out when she meets Butler that she is his *wife*, bound to him by a tie which required that she should have acted as she did. While, therefore, the author is endeavouring to prove to his readers that Mildred, unwedded, without any violation of maiden propriety, considering the circumstances of her education, romantic mode of life, &c., might have sought to save her *lover*, it appears that she was wedded, and was not only justified in going to the camp of Cornwallis, but bound by duty as well as by affection to go and save her *husband*.

Next to the character of Horse Shoe, those of Mary Musgrave, of her lover, and of Habershaw and his tory associates, strike us most favourably. What a beautiful and glowing picture is the narrative of Mary Musgrave's love! Her love is so chaste, so confiding, so devoted—her sorrow—the moving scene at the funeral—reminds us of Scott.

The reckless conversations in the camp of Habershaw are excellently hit—they have a good deal of the flavour of the old dramatists. Habershaw is a kind of tory captain Bobadil. The compound of the bully and the coward, is admirably portrayed.

In Mr. Kennedy's eulogy on Mr. Wirt, which he was selected to deliver by his brethren of the Baltimore bar, he speaks justly of the high literary talents of his departed friend, and expresses a regret that he had not devoted more of his attention to literature. We trust and believe—for Mr. Kennedy is just in the palmy state of life and intellect—that the day is far distant when his eulogy shall be pronounced, but when it is, we hope for the sake of the literature of our country, that he may not awaken a similar regret—for, though he has already done much for it, he can do much more, and he should therefore not suffer so long an interval to elapse between the appearance of his next work and Horse Shoe Robinson, as there was between this and Swallow Barn. Yet, we must be permitted to add, that in his second work there is a degree of *prolixity* which argues hurry in the composition. A more con-

cise narrative would have been more effective. The novel as such is too voluminous. Though we desire to hail him at shorter intervals, let him take leisure to *prune* what, on a review of his whole manuscript, he may himself deem redundant.

Four Years in Great Britain, 1831—1835. By Calvin Colton.

One of the most important requisites for the advancement of a nation is, that it should properly and fairly estimate itself; that it should know and appreciate its advantages and disadvantages—those things in which it excels—and those in which it is excelled by the other nations of the world. An overweening, unfounded conceit of our own superiority, checks improvement, by depriving it of its stimulus, and begets an offensive pride, which excites ridicule; too exalted an opinion of the merits and advantages of others, destroys national enthusiasm, produces servile imitation, and deprives a people of the happiness derived from the consciousness of excellence. The first fault is by far the most common, and both are the results of isolation from the rest of mankind—of ignorance of the habits, manners, achievements, and condition, of the people of other countries. Hence the benefits of intercourse;—by affording examples for imitation, by suggesting hints for improvement, by showing the various effects of different forms of government and society, it makes the experience of every nation the property of all—combines the efforts of the educated and ingenious men of all nations, for the common good, and thus multiplies the energies of the human mind.

Of late years, the modes of conveyance between Europe and this country, have become so rapid, regular, and comfortable, that a voyage across the Atlantic is not thought a great undertaking. The number of travellers has vastly increased, and certainly with very beneficial effects to the country. America has become known to Europe, and Europe to America, either by actual observation, or from books of travel; and although, perhaps, we appreciate more fully than ever the peculiar blessings which flow from free institutions, and the union of the civilization of the old world, with the boundless scope and undeveloped resources of the new, yet we think the opinion is now rapidly gaining ground, that we are not the only enlightened nation in the world, and that happiness and excellence are not the exclusive attributes of our country. Some, indeed, there are, though few, who venture to insinuate, that in some points we might be improved; that there might be less corruption and party spirit in politics; that the law might be more rigidly enforced, and life and property be rendered more secure; that society might be more refined —education more complete—the fine arts more sedulously cultivated—the hotels better kept—and our dinners better cooked. These free-thinkers, however, are for the most part, persons who have either travelled themselves, or have gained from books and conversation accurate knowledge of the manners, habits, and condition of other nations, and form but a small portion of what is called the intelligent portion of our population.

One of the most crying sins of this country is, inordinate and excessive national vanity. Not content with the many sources of just and honourable pride which we possess, we claim for ourselves merits to which we have no pretension, and which are the results of great wealth and long civilization, or the peculiar bounty of nature. The refined elegance of France, and the solid magnificence of England; the pure sky and balmy breezes of Italy, and the splendid scenery of Switzerland, are ours. The lavish prodigality of Providence, has concentrated within our favoured land, the wealth and beauty, and the delight of every clime; the best and noblest

attributes, moral, intellectual, and physical, of every people. For "several virtues" the several nations of the world may be distinguished. But there is no one in which some glaring blemish does not "quarrel with the noblest grace she owes, and put it to the foil;" we alone,

> "So perfect and so peerless,—are created
> Of every creature's best."

Amid the shouts of riotous mobs, and the crash of blazing houses—amid the wholesale massacre of Lynch law, and the impotence and terror of civil authority, we proclaim ourselves the most moral, enlightened, and orderly people of the world. With one half of the country, on every occasion of excitement, threatening the other half with disunion; with a populace constantly increasing in vice, in license, and in numbers; and with ultra democracy to control it—we still fearlessly assert that our government is the purest, the freest, the best; and that it promises to be the most permanent that the human race has ever enjoyed.

All this may be considered by some as indicating a praiseworthy love of country. We think that love of *truth* is still more praiseworthy; and that if the nation could be brought by any means fairly to contemplate itself, and to ponder seriously upon its condition and prospects, a more healthy tone of public opinion would be created; much unworthy passion and prejudice destroyed; existing evils remedied; and actual blessings become better known and better appreciated. Hope would thus be animated; true patriotism strengthened and cherished; and the ship of the state might yet ride out the storms and tempests of "fierce democracy" and raging faction, with the starry banner of liberty and union still triumphant.

A consciousness of defect is the first step towards improvement; and a knowledge of the existence of superiority in others, affords a strong incitement to the attainment of it ourselves. For this reason we always hail with pleasure a spirited and well written book of travels; and thank Mrs. Trollope, Captain Hall, and the rest, for telling us of our faults, as much as we do Puckler Muskau, or Mr. Stewart, or Mr. Colton, for giving us a picture of the beauty, comfort, and splendour—vice, folly, and misery of England. Each nation, by imitating the virtues of the other, and avoiding the faults of each, might become wiser and happier, which is the true use and end of all knowledge.

Unquestionably, England and the United States ought to be, and are, objects of greater interest and curiosity to each other, than any two nations in the world. Their common origin, and the relation formerly subsisting between them; the similarity of language, literature, manners, habits, laws and government, make them, each to the other, objects of instructive contemplation. The same causes are at work in both countries, but modified by circumstances peculiar to each. In the one, democracy is rapidly running into riotous excess; in the other, it is gradually gathering power, and threatens to overturn those ancient institutions under which the nation has so long prospered, and which have made it the greatest and most flourishing in the world. A philosophical work, written without prejudice or passion, which should present a true and vivid picture of the manners, opinions, and condition of the people of each country, and show the operation of public institutions upon private and social life, might do important service to both, by inducing the energetic restrainment of excess, and the cautious reform of abuses.

A philosophical work, however, on the subject of England, we do not possess; certainly that of Mr. Colton is not entitled to such distinction. The "Tour of a German Prince" is written with great ability, and in the right spirit. But it describes fashionable society and external nature only; the habits, manners, and

opinions of a single class. We want a picture of the English people. We want a book, the production of a calm, investigating, informed, and reasoning mind—elevated above national prejudice, with time and opportunity for accurate observation and mature judgment, which shall tell us the actual moral and intellectual state, the governing impulses, the dominant opinions, the domestic character of the great mass of English society. Every one knows that their roads and stage coaches are the best in the world; their agriculture the most perfect, and their country seats the most magnificent; their houses the most comfortable; their horses the best groomed; and their clothes the best made. All this is much, because it indicates high civilization—well directed and well rewarded industry—but it is not all. We require information, not only as to the physical, but as to the moral wants and condition of the people.

Mr. Colton's work contains much valuable statistical information with regard to the revenue, expenses, church establishment, and taxation of Great Britain, which he has collected with exemplary diligence. He has described with enthusiasm and with effect, the extreme beauty of the country, the magnificence of ancient edifices, the perfect order and admirable taste of the country seats, and the gorgeous spectacles of the king's levee and the queen's drawing-room. But we think his remarks are very common-place, his reasoning shallow, and his speculations by no means profound. He constantly introduces his peculiar religious opinions and feelings, in a manner so *mal-àpropos* as to be almost ridiculous; and there is a singular simpleness in some of his narrations, a strange *naïveté* in his confessions, that occasionally surprises the reader. For example, the terrific adventure on the Waterloo bridge; the encounter at the dreaded end of Brompton Crescent; the mysterious voices, and fiendish laughter in the tunnel; with his horrors, tremors, and reflections thereon, are very amusing. One of his chapters is headed "Two faults of the English." These faults are—the habit of keeping every man in his proper place in society, and an excessive fondness for dogs and horses. Mr. Colton's remarks on these two subjects are, we think, unsound, and almost puerile. The first is the necessary result of a dense population and violent competition; and the second, a natural accompaniment to a love of the country, and a taste for rural pursuits. Mr. Colton's style is inelegant, incorrect, and often even vulgar; it smacks mightily of the counting-house and the conventicle. He however seems to have observed carefully, and gives us facts of importance, which is much; his book indicates good intentions and liberal feelings; and we do not regret the announcement of his intention to present to the public another work on the same subject, but more particularly devoted to London.

AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXXVI.

DECEMBER, 1835.

ART. I.—COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION.

1.—*An Inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Societies.* By WILLIAM JAY. 12mo. pp. 202. Leavitt, Lord & Co. New York. 1835.
2.—*Letters to the Hon. William Jay, being a reply to his "Inquiry into the American Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies."* By DAVID M. REESE, M. D., *of New York.* 12mo. pp. 120. Leavitt, Lord & Co. New York.
3.—*Third Annual Report of the Colonization Society of the City of New York, with the Proceedings of their Annual Meeting, May,* 1835. 8vo. pp. 62. William A. Mercein. New York. 1835.
4.—*A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, during the transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship.* By R. R. MADDEN, M. D., *author of Travels in the East.* 2vols. 12mo. pp. 228 and 224. Carey, Lea & Blanchard. Philadelphia.

No question which has ever agitated the public mind since our country declared itself independent of foreign sway, is so intricate as that which is discussed in the three first publications whose titles stand at the head of this article. Other questions have been approached with at least the semblance of calm and dispassionate reason; this, in at least a large portion of the Union, is one which cannot even be hinted at without awakening either angry passions or well grounded fears. Those who, from situation and opportunities for information, best understand it, shun even its mention; while those who loudly and dogmatically argue it in all its bearings, know little or nothing of its practical details. The fiercest excitement of party strife, the zeal of sectarian religion, and the

local jealousies of distant sections of the country, all tend to embroil the discussion. The more that is said on the subject, the more distant does its final settlement appear; yet it does not seem possible to find the means of closing it altogether, for foreign influences, both direct and in the form of popular literature, are constantly adding a ferment to the already troubled heap, where heave, in violent agitation, slave-holders and those who cannot by money obtain menial service; the advocates of perpetual slavery and of immediate abolition; of colonization and of gradual emancipation; those who deny the right of holding slaves, and yet justify the present practice of slavery, and those who, while they admit the right, question the policy of peopling the fairest regions of our country with a race whose numbers and physical energies may one day overwhelm their masters in ruin.

Most questions admit of but two sides; here the shades of opinion may be as various as the shades which spring from the mingling of the races whose interests are at stake; and every different modification of opinion will excite as much opposition in those who dissent from it, as if they were upholders of the most contrary doctrines.

In such a distracted state of the public mind, we approach the discussion of the subject of slavery with much hesitation, nay, would gladly avoid it, could we consistently do so. The writer of this article, aware that he must at every step shock prejudices or come in collision with received opinions, does notwithstanding venture freely and boldly to express his own, believing in the propriety of the Grecian precept, that in a republic no citizen has a right to stand aloof from the parties which divide it, but owes it to his country, not merely to use his most strenuous exertions against the public enemy, but also to employ his influence in checking the growth of such opinions and practices as he may conscientiously believe inimical to the national prosperity.

It is absolutely necessary to beings constituted as our race is, that authority should be exerted by some individuals, and obedience rendered by others. Hence the authority of husbands over wives, of parents over children, of heads of clans over their kindred, and as society advances, of magistrates over private individuals. The relation of master and servant is more complex, and would appear naturally to belong to the most finished communities, in which the accumulation of wealth enables some individuals to purchase the labour of others, and employ it for their mutual benefit. This relation is however of far different origin. The most trifling causes excite the pugnacious propensities of man, and wars began as soon as the human race was separated in families and tribes. For the blood shed in these, no other atonement could be at first accepted but the lives of enemies, and extermination or flight to distant regions was the only choice of

the vanquished. The most advanced age, or the most tender infancy, was no defence from slaughter, and if prisoners were taken, they were sacrificed to the manes of the dead of the victorious party. Lust taking the form of mercy first dictated the preservation of females of youthful age, and when war became a trade instead of the result of sudden impulse, innate feelings of compassion forbade the slaughter of those who ceased or were unable to resist.

Whether this state, usually called the earliest state of society, was in fact the first in which man existed, or whether he degenerated to it from one of higher civilization, it is useless to inquire. This form of society and mode of practising war is still found in the more rude nations. Thus the Indians of our own country spare no enemy except to reserve him for torture, unless in the rare case where they may safely incorporate their prisoners by adoption into their own nation. When captives had their lives spared, they naturally became the property of their captors, and thus servitude, either to the nation as a body, or to its individual members, became the result. Such property, like all other acquired possessions, was speedily made a matter of traffic, and thus we find slavery and a trade in slaves coeval with the earliest authentic histories of the human race; and the condition of servitude was entailed upon the posterity of the slaves. When Abraham, by the divine command, quitted the abode of his progenitors to take his place as a sojourner in the land promised to his descendants, he moved with a large party composed of the slaves of himself and his nephew Lot. These were in sufficient numbers to give him consideration as a powerful prince among the inhabitants of Canaan, and when Lot was dragged off, probably to servitude, Abraham armed the slaves born in his own house, and marched to his rescue. In the absence of children of his own, he looked to one of these born thralls as his presumptive heir; another became the mother of his son Ishmael, and the stem of the mighty nation of the Arabs. Nor did he, even after lawful offspring was granted him, despise a matrimonial connexion with others of his bondwomen.

Isaac succeeded to the slaves with the other possessions of his father, and they in the regular order of succession passed to Esau, for the birthright acquired by Jacob never took effect in a temporal sense, but was confined to the spiritual advantages of the inheritance of the divine promise. When Jacob, leaving the service of his father-in-law, passed back into the land where his father and grandfather had sojourned, the most important items of his acquired wealth were male and female slaves; these no doubt accompanied him and his family to Egypt, where his descendants were reduced to a state of bondage even more severe, and their slaves probably passed to their oppressors. If there

was ever a nation fitted to exist without the necessity of slavery, such was that of the Hebrews, at the time of their departure from Egypt. Descended from a common and known ancestor; equally rescued from a bondage to which all had been subject; called to occupy cities they had not built, fertile fields they had not reclaimed, vines and fruit trees they had not planted, to have forbidden them to possess slaves would have been a less onerous command than many others of the ceremonial law. Yet in the decalogue itself, while the general prohibition against theft is unquestionably as applicable to property in slaves as to any other, they are forbidden expressly even to covet the men and maid servants of their neighbours; and the very first head of the more detailed laws is devoted to the subject of slavery. By this law, slaves of several descriptions were authorized. Those of stranger nations, who must have been captives in war or acquired by purchase, were liable to perpetual bondage. Israelites of the male sex might also become slaves, with their wives and children, when compelled to sell themselves by want, but their servitude could not extend beyond the sabbatical year, unless at their own request, in compliance with which they might be subjected to a typical ceremony, which made them and their posterity slaves for ever.* The children of bondsmen, who entered into servitude with their wives, became free with them, but children by a mother enslaved under a different tenure, remained slaves when their father reached the term of his service. Free females might be sold by their parents for the express purpose of becoming wives of secondary rank to their purchaser or his sons, and when thus sold could not be released, unless the condition of marriage were not complied with, or by a divorce; but such slaves could not be sold.

It thus appears that under the Mosaic dispensation the Israelites had slaves taken in war, or obtained by purchase; their descendants born in bondage; bondmen for seven years with their families; and concubines purchased from free parents. In their wars, the inhabitants of cities which did not resist were to be made tributaries, but when they were taken by force, every grown up male was put to death, while the women and children were made slaves. But of the Canaanites no age nor sex was to be spared. The exceptions to these laws were in the cases of the Gibeonites and Midianites. The former escaped the universal slaughter of their neighbours by a stratagem, but were compelled to submit to slavery of the most severe description; the latter were all put to death except the unmarried females, although not included among the tribes devoted to destruction.

To the classes of slaves we have enumerated among the Israelites, were added, in later times, by a forced construction of the

* Exod. xxi.

law, insolvent debtors, who became the bondmen of their creditors for seven years, and might finally, with their own assent, be rendered slaves for ever.

The practice of slavery, although thus tolerated among the Israelites, was of a much more mild character than in other nations of antiquity. The sabbatical year not only set free all the Hebrew bondmen, but the year of jubilee restored to them the land formerly possessed by their ancestors; and not only the children of wives purchased by their husbands, but those of slave concubines, had equal rights of freedom and of inheritance with those of a lawful wife, except the double portion due to the first born: this, in imitation of Abraham, does not appear to have been granted to the offspring of slave concubines. In other countries, the condition of the slave was mitigated by no such conditions. Greece indeed for a time refused to consider those of Grecian blood as slaves, but this exception did not continue long. Captives in war, insolvent debtors, those whom penury compelled to sell themselves and their families, the unfortunate stragglers kidnapped by pirates, and the latest descendants of all, incurred the same penalty of perpetual slavery. But their wars were less cruel than those of the Israelites, and male armed captives were not put to death. The Romans in their earlier wars adopted a different policy. Their city was at first a refuge for the runaway slaves of all their neighbours; captured cities were made colonies by a transplantation of Roman citizens, and the inhabitants of others were transferred to Rome, where, gradually uniting in the plebeian class, they finally acquired political rights. But when their conquests became more extended, the Greek law of war was adopted in its fullest extent; captives in battle, and the inhabitants of cities which resisted until the ram had touched their walls, were sold into slavery. The slaves of the Romans therefore numbered among them every possible class and condition, from the wide extent of their empire; the Greek poet, philosopher, and artist, bore the same chains with the rude barbarian of Britain or Germany, and the fair haired Batavian was linked with the dusky African.

In this state of universal slavery, the divine founder of our faith made his appearance, to release the prisoner and set the captive free. His call, however, was neither to temporal royalty, as the Jews anticipated, nor to the preaching of immediate abolition. So far as direct precept is concerned, it might be thought that he came into a world where slavery was unknown. But some of his most instructive parables are drawn from the condition of slave and master, and the practice of slave holding is mentioned by him, not only without reprobation, but without comment. Yet his morality, more pure than it had entered into the mind of man to conceive, unquestionably strikes at the very root of slavery, by enforcing duties which would make coercion on the one hand,

and insubordination on the other, impracticable. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy!" "Blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be comforted!" "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's!" "Do unto others as you would have others to do unto you!" "Love your neighbours as yourselves!"

If the relation of master and slave be not made the object of any direct precept on the part of Christ, it necessarily became a question on which his Apostles were compelled to decide. The disciples, who at his passion were an inconsiderable handful, speedily multiplied in every part of the Roman empire, and comprised all ranks and conditions of society, the bond as well as the free. If any thing were wanting to prove the divine source whence these successful preachers derived their mission, it might be demonstrated from the superhuman wisdom with which this delicate question is set at rest.

"Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart fearing God.

"And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord and not unto men.

"Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ."—Coloss. iii. 22, et seq.

* * * * *

"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that you have also a master in heaven."—Coloss. iv. 1.

The same precepts are repeated in language but slightly different in the Epistle to the Ephesians. To Timothy the apostle dictates the duty of the Christian minister in this case.

"Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.

"And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.

"If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings, of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness."

Less full but similar instructions are given to Titus.

The precepts of Peter to his enslaved proselytes are even stronger and more emphatic than those of Paul.

"Servants, be ye subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle but also to the froward.

"For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully.

"For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults ye shall take it patiently? But if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God."

It has been objected and urged that the passages which we have quoted or to which we have referred, have regard only to voluntary service for wages. But every person who is capable of consulting the original, knows that compulsory slavery is intended

both in the Old and New Testament. That the latter is the fact, is obvious also to all acquainted with the then state of the world, for the prevalence of slavery had rendered menial occupations disgraceful to the free, and hired servants were then almost unknown.

We have quoted the texts of scripture cited above with the view of their being contrasted with the language used by the persons who pretend, and many of whom really believe themselves to be the friends of the slaves.

We must be permitted to believe that the men who were the instruments of the mighty change which took place in the characters and tempers of our species under the influence of the religion of our Saviour, had as strong feelings of indignation at the cruelty of slave-owners, as sincere a sympathy for the sufferings of slaves, as any of the advocates of immediate abolition. We know too that they were supported in trial, labour, and suffering, by the conviction that their cause was certainly to prevail—a confidence which inspired them with extreme boldness. Yet in this instance they would appear, if judged by the standard of the preachers of abolition, as cowardly and time serving.

"Slave-holding is a heinous crime in the sight of God."—*Constitution of Anti-Slavery Society.*

"All those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God null and void."—*Anti-Slavery Address.*

"The greater proportion of the people of England demand, not merely emancipation, but the immediate emancipation of the slaves, in whatever quarter of the world they may be found."—*Mr. Buckingham's Speech.*

"We will turn to America, and require emancipation."—*Daniel O'Connell.*

"When an American comes into Society, he will be asked, are you one of the thieves, or are you an honest man? If you are an honest man, then you have given liberty to your slaves; if you are among the thieves, the sooner you take the outside of the house the better."—*Daniel O'Connell.*

"The truth is, and we must suppress it no longer, we have been hired to abet oppression and be the tools of tyrants—to look on coolly while 2,000,000 of our brethren have been stripped of every right, and worse than murdered."—*Anti-Slavery Report.*

"The man who seizes another in New York," (alluding to the legal arrest of a runaway,) "whatever laws he may have in his favour, is to be regarded as a robber and pirate."—*Anti-Slavery Report.*

"Slave-holding is piracy, equally atrocious with slave-trading, and if there is any difference in criminality, slave-holding is the worst of the two."—*Mr. Phelps.*

"Every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage, is (according to scripture,) a man stealer."—*Anti-Slavery Declaration.*

"Ye crafty calculators! Ye hard hearted incorrigible sinners! Ye greedy and relentless robbers! Ye contemners of justice and mercy! Ye trembling, pitiful, pale faced usurpers! my soul spurns you with insufferable disgust."

Such are the gentle and Christian *arguments* by which the southern states are to be induced to abolish slavery by voluntary action. An intelligent, spirited, and chivalric population is accused of being one and all guilty of a deadly sin; their laws, sanctioned by the terms of Union, are declared of no moral effect on their slaves, who are thus invited to turbulence and rebellion; foreign

interference is threatened, and called for; the gentlest terms which are applied to them are pirates, robbers, thieves, and men stealers. Were it in view to excite the feelings of a nation to wage a war of extermination against a foreign enemy, such language and epithets might not perhaps be considered too strong, by politicians; but when they are employed by persons assuming the character of Christian philanthropists, for the purpose as they say of inducing a voluntary action, it is impossible to believe that the declared intention exists. They must and will produce hatred and violence, and tend to break the ties between the parts of the Union in which such expressions are uttered or retailed, and those against which they are directed.

To return to our sketch of the history of slavery.

The slaves of the Roman empire, however diversified in race, differed in general but little in physical characters from their masters. Hence release from bondage at once obliterated all distinctions, and the freedman speedily acquired the full enjoyment of all civil immunities. From these very slaves are descended the great mass of the present inhabitants of Italy, and many of those of the other portions of Europe.

When the Roman empire fell before the inroads of the barbarians, the Roman citizens themselves were forced into the condition of servitude, and the whole of Europe knew for a time little other distinction of persons than the slave and his master. The feudal system, planned for riveting the chains of the slave, speedily rendered them more light. The barons, in order to maintain their military strength, and transmit it to their descendants, tied their serfs to the soil, and thus the traffic in slaves disappeared in Europe. But the state of slavery was but slowly extinguished. In Poland and Russia the whole agricultural population are still in servitude. In England it has not disappeared for more than two centuries, and in France its traces were only wholly obliterated by the revolution. England itself, before the Saxons were converted to Christianity, was the great source of slaves, which were carried and sold in the markets of the rest of Europe.

At the present moment, slavery exists in all Mahometan countries; Greece paid its children as tribute to its Turkish masters; and those Greeks who still remain subject to the Ottoman power, are not entirely exempt from the disgraceful tax. The trade of Georgia and Circassia in slaves, who are reared by their own parents for sale, is familiar, and the petty tribes of the Caucasus carry on wars for the purpose of making prisoners to be sold into bondage. The Turkoman tribes of central Asia make inroads upon Persia, and carry its inhabitants into slavery; nor are they always deterred from making similar inroads upon the Russian empire. From Egypt and Barbary a great commerce in negro slaves is carried on by caravans with central Africa. The last named con-

tinent has been in all ages the seat of domestic slavery, and of a slave trade. Tribes of Arab and Moorish descent not only make war for the purpose of furnishing themselves with slaves, but for sale to their northern neighbours; and the nations of unmixed negro blood enslave and sell each other. When the demand for their own purposes or for foreign markets is insufficient to engross all their prisoners, these are mercilessly put to death; and when European nations first sought slaves upon the coast, they found several nations who butchered and devoured the prisoners they could not vend.

The kingdom of Dahomey not only carries on a large trade in slaves, but is engaged in continual wars to obtain captives, with whose blood the king may water the graves of his ancestors. The ornaments of the palaces and temples are the skulls and jaw-bones of enemies slain in battle; the royal apartment is paved, and its roof covered with similar trophies, and as a cause of war the king announces that his house wants new thatch.

The Foulahs, who are perhaps the most civilized of the negro race, are engaged in perpetual war with twenty-four pagan nations.

In Ashantee, 3,000 victims were sacrificed on the grave of the king's mother, and on the death of the king himself, 200 slaves were sacrificed weekly for three months. Such is the present state of the inhabitants of Africa in the parts whence the slave trade has been almost wholly removed.

Much unmerited obloquy has been heaped on the head of Las Casas, for permitting his compassion for the Indians to lead him to propose the infliction of wrongs of greater amount upon the inhabitants of Africa. So far from his plan having at first produced such a result, there can be no doubt that it for a time improved the condition and humanized the hearts of the negro nations. The principle of furious revenge was moderated by the love of gain, wars became less bloody, and cannibalism ceased.

"The history of slavery in modern times commences in 1442, when the Portuguese received certain negro slaves from the Moors in lieu of some prisoners of war that had been given up by Prince Henry. About this time the introduction of slaves into Portugal was sanctioned by a bull of Pope Eugenius IV."

"In a short time the Portuguese fitted out an expedition for Africa: they built forts along the African coast; and the King of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guinea. The forts were taken by the Dutch in 1638, a little later by the English, and in 1678 by the French—and not only taken but destroyed. In 1685 the Elector of Brandenburgh established three settlements on the gold coast under the direction of the first chartered company. These settlements proved unsuccessful: in 1717 they were sold to a Dutch company: France again took possession of them and retained them till 1763, when England took possession of Senegal, and confined the French from Cape Blanco to the Gambia."—*Madden.*

In 1502 the first slaves were introduced into the West Indies, and in 1517 the Emperor Charles V. granted the first patent,

known under the name of assiento, to some Genoese merchants, for an annual supply of 4,000 slaves.

"The first ravages on the coast of Africa by Englishmen, were committed by a body of adventurers under the command of an unprincipled marauder by the name of Hawkins, who subsequently received, 'for his good services,' the honour of knighthood from our immaculate Queen Elizabeth. Her majesty gently reproved the robber who brought the first cargo of human beings to her dominions; it appears she was not duly informed of the value of the commodity; but no sooner was it known that man was money, and slave transportation a shipping interest, than her majesty's scruples vanished all at once, the marauder was knighted, and his next plundering expedition was not only suffered but sanctioned by her most excellent majesty.

"This first man stealer, from our country, (England) this infamous Hawkins, having laid open his project to some capitalists, they became large contributors to his scheme, and provided him with three good ships for the purpose of ravaging the coasts of Africa. The pirate reached Africa in 1562, and 'in a short time (says Hakluyt,) he got into his possession, partly by the sword, partly by other means, 300 negroes, and other merchandise.'"

* * * * *

"In 1609 the first charter was given to Sir Robert Ruk by James I. In 1618 the slave trade became a regular branch of commerce; a London company obtained a charter from James I. to trade to Guinea, but after a few years it expired. In 1631, Charles I. granted another charter for thirty-one years, and in 1635 renewed one of the charters of his predecessor. In 1662 a charter was given by Charles II., at the head of which was the Duke of York. In 1672 another charter was granted by the crown; among the subscribers were to be found the names of the king, the heir apparent, and many of the nobility. In 1688 all other companies not authorized by parliament, were abolished. In 1689 the first assiento company was formed, but its privileges were not exclusive. In 1739 this company, on becoming insolvent, received a grant of £10,000 from parliament, which was annually made until 1747. In 1750 an act was passed for extending and improving the trade to Africa, and no alterations appear to have been made in the system until 1807."—*Madden.*

"Slavery was a very favoured introduction into the Colonies (of England;) it was deemed a great source of the mercantile interests of the country, and was on that account largely considered by the mother country as a great source of its wealth and strength. Treaties were made on that account, and the colonies were made to submit to those treaties, by the authority of this country (England). The system instead of being condemned as a bad custom, was regarded as a source of its riches and power. It was only at the latter part of the last century, that the system was condemned in England as not fit to continue here, for reasons peculiar to our own condition, but it has continued in our colonies, highly favoured by our own courts, which have liberally imparted to it their encouragement and protection."

* * * * *

"Has not our law declared in the most explicit and authentic manner, its encouragement of slavery in its colonial establishments? Have not innumerable acts been passed which regulate the condition of slaves, which tend to consider them, as the colonists themselves do, as *res positæ in commercio*, as goods and chattels subject to mortgage, constituting a part of the value of the estates, as liable to be taken in execution for debt, and to be publicly sold for such purposes? And have not the highest courts in this country, the privy council, and the court of chancery, made regulations for carrying the system into effect with the most scrupulous regularity, and under the sanction of acts of parliament?"

* * * * *

"Is it not certain that this trade of the colonies has been the very favoured trade of this country, and so continues, as far as can be judged from the encouragement given in various forms—the making of treaties, the institution of companies, the devolution from one company to another, the compulsion of the colonies to accept this traffic, and the recognition of it in a great variety of its laws? If it be a sin, it is a sin in which this country has largely shared in its guilt, and ought to bear its proportion of the redemption."—*Lord Stowell*, quoted by *Madden.*

Such is the share that England took in this iniquitous traffic, compelling her colonies to receive slaves, in order to increase the value of her shipping interest. To this policy the southern portion of our country became a victim, and the industrious settlers who peopled the less favoured parts of the colonies, were excluded by the slave importations. England, however, lost her colonies on the continent. Those on the islands being of limited extent, ceased to be a good market for slaves, while the colonies of Spain and Portugal having a much wider extent of virgin soil, threatened, by a rapid increase of cultivation, to ruin the English colonies by underselling them in all the markets of Europe. It was now that the conscientious opposers of the slave trade, who under other circumstances had been in the minority, were permitted to gain the ascendancy, and the whole diplomatic energy of Great Britain was directed to obtain the abolition of the slave trade in other countries. Were it not that Britain is a great gainer by this course, we might admit the purity of her intentions. The excitement which was aroused, has spread farther than was intended, and has finally brought about the total abolition of slavery; with what benefit to the colonies, and to the slaves themselves, time will show.

That some English traders preferred to seize the free natives of the coast by force, to obtaining captives by purchase, and that wars have been waged solely for the purpose of making prisoners to be sold to the slave ships, could not have been anticipated, when every visiter of the coast of Africa witnessed thousands put to death because they could not be disposed of; but the slave trade, arising from small beginnings, finally reached a horrible extent, and was productive of misery and suffering to which death would have been preferable; but these were not necessary to its exercise, and had the philanthropy which led to the abolition of the traffic been awakened at an earlier period, and applied to its regulation, might never have existed at all. So long indeed as the slave trade was permitted, the sufferings of the persons carried in slave ships did not exceed, if they equalled, those sustained by the tenants of the hulks in which England confined her prisoners of war, as late as the close of the contest with Napoleon. A French general officer has exhibited the horrors of these floating hells, and persons confined in them during the war of the revolution, are yet living in this country, who can testify that his description is not exaggerated. With all its evils, and with the cruelties and sufferings which accompanied it, we are not prepared to admit that the slave trade was productive of unmixed injury to the nations of Africa. At the time it arose, they had few other commodities to tempt the cupidity of traders; by the traffic in slaves, they were made acquainted with many of the commodities of civilized nations, which have become necessaries of life; and if to obtain them they hereafter resort to agricultural industry, and thus

lose some of their barbarous character, the distant source of the improvement is to be sought in this very trade in slaves.

Far, however, be it from us, to apologize for or palliate the enormities of the slave trade. From the furious warriors who tore the captives from their homes, through the conductors of cafilas, the factors on the coast, and the crews of the ships which transported the negroes, to the purchasers in the colonies, all have sinned. We must, in compassion for human infirmity, hope that in many cases the sin was that of ignorance.

If we might state our own greatest objection to the slave trade, it is that it has peopled the fairest regions of the earth with a race inferior in mental capacities, and the power of self-government, and will probably shut out the more favoured people descended from the European stock, from many of the countries in which it has been planted. Hayti has already expelled its white inhabitants; the British West Indies will be abandoned to the negroes; in Brazil there seems to be little hope but that the blacks will either be intimately mingled with whites, to the confusion of the races, or will expel them; and we much fear, that if some means be not discovered to check the growing evil, there are parts of the United States in which the negroes must either attain the superiority or be exterminated.

The situation of our Southern States is indeed one of fearful interest. Foreign immigration is almost excluded by the prevalence of slavery, and the native white race increases in some parts with less rapidity than the black. It is in vain to reason on the subject, and show, as is unquestionably true on the average, that the comforts and condition of the slaves are superior in many respects to those of the agricultural labourers of Europe. Man will not willingly remain in bondage; and freedom in distress is preferred to slavery in plenty. A restless feeling has and will always exist among slaves, which can only be controlled by a knowledge of the impracticability of resistance. It cannot be denied that a great proportion of all the slaves would eagerly accept their freedom, and with it incur all the anxieties in respect to a subsistence which are the trouble of the free labouring class of other countries. The very improvidence which might prevent their obtaining a livelihood, would oppose their refusing the boon of freedom tendered. If to obtain freedom be rendered hopeless, it is to be expected that so soon as they feel they have the power, they will attempt to attain their liberty by force. To the fear of servile insurrection, is to be added the demoralization of a considerable part of the white population. If the well educated and intelligent southern gentleman has no superior in all that ennobles man, those who have less advantages of education, and are brought up among beings whom they may safely make the objects of their rage or of their lust, are wholly unfit to be members of a government constituted as

ours. Accustomed to no restraint, they give free reins to their passions, and thus become either the actors or the victims of such tragedies as those of Vicksburgh, or the hangmen and torturers who execute the decrees of Judge Lynch. It is indeed melancholy to reflect on the destiny reserved for the descendants of the proud and chivalric planters of the south, when the multiplication of inhabitants shall cut up property to such an extent as to narrow the means of subsistence. Manual labour will, as it is now, be eschewed, as fit only for slaves, and in each succeeding generation, the character of the race will fall from its former level. As yet, indeed, there remain large portions of unoccupied and fertile land, on which slaves with their owners may settle, and create wealth for the latter; but it is the very evil of slave cultivation, that the most productive soil is speedily exhausted, so that the lands now so abundant, must at no distant period lose their fertility, and cease to afford the means of support. The traveller in the older parts of the slave holding states, often passes for miles through *old fields*, originally of the most fertile soil, which in the course of imperfect cultivation, inseparable from agriculture conducted by slaves, have become almost valueless. These very fields, if in the hands of a yeomanry tilling their soil with their own hands, would still rank as they at first did, among the most fertile portions of the globe. If further illustration were wanting of the effect of slave cultivation on the value of the soil, we might refer to the division line between the states of Delaware and Maryland; a line which, although defined by no natural demarcation, is not, as might be supposed, wholly imaginary, but is actually visible to the eye in the contrast which the crops on its opposite sides present to each other.

The wealth of these districts therefore rapidly diminishes; the more enterprising of the white population remove to seek for virgin lands; and the slaves who are left are of little other value than as a breeding stock to supply the demands of the new states.

In addition to the cheerless prospect of depreciating property, many parts of the southern states are exposed to the continual apprehension of a servile war. The white inhabitants must feel as if they were residing on a volcano, whose fires have intermitted, but which may break out at any instant. Such panic fears are the only possible excuse for the lawless outrages which have been perpetrated upon persons only suspected of being missionaries of Abolition societies. Foreign war also becomes a matter of extreme dread, for in the temper which has been manifested by the only nations of Europe with whom collision can take place, it can hardly be doubted that to excite and support a servile war, will be one of their most approved modes of annoyance.

Such views of the present and prospective evils of slavery, have excited the attention of the patriots of the South; and, joined by

Northern men who have entered into their feelings, they have formed the scheme of colonizing emancipated slaves in the country whence their race was imported. The early proceedings of the association formed for this purpose, and its several auxiliaries, are before the public. It is sufficient here to state, that the colony founded under their auspices, has been successful beyond the most sanguine expectations of the friends of the scheme, and has met with fewer obstacles than any foreign colony whose history has reached us. It has neither made room for itself by the extirpation of the natives by arms, like the colonies of the Spaniards; encountered the fierce and vengeful opposition of a savage foe, like the pilgrim fathers of New England; suffered the miseries of famine, like the colonists of Virginia; nor had to encounter rival settlements, like the founders of Carolina and Georgia. If there be any analogous case, it is that of the settlement of Pennsylvania by Penn; and the auspices of Liberia are even better than his, for, the settlers, instead of seeing the native nations wither in their presence, have found them anxious to unite with them, to adopt their manners, and become converts to their religion. The slave trade, with all its attendant evils, which had defied the power of the navies of Europe, has yielded quietly to the influence of the colony, and has expired in every point reached by its outposts.

The latest intelligence from Liberia (at the time we write) is that laid before the Colonization Society in the city of New York, in May last, by a personal witness. We shall give it in the words of the report of their meeting.

"The audience was next addressed by the Rev. Mr. Seyes, who had been in Africa, as a missionary, and who had brought back with him to this country, one of the fruits of his missionary labours, in the person of a converted African Krooman.

"Mr. Seyes, after congratulating himself on the honour as well as pleasure he now enjoyed, went on to state, that he had been born and brought up in the midst of West India slavery, (the island of Trinidad,) having viewed the black man as made to be a mere instrument for the gratification of his white master; but having become the subject of converting grace, he had been taught a very different creed. After his conversion, he began to long for some plan by which the emancipation of the slaves from bondage might be happily accomplished; but could devise none, until about five years since, he had come to the United States, and learned for the first time, the objects and measures of the Colonization Society. Here he discovered the desideratum he had so long sought, and ever since had been a decided friend to the Society. With the fullest acquaintance with slavery in all its details, and in its worst form, for he had himself for years superintended a West India plantation, he was clear in the conviction that this Society was an instrument raised up by God himself to effect the best good of the coloured population, and to bless the continent of Africa, with the benefits of civilization and Christianity. He had been sent out by a branch of Christ's church, to teach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the Gentiles; and on his way, he had stopped at Liberia, which, like the land of Canaan, was a fertile and delightful land.

"Mr. S. then went into a description of the actual condition of the colony at Liberia. He had not received his information from disappointed and irritated men, who had been examined and re-examined, till they did not know what they said; but he had been on the spot, seen with his own eyes, and conversed with almost every individual in the colony; and the result was, a belief that nothing could shake,

that the colonization cause was the cause of God; and that, though it was opposed by some good men, they were in error and deceived. The colonists were contented and happy in proportion to their intelligence and industry. A few, and they were very few, were discontented; but these were persons of indolent habits, and not enough knowledge or understanding to appreciate what they enjoyed. This was owing to the want of previous culture. There were very few such people there; and they ought not to be palmed upon the American public, as true specimens of the feelings and views of the colonists at Liberia.

"Mr. Seyes gave a most decided testimony in favour of the exemplary moral character of the colonists. In the five months he had spent there, in constant intercourse with people of all classes, he had not seen one person in a state of intoxication, nor had he heard one profane word.

"He dwelt upon the value of the colony as the door to all missionary operations for the illumination of that vast but benighted continent: a nursery from which missionaries would be raised up to make the wilderness rejoice. He avowed his firm persuasion that the Colonization Society was the most genuine *Anti-slavery* Society in existence. Other societies expressed lively sympathy for the slave: but they seemed conversant chiefly with his bodily wants and sufferings: but this society made the best provision for the good of *the mind and soul* by removing the coloured man beyond the contaminating example of the white people, and placing him where every passing zephyr whispered in his ear, 'Thou art free.' Here he had every religious opportunity, and full liberty of conscience, in the midst of a moral community.

"Mr. S., while having charge of a plantation in Trinidad, had witnessed the arrival of successive proclamations under the authority of the British Parliament on the subject of relaxing the system of slavery; and he had had an opportunity of secretly overhearing a conversation between two slaves on the subject of the proclamation which had, according to the order of government, been publicly read to them, with the rest of the slaves on the plantation. It amounted to this:

"'I tell you, what all dis amount to: it is for make 'em free in de end: but Buddy, what dis here freedom after all? if could take 'em back to Africa, and let 'em live on dare own ground, would be somcting; but if dey take away care of white massa, and not leave poor niger foot a ground, nor any ting he call his own, what good do him, eh Buddy?'

"He had often thought of the remarks of these poor simple slaves. Neither he nor they had then heard of such a thing as the American Colonization Society.

"Mr. Seyes said, that the soil of Liberia contained a mine of exhaustless wealth to the colonists: it was well adapted to the culture of the Sugar Cane. He knew all about the culture of sugar, and he had examined the soil of Liberia: and this was his settled opinion. It wanted nothing but cultivation, and it would repay the labour of the agriculturist ten-fold. He here publicly declared it as his judgment, that if the society would raise and put into the hands of an agent the sum of $10,000, to be laid out in the culture of sugar, it would clear all expenses, and in five years would nett a profit of $100,000. He had gone carefully into the calculation, allowing largely for all expenses: and this was the result. This might sound chimerical: but he knew what he was saying. He had long been himself in the business, and in latitudes so near that of Monrovia, as to warrant him to speak with confidence. The lands of the colony contained the means not only of rendering the colonists easy in circumstances, but of enriching them with every thing that could render life desirable.

"Mr. S. then adverted to the happy agency of the colony in putting an end to the slave trade. Wherever the Society advanced its foot, the slaver fled before it. Wherever an American emigrant put up a house, the man-stealer fled and never returned. Thousands of slaves were formerly sold where the colony was now situated, but the trade had now disappeared.

"From a long and intimate acquaintance with slavery in all its departments, Mr. S. gave it as his advice, that the slave owner should be approached with *gentleness*, and treated with *candour* and *kindness*. He had no personal interest in the matter. He had devoted himself to the work of a missionary in Africa. He prayed that God's blessing might come *upon all* who were seeking to benefit the slave, and put an end to the abominations of the slave trade, however they might differ in their

views. He concluded by expressing bright anticipations of the future growth and prosperity, wealth and power of the now infant colony."

Such are the practical results of the Colonization scheme; and it might have reasonably been expected that it would receive the warm support of all the friends of humanity, and particularly of those, who in their zeal for the negro race, sometimes forget that the owners and holders of slaves have, as men, equal claims to sympathy, and, as descendants of a common race, the rights of consanguinity. So far from this being the case, a strenuous opposition has been excited against it. The Society, with its branches, has been denounced as a scheme cunningly devised for riveting the chains of the slaves, and it has been attacked for not accomplishing objects which have never entered into its views. Stimulated by the example of England, an outcry has been raised for immediate abolition, and furious attacks have been made upon the Colonization Society, coupled with addresses urging the sudden emancipation of all slaves, without remuneration to their owners, or provision for the support of the negroes themselves. This plan, which would reduce at once to poverty three millions of whites, and expose to misery and starvation two millions of blacks, is enforced by arguments, and assertions, and calumnious representations, which, if brought to the ears of the slaves, would incite them to open rebellion or secret murder. The nicest and most difficult question ever presented to legislative investigation, is to be solved by suddenly cutting the knot within whose folds the whole social system of sixteen states of the Union is wound, and which cannot be severed without throwing back society to its first elements. The Work of Mr. Jay is the most powerful which has appeared on this side of the question; and although much of its argument has been refuted, yet enough remains in its eloquence, to excite the feelings of all those who are in principle opposed to slavery, to make it likely to be impressive. It is therefore no small compliment to the reason of the inhabitants of the North, that so few of them have been seduced by the specious and ingenious statements of this work, and that the cause of immediate abolition has met with so few supporters.

The refutation of the arguments of the immediate-abolitionists, and a defence of the principles of the Colonization Societies, form the chief objects of the very able report presented to the Colonization Society of the city of New York, at its third annual meeting. We cannot better express our own opinions on the subject, than by the following extracts from this report.

"Much of the delay which has occurred in carrying these plans into execution, is doubtless to be ascribed to the persevering opposition which the efforts of this Board have encountered from certain persons in the northern and eastern states, who believe or pretend, that the system of colonization is fraught with evil and pernicious consequences to all the people of colour in the country, whether held in bondage or emancipated, and whether the latter are induced to emigrate to the land

from which they sprang, or prefer remaining in that of their involuntary adoption. In short that the colonization system 'tends to rivet the chains of the slave, and extends to Africa the vices, but not the benefits of civilization.' Upon these grounds or pretexts the persons in question both in their individual capacities, and collective organization under the name of 'Anti-Slavery' Societies, not only counteract the influence and traduce the principles of the American Colonization Society, and impugn the motives in which it originated, but actually if not wilfully, misrepresent its acts, policy and proceedings, as well as the sentiments and conduct of all who publicly support its objects, or advocate its cause. They indiscriminately condemn every measure that has ever been adopted or suggested in relation to the Colony of Liberia, defame the characters of those who from time to time have been engaged in its management and superintendence, exaggerate every error and misfortune which has occurred in its administration or government, and attempt to impeach the evidence they cannot refute, of its beneficial effects and prospective advantages —and all this avowedly, because they deem its prosperity and existence incompatible with their uncompromising and impracticable project for the immediate abolition of slavery in the south.

"From the characters and reputation of some of these individuals, both for integrity and understanding, it is impossible to doubt their sincerity; whilst from the language and conduct of the most forward of their associates, it is equally impossible to concede that these are regulated by the precepts of Christian charity, even admitting them to flow from the purest and most unquestionable motives. But whether deluded or designing, the ignorance or recklessness of these persons in regard to rights secured to the several states and their citizens, by the Constitution of the Union—their misconception or disregard of public sentiment, even at the south, with respect to slavery,—their misinformation or wanton misrepresentation of the actual condition and uniform treatment of the whole coloured population, without exception or discrimination—their crude and visionary notions in regard to the practicability, and their imperfect views of the actual progress of emancipation—the precipitate and hazardous measures which they urge to promote it, tending to postpone instead of accelerating its accomplishment—and their oversight or contempt of the insuperable local obstacles to the real improvement and social elevation of our free coloured population, are circumstances, which, in conjunction with the propagation of their doctrines by foreign emissaries—betray if not the foreign origin of their plan, its subservience at least to foreign interests and views."

"No member of this Society, or of this community, and comparatively few, it is believed, even amongst the enlightened slave-holders at the south, require to be 'convinced,' of the guilt of voluntarily reducing to bondage, or holding in perpetual servitude, a fellow creature. They deny, however, that it is a crime in them to retain in subjection to the laws, and to other imperious circumstances, those ignorant and helpless beings who have been cast upon their protection as well as thrown into their power, by no act of their own. The points really at issue then, arise upon the second of the propositions embodied in the Constitution of the immediate Abolitionists, taken in connexion with its express repugnancy to Colonization, or as it terms it '*expatriation*:' And these as they relate to two descriptions of persons, naturally resolve themselves into two questions, viz:—First, whether 'the safety and best interests' of those people of colour who have obtained their freedom, will be most certainly and effectually promoted by their continuance in this country, or by their voluntary emigration as colonists;—and secondly, whether the general emancipation of the slaves in the southern states will be more speedily effected by arguments addressed to their owners, by northern men, than by the inducements to manumission afforded by the plan of Colonization, in which the north and south are united, in offering the means of removing them when manumitted, to Africa.

"I. With respect to the first question, it will be perceived that as it is practical in its nature, it can only be determined by experiment; and in order to decide upon the comparative merits of the two systems, both having in view 'the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of our free coloured population,' and differing only with respect to the theatre of their operations, we must be enabled to look at their respective results. It will be perceived too, that even upon the point of difference, there is no necessary incompatibility or inconsistency in their co-existence. Both systems so far as free persons of colour are concerned, may be carried into full ope-

ration without the least interference with each other. The Colonization Society does not contemplate the removal to Africa of the whole mass of our free people of colour, but only of such of them as are willing and qualified to emigrate; and the success of their scheme depends mainly on the characters and qualifications of the emigrants. It is the interest therefore as well as the declared object of this Society, to promote the emigration of the most exemplary and intelligent individuals of the coloured race; and surely it may safely be left to the judgments of such persons to determine for themselves, whether a greater degree of comfort, welfare, respectability and happiness may be attained and enjoyed by them in this country, where they are surrounded by a more numerous population of a distinct race and different colour, by the great majority of whom they will, so long as slavery endures in any portion of the union, be regarded as an inferior *caste*, and excluded from all equality of social intercourse, even when admitted to an equal participation of political and civil privileges, than in the colony of Liberia, where no such distinctions, prejudice or degradation can exist, where they will be secure of perfect equality in the enjoyment of all social advantages as well as of political freedom, civil liberty, and religious privileges; and where every individual amongst them may prove an effectual missionary for the conversion and civilization of the kindred inhabitants of that vast continent from whose shores their own ancestors were torn by fraud or violence.

"So far indeed as the experiment has proceeded, all these results have been already shown to be attainable; and many of them have actually been realized, notwithstanding the mistakes and disappointments which, though to a less extent than in any similar instance, have attended this first enterprise of the American Colonization Society. And if all the benevolent expectations of its founders were not immediately accomplished, should they at once have abandoned their purposes in despair, instead of applying proper remedies and correctives to past errors, and effectual checks and preventives to future mistakes, misfortunes and abuses? Fortunately for humanity, fortunately for the subjects of their beneficence, and happily for Africa, such was not their decision; and the prosperity and increase of the original colony of Monrovia, and its dependencies, the reforms that have been introduced in its administration and government, as well as the multiplication of new settlements within the limits of Liberia, upon improved principles, under better regulations and more favourable auspices, have already been the rewards of their perseverance."

"II. The question whether the general emancipation of the slaves would be more speedily effected by arguments addressed to their owners, than in consequence of the means afforded by the Colonization Society of removing them to Africa, and establishing them there, in organized communities, is also, as to the alternative proposed by this Society, practical in its nature. And if upon this point there appear any collision or repugnancy between the respective objects of the Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies, it can only arise from the implied denunciation and declaration of hostility against the latter, contained in the Constitution of the former; and from the positive tendency and effect of the measures it proposes, to defeat not only the design of Colonization, but even its own purpose of immediate abolition. Already have the jealousies of the south been rekindled by what they consider a presumptuous and wanton interference with their political rights and personal security, on the part of officious strangers ignorant alike of their position and of their opinions. The avowal of immediate abolition as their object was indeed calculated to excite apprehension, as it could scarcely have been possible that such a purpose could be hoped, even by those who avowed it, to be suddenly accomplished by means of arguments and persuasion addressed to the owners of slaves; but rather through such as might be addressed to the slaves themselves; and accordingly the proceedings and publications of modern abolitionists, instead of producing even gradual conviction upon the minds of the former, of the sinfulness of slavery, or leading to improvement in the condition and treatment of the latter, have but provoked resentment and excited alarm in the bosoms of the masters, and occasioned severer restraints upon the physical comforts and moral and religious instruction of the slaves.

"But this is not all; the doctrines avowed by the immediate abolitionists, although countenanced only by an insignificant portion of our northern population, have revived in the south a universal distrust of the professions, sentiments, acts and designs of all northern men and northern institutions, in reference to slavery; and

have consequently embarrassed and impeded the operations of the Colonization Society, not indeed in the mode or on the grounds intended by the abolitionists, but in a manner and for reasons directly opposite in their nature, but to an extent and degree, which would nevertheless afford to these enemies of colonization ample room for exaltation, were it not that this very circumstance disproves the design imputed to the south, of encouraging colonization, from its tendency to perpetuate slavery.

"Were it not indeed for these untoward consequences of the Anti-Slavery doctrines and proceedings, the friends of colonization might well be content to yield the field of argument and speculation to their adversaries; and silently and resolutely pursue that course of practical measures which obviate at least one formidable impediment to emancipation, by offering to the conscientious possessor of a slave the opportunity of divesting himself of what is imposed on him as property, frequently by the operation of law alone. It offers to him the means not only of relieving his conscience of a burden, but of removing a weight or an opprobrium cast upon him, perhaps as an inheritance, and which he willingly sustains no longer than the law allows, and humanity permits;—no longer than until he can bestow freedom without rendering it a greater curse than slavery itself. The institution of the Parent Society by the co-operation of citizens from all parts of the Union, of whom, many were distinguished for patriotism and intelligence, for prudence and discretion, as well as philanthropy and piety, was hailed as a discovery of the happy means of uniting the north and south in one grand enterprise of national benevolence.

"The direct object proposed, was the colonization of free people of colour, upon the shores of Africa, with their own voluntary consent. And although the motives of different individuals for concurring in the scheme, were doubtless various, yet the general views of a large majority of its founders, were not only directed to the improvement of the moral and physical condition of the free people of colour, and embraced through their instrumentality, the regeneration of Africa, but comprehended the gradual extinction of slavery as a necessary result. The founders of the American Colonization Society were convinced that without the consent and co-operation of the south, not a step could be taken which led to abolition; and that without the aid and contributions of the north, no funds or resources could be provided either for the removal of such persons of colour as might be disposed to emigrate, or to give effect to the intentions of those proprietors who might be disposed to manumit their slaves: whilst of those founders of the institution who might have originally contemplated the abolition of slavery as the eventual consequence of the colonization system, none probably were of opinion that even if that end could be effected by any method which did not like this, insure the preparation necessary for the enjoyment of freedom, it would prove neither advantageous to the slave, safe for his master, nor consistent with the spirit of a rational and discreet humanity.

"They well knew that amongst the southern proprietors, there were many individuals who from principle or policy were anxious for the entire abolition of slavery, but were prevented from manumitting their own slaves, not merely by the laws prohibiting it except on condition of removal, but also by those higher scruples and considerations of duty which forbade the abandonment to their own discretion and control, of those who from ignorance, infirmity or vice needed more powerful restraints and protection than any which the laws afford them. Proprietors of this description would, it was supposed, be encouraged by the Colonization system, in their benevolent purposes of manumitting such of their slaves as were capable of using their freedom to their own benefit; and of preparing for freedom such of them as might otherwise abuse it to their own injury, as well as to the detriment of society,—by giving them such instruction as would fit them for its enjoyment: whilst those who regard their slaves merely as property, would be led by the influence of example, and from a perception of the enhanced profits to be derived from free labour, to adopt from motives of policy and interest, the same measure which others had pursued from principle and feeling.

"That these hopes and expectations of the founders of the American Colonization Society were not fallacious, is evident from the number and character of the slaves who have already been manumitted, and of those who await emancipation, solely from the operation of the Colonization system. It is also manifest from the rapid increase of free labour in some of the southern and western states; and it is proved beyond a doubt by the actual adoption of a law for the gradual abolition of slavery

founded upon African Colonization, in one of those states, and the prospect of that example being speedily followed by the legislatures of at least two of the others. Another conclusive proof of the direct tendency of Colonization to extinguish slavery, arises from the fact of the larger portion of the emigrants to Liberia having been manumitted that they might become colonists; and if any further testimony be required, it is afforded by the offer of this Society to receive, and in the circumstance of its having actually received and appropriated to that object, large donations of money, upon the express condition of applying them exclusively to the removal of manumitted slaves."

The course of the immediate abolitionists is the more to be deprecated, because at the very moment in which they began their career, an experiment was commenced that would be decisive of the question so soon as its results could be known. It is almost to be suspected, that supposing that this experiment would totally fail, they have sought the short opportunity for agitation which the uncertainty in which its result is yet involved permitted. But it is useless to speculate on such a subject; it does not require the powers of a prophet to predict, that except in the few colonies where a large nucleus, composed of free persons of colour trained gradually to habits of industry, already existed, as in Trinidad and Antigua, the British Act of Emancipation will be a miserable failure, entailing distress upon the blacks, and ruin or banishment upon the whites, if the armed force of the mother country be sufficient to prevent a war of extermination.

That such must be the result, we ask no better evidence than is contained in the work of Madden, written with far different views. In fact the serious parts of his publication seem to be principally intended to prepare the public mind for the failure of the scheme, and to throw the blame of such failure, not upon the hasty and unreflecting manner in which it was forced through, but upon the emancipation having been effected through the medium of an apprenticeship instead of having been immediate and unconditional. If we, however, dissent from his reasonings, we see no reason to doubt his facts, and we conceive that his work may be studied with great advantage by the citizens of the slave holding states, as exhibiting the evils which necessarily flow from slavery where the whole labour is abandoned by freemen.

His description of Kingston is not without an approach to a parallel in some parts of the South, where slave labour is beginning to become unprofitable.

"Like Stamboul, when the traveller lands there, the glory of the prospect is soon forgotten; the distant beauty of the varied buildings vanishes before the sight of streets without a plan, houses without the semblance of architecture, lanes and alleys without cleanliness or convenience, and the principal thoroughfares ploughed up into water courses, and the foundations of houses literally undermined, or the level of the streets on which they are situated lowered from two to four feet beneath the foundation. The sand which the torrents carry down and deposite in the streets, is occasionally shifted when the route is very much cut up by the heavy rains; and this is the only reparation which streets or roads undergo in Jamaica."

Barbadoes is the oldest of the British Colonies; the whole sur-

face of the island has long since been brought into cultivation; and it therefore presents a fair view of what may probably be anticipated as the result of the continuation of slave labour in a country where no new lands remain to be brought into cultivation. The population of this island was, in 1670, 50,000 whites, and 100,000 slaves; in 1831, the whites had dwindled to 18,000, and the slaves still remained 81,000. The degradation of the former caste in point of character, is even greater than their loss of numbers.

The exports of Grenada amounted, in 1776, to £600,000 sterling; in 1831 they had decreased to £331,000 sterling. The slave population at the first epoch was only 18,000, at the last it had increased to 24,000; while the whites had fallen in numbers from 1300 to 800. The slaves of Jamaica had increased, between 1805 and 1834, from 280,000 to 330,000, and the value of the exports had in the mean time diminished.

"There is no lack of white inhabitants in Barbadoes of the labouring classes—I beg their pardon, of the poorer classes, for labour is a disgrace to a white man in slave countries, which the poorest wretch is ashamed to submit to. Lest you should consider me as speaking too disparagingly of this class of persons, I beg to give you their character from the works of two West Indian authors very favourable to the whites: 'Of all classes,' says the author of 'Four Years in the West Indies,' 'the poor whites are the most degraded and the lowest. They subsist too often, to their shame be it spoken, on the kindness and charity of slaves. I have never seen a more dirty, ill looking, and unhappy race; the men lazy, the women disgusting, the children neglected.'

"Now for him of the 'Six Months in the West Indies'—'The militia is principally composed of these persons; the greatest part of them live in a state of complete idleness, and are usually ignorant, and debauched to the last degree.'"

We will venture to ask if some traces of such a race have not begun to make their appearance in some parts of the southern states? We have ourselves seen one specimen, who in respect to idleness answered the description, and who had returned in disgust from the state of Ohio, because he there saw white men working.

It is now the fashion in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain, to cry out against the United States for continuing the practice of slavery. This comes with a bad grace from a country which has been the most active in the slave trade, and whose traders were guilty of greater outrages on the coast of Africa than those of all other nations put together. It is still more inconsistent when it is considered that slavery was forced upon the British Colonies by the mother country, in spite of the most strenuous exertions of their legislators. How early Virginia remonstrated is well known. Madden says:

"The continuance of the slave trade was first objected to by South Carolina: The Jamaica House of Assembly in 1774 passed two bills to restrain the traffic in negroes, which were rejected by the home government, not only because the colony was arrogating to itself a right to interfere with the commerce of the mother country, as some have stated, but on the broad ground expressed by the minister, Lord

Dartmouth, 'that he never would allow the colonies to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation.' "

The dangers which attend slave holding may be understood from the following list of disturbances in the island of Jamaica alone:

"1678. Rebellion, caused by martial law.
"1684. Rebellion, first serious one.
"1691. Rebellion, many whites murdered.
"1702. Rebellion, eastern districts.
"1717. Rebellion, repeated attempts, causing great alarm.
"1722. Rebellion, Musquito Indians called in to quell it.
"1734. Rebellion, the negro town Nanny taken.
"1736. Rebellion, under Cudjoe.
"1739. Rebellion, under Quaco, in Trelawney.
"1740. Rebellion, speedily subdued.
"1745. Conspiracy to assassinate the whites.
"1758. Rebellion in Trelawney.
"1760. Rebellion, under Tackay; 60 whites, 400 negroes killed.
"1765. Rebellion; Coromantees the insurgents.
"1766. Rebellion in Westmoreland.
"1769. Conspiracy discovered in Kingston.
"1771. Conspiracy; assembly of 300 surprised by the militia.
"1777. Rebellion, followed by 30 executions.
"1782. Rebellion; St. Mary's, under Three-fingered Jack.
"1795. Rebellion; Trelawney maroons.
"1796. Rebellion; Maroon war, 600 transported.
"1798. Rebellion, under Cuffee; great destruction of rebels.
"1803. Conspiracy to murder the whites discovered.
"1807. Conspiracy of a very serious character.
"1807. Mutiny of the black troops.
"1809. Conspiracy against the whites in Kingston.
"1824. Insurrection; Portland, St. George's, St. Mary's.
"1832. Rebellion; 800 killed in the field; 500 executed."

These rebellions and disturbances might be supposed to have been the result of cruelty on the part of the owners of plantations, and misery in the condition of the slaves. So far from this inference being true, we have the authority of Madden that the condition of the slaves on prosperous plantations, worked under the inspection of their owners, is comfortable in a high degree.

"It is not only on these occasions the negroes are jealous of white persons visiting their villages—I will not say their houses, for they take good care to give no white man admittance if they can possibly help it—but at all times. In the first place, they usually bury their huts in the centre of a thick grove of fruit trees, orange, mango, star-apple, bread, nut, and palm trees, which totally secludes them from observation, and likewise shelters their slightly covered huts from the broiling sun. The situation of these villages is generally made choice of on account of its proximity to some stream or river, on the slope of a hill, or in some unfrequented valley—and generally, like the convents in Italy, on the best land in the neighbourhood. It is impossible to conceive any thing more picturesque than many of these villages in the neighbourhood of Cherry Garden, Short Wood, and Norbrook, in the upper part of Liguanea, where I reside. It was some months before I succeeded in getting a view of the interior of any of their dwellings. In fact, with all my desire to make myself acquainted with their domestic manners, and in-door usages, I confess I know less about them, than I do of those of people in countries where the obstacles to information are supposed to be infinitely greater. However, the houses I have visited are by no means incommodious, uncleanly, or ill furnished. In some

I have seen mahogany four-post bedsteads, mahogany chests of drawers, a little display of glassware on a sideboard, chairs and tables, and various little luxuries, which most assuredly are not to be found in an Irish cabin, an Arab fellah's hut, or even in the cottage of an English peasant. In a word, on a prosperous plantation, it is not to be denied that a negro slave is better lodged, better fed, and, considering the climate, I would say better clad than an English peasant now-a-days."

There can be no doubt, however, that in the power of corporeal punishment, not only held by the owners, but delegated to attorneys and overseers, a source of irritation must have continually existed, increased by the necessity of hiding and stifling its expression. Still the great source of the servile revolts is to be found in the restless character of the human race, and the natural discontent which exists in almost all men with the lot assigned by Providence. Thus the slave covets the ease and luxury of his master; the subject of a despotic government envies those of more free countries, and strives to shake off his chains; in countries where difference in rank exists, the lower classes hate the higher; where there is a difference of wealth the poor sigh for agrarian laws; and in our northern states, where slavery has ceased, where the mass of the people are sovereign, where there exists no difference of rank, and where the continual division of property among all the children of a common parent, acts as an agrarian law, the same feeling stimulates to a commercial activity and enterprise unequalled in other countries. It is in vain to show to the slave that his condition is in truth better than that of the free labourer of other climes; he will contrast his own condition with his idea of his owner's freedom from labour, and however strong may be the personal attachment he may have towards his own master, he is not to be trusted, and will, whenever the chance presents itself, join in rebellion. One only method consistent with the nature of man exists, by which the risk of such insurrections may be avoided; and this consists in depriving slavery of its hopeless character, giving to every slave a prospect of freedom by a course less dangerous than that of obtaining it by force. Such is the principle of the Spanish colonial law, and the practice under it has been as successful as its plan is wise. On the same plantation in Cuba, and engaged in the same labours, may be seen the free, the absolute slave, and those who owe their masters service only for one or more days in each week; and where industry opens the road to freedom, revolt is not thought of. It is this restless feeling on the part of all slaves, and consequent excitement on the part of their owners, that renders the action of the abolition societies so obnoxious. It is not necessary to instil a desire of freedom into slaves; they all possess it; and it is only neutralized by the fear of want; the hope of acquiring freedom by force is only repressed by the fear of the arms of the white population. In such a state of things, to preach that slavery is in itself unjust, and the holding of slaves criminal, is like throwing combustible

matter upon already ignited fuel. The slave will be encouraged to obstinacy, idleness, and insubordination, which the owner can find no means of repressing but terror. So long as property in slaves is acknowledged by law in a single state of the Union, the attempt to unsettle the basis on which that property rests is equally criminal with one which would repudiate the titles on which land is held, or personal property possessed; and although the criminal may launch his poisoned darts from a distance, he is not on that account to hope for impunity, for a course likely to cause civil war or insurrection is as guilty as that which would call in a foreign enemy. Even if as yet undefined by law, it is an offence against the general government, which might with consistency class it with the crime of treason; for all governments necessarily possess the power of punishing those who attempt their destruction, and there is no mode so sure of destroying ours as by exciting the inhabitants of one portion of the Union against the other, or by producing a civil war among the residents of a single portion. To both of these results, the efforts of the Abolitionists, however they may veil their consequences, even from themselves, are directed.

The feeling of the majority in the northern, middle, and eastern states, is so decided on this subject, that our southern friends may rest satisfied that legal and constitutional means will be found of repressing the evil of which they so justly complain, provided they leave the matter to the good sense and kindly feeling of the North. There is but one thing which can prevent this, namely, the bravadoes, threats, and foolish vapouring in which some southern men have indulged themselves, and still continue to indulge. Under the just and natural excitement which has been created to the south, a little anger is perhaps becoming, but they must learn to direct it against the individuals who have done the injury, and not against a whole section of the Union, the greater part of whose inhabitants, if they deprecate the practice of slave holding as a general proposition, know too well the state of the South to wish for sudden emancipation; who are besides satisfied, that by the articles of Union it is no concern of theirs, and that their interference in any shape or way is unwarrantable. In addition, there are many who, by ocular inspection, or good evidence, are assured that the condition of the slaves would be much deteriorated by granting them their freedom without long preparation, while any sudden action would condemn the whole of the Southern States to sterility, poverty, and confusion. There are also some who are not yet convinced that the holding of slaves is any offence against either religion or morality, and therefore feel and sympathize in every respect with the people of the South. If, however, the threats of disunion, of commercial non-intercourse, of demanding citizens to be surrendered for trial, be persisted in, after time for

cool and serious deliberation has been allowed, it is then to be feared that a spirit will be excited in the North, which may concur in the desire of disunion, and which may, by the artful action of foreign emissaries, be fanned into a flame. Should this happen, which may God avert! the Southern States will be the greatest sufferers in the common disaster. Giving up their hold on the affections of their northern friends, they cannot, in the present universal state of public feeling, look for allies or friends in any other quarter. Happy as it might make the conservatives of Europe, to see America dismembered, no government would dare to support their cause; and they may be assured, that both England and France would make the cessation of slavery a condition of recognising them as a nation.

So far, then, from exciting and increasing, by violent expressions, the feeling which has been awakened in a few clamorous partisans of abolition, and giving them arms to be used in support of their cause, the Southern States owe to all who have espoused their cause in the North, and who very far outnumber those of other opinions, such acts on their part as will convince the world that slaves are held by them in obedience to imperative circumstances, and not because they wish to maintain slavery as an abstract right. A single act on their part would be sufficient for this purpose, and this would be the prevention of the slave trade now carried on in the District of Columbia. As to slavery itself within that district, no action is necessary, unless to remove any restriction which may exist upon voluntary emancipations; but there are few northern men who visit Washington, who can return without having witnessed scenes repugnant to their feelings, carried on under the protection and authority of a government of which their homes are an integral part, and for whose acts they feel themselves responsible. Let the South come forward and grant this one boon to the North in a frank and manly manner, and they may be assured that they will not have to complain of any injustice from the States which do not hold slaves. All other matters are wholly within the jurisdiction of the Southern States. It may no doubt be well for them to reflect that slavery is in itself a positive calamity; that culture by slaves is unquestionably more costly than by free labour; that in many districts slaves increase more rapidly in numbers than the whites, and thus the risk of insurrection annually increases, while free blacks are stationary, or even decrease in numbers. All these points, as well as the question viewed in its religious and moral bearings, are within the reach of the inhabitants of the Southern States, and to them should be left the decision.

ART. II.—*Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensées et Paysages, pendant un Voyage en Orient.* (1832—1833.) *Ou Notes d'un Voyageur.* Par M. ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE. 2 vols. Bruxelles: 1835.

THE eagerness with which these volumes have been read, is a testimony of the popularity of their author as a writer, not only in his own land, but wherever his poetical fame has extended. In this country, his name is widely known as that of the greatest living poet of France; but while his name is familiar to many, few are intimately acquainted with his works. His stirring Lyrics, and beautiful Hymns and Meditations, where the most exquisite poetry is refined and exalted by the fervent spirit of piety, have been the subject of our notice in a preceding number; and we now purpose to examine a later production, in which we are introduced to a closer knowledge of the mind and heart of the poet, who, in whatever character or circumstances he appears, possesses the power to interest and delight. With a distrust of his own powers of description and narrative, and a high appreciation of the labours of those who have gone before him, in the delineation of the scenery, manners, and curiosities of the East, M. de Lamartine disclaims for his work the title of a history, or even of "travels;" it is, he says, merely a collection of notes and sketches, made without view to publication; written "sometimes during the repose of noon, under the shade of a palm-tree, or beneath the ruins of some monument in the desert; oftener at evening, in our tent battered by the wind or rain, by the light of a pine torch:—at one time in the cell of a Maronite convent of Lebanon; at another, amid the rollings of an Arab bark, or upon the deck of a vessel, in the midst of the cries of sailors, the neighing of horses, and the interruptions and distractions of all kinds attendant upon a journey either by sea or land."

Notwithstanding these impediments to success, the effect of the inconveniences of which our author complains is not perceptible to his readers; his "fugitive and superficial impressions" have proved worthy of being recorded; and we have every reason to congratulate ourselves and the public, that the circumstances to which he alludes in his Preface, have induced him to give his journal to the world;—while we venture to predict for it the eventual success which his melancholy, or modesty, leads him to doubt.

Besides the expectation of superior elegance of style and beauty of description, justified by the previously high character of the writer, M. de Lamartine's work has another source of interest, beyond that which usually belongs to books of travels, or sketches of scenery. He has surveyed the scenes he depicts with the eye of a poet, a philosopher, and a Christian; their impression upon his fancy, and the results of reflection awakened by them, are

conveyed to us in their first warmth and vigour; hallowed by the deep devotion with which he refers to the great events whose occurrence has made the East a land of wonders. His descriptions are pictures, brilliant in their colouring, and perfect in their outline, whose rich and glowing tints are softened and harmonized by the mellow and delicious sunshine of religious feeling. It is true, they transcend life; his ardent imagination invests whatever he looks upon with hues which may be deemed exaggerated; but this is a necessary consequence of his temperament; he could not think and write like ordinary men; and the peculiar charm of his language would be lost, should we attempt to set bounds to his expression of sentiment or emotion.

The attention of the poet in early childhood, was fixed upon the Holy Land, and an ardent desire awakened to visit those countries that were the scenes of the scriptural stories which had so powerfully excited his youthful fancy. Notwithstanding his delight at the near prospect of realizing the dreams of infancy, he seems to have quitted the shores of his native country with something like sorrow; perhaps with the secret presentiment of the overwhelming calamity that was to come upon him before his return—the death of an only and beloved child. His stanzas in farewell to the Academy of Marseilles, breathe a pensiveness that is natural; they present, doubtless, a just picture of his emotions on the eve of embarkation. We give our own translation.

ADIEU.

If to the wafture of the rapid sail
I yield what Heaven has given of peace and bliss;
Entrust to fickle waves—the treacherous gale—
My wife—my child—my heart's sole happiness;
If to the sea, the sands, the clouds I cast
Tumultuous hopes, and feelings strong as death;
No pledge of sweet return, save in the mast
Bent by the south wind's breath;—

It is not that the ardent thirst of gold
Burns in a heart which nobler wealth can claim;
That glory's torch lights up the wish untold
Of—yet more vain and perishing—a name!
It is not that Ausonian Dante's fate
Drives me to eat the exile's bitter bread;
That faction's storm hath swept all desolate
My halls beneath my tread;—

No! I leave, weeping, in the valley's side,
Trees charged with shade—fair fields—a blessed home;
With warm remembrances yet peopled wide,
Which kind looks greet, far as the horizon's dome!
There 'mid the foliage peaceful dwellings shine,
Ne'er by the noisy voice of faction stirred;
Where, for the storm of civil strife malign,
Blessing and joy are heard.

An aged sire, round whom our image clings,
There starts to hear the wind 'mid turrets dark;
And prays the Power that binds the tempest's wings
The breeze to measure round the adventurous bark.
Labourer and servant on the wonted heath
Our absent footsteps trace, with fond acclaim;
There, in the sun, my dogs the casement 'neath
Howl at their master's name.

There dwell my sisters, of fair childhood part,
Branches that with the same trunk rocks the wind;
There friends whose heart's the life-blood of my heart,
Who read my thoughts within a kindred mind:—
There unknown spirits, where the muses hear,
Mysterious friends who list my harp's faint sighs:—
There viewless echoes, spreading far and near,
Send back their melodies!

But the soul's instinct nature cannot know—
'Tis like the instinct of the birds of flight,
Speeding their course where other waters flow,
To cross the abyss, and brave old ocean's might.
What seek they from the climes of burning Ind,
Have they not moss and nests our roofs among?
Herbs gilded by our sun, as bright, as kind,
Corn for their cherished young?

I have like them the bread each day requires;
Like them the hill, the foamy stream, the plain:
Not loftier than theirs my soul's desires,—
Like them I go—like them return again.
Like them, a power impels me to the east,
I have not yet touched with the hand and eye
Man's primal empire—region of the blest—
Land of Heaven's mystery!

I have not sailed upon the sea of sand,
To the dull rocking of the desert-bark;
I have not quenched my thirst in waters bland
At eve from Hebron's wells 'neath palm-trees dark;
Nor yet within the tents my mantle spread,
Lain in the dust where God did Job restore,
Nor, lulled by fluttering canvass round my head,
Dreamed Jacob's visions o'er!

Of earth's seven pages one remains to know;
How the stars quiver in that conscious sky,
How heaves the breast its nothingness below,
How pants the spirit when a God is nigh!
How, in the desert, at some column's base,
When on the bard the shades of years return,
Whispers each weed, how speaks each solemn trace,
Or passing breezes mourn.

I have not heard among the cedars old
The cry of nations from their depths resound;
Nor seen from Lebanon his eagles bold
Stoop on Tyre's palaces decaying round.
I have not rested on the sacred ground
Where waste Palmyra, save its echo vain,
Hath nought; nor with lone footstep waked a sound
In Memnon's mute domain.

I have not heard, from his abysses deep
Lamenting Jordan lift his billows hoarse,
That with sublimer wo and plaint do weep
Than that wherewith the Prophet swelled their course.
I have not listened to the spirit's lyre
Swept in the cave where felt the minstrel king
At depth of night a seraph hand of fire
Strike music from the string!

I have not wandered o'er the fields divine
Where Jesus wept beside the olive tree;
Nor sought the root his holy tears to find,
Whence jealous angels could not wipe them free;
I have not watched throughout the night sublime
Where, while in His deep anguish none took part,
The echo of our sorrow and our crime
Struck on a single heart!

I have not bent my brow the sand upon
With the departing Saviour's feet impressed;
Nor with my pilgrim kisses worn the stone
Where, tear-embalmed, Him Mary laid to rest;—
Nor smote my breast with awe and grief profound
Where, victor o'er the future by his death,
His arms he spread, to embrace our world around,
And bowed to bless it with his failing breath!

Lo! wherefore I depart—and sport away
A life's frail remnant, useless here below!
What reck we on what shores the bleak winds sway
The sterile tree which shade no more doth know?
The crowd contemn! The folly is their own!
Not every where our bread we all receive:
The wandering poet's bread is thought alone,
On God's vast works we live!

Adieu, then, aged sire and sisters dear;
Adieu, fair home with walnut shade o'ergrown;
Fleet coursers idle in my meadows near,
My faithful dog, ah! at my hearth alone!
Your image tracks me like the shadow stern
Of past delight that holds my lingering feet;—
Oh, fairer, sunnier, may the hour return
When we again shall meet!

Thou, land, given up to wider waves and air
Than the frail ship where floats my destiny,
Who the world's fortune in thyself dost bear,
Adieu! thy strand escapes my doubting eye!
Oh! may a ray from heaven cleave once more
The cloud o'er throne and fane, and people free,
And light more pure the beacon on thy shore
Of immortality!

And thou, Marseilles, fixed at the gates of France,
As welcoming to thy waves her honoured guest,
Whose port 'neath walls that greet hope's brightest glance,
To the bark's wing opens an eagle's nest:—
Where my hand presses many a cherished hand,
Where my slow footstep clings with ardent yearning,
Take my last prayers departing from this land,
My first salute returning!

Our traveller's sketch of the first days of his voyage is pleasing and picturesque, though inevitably monotonous in some degree, as his progress was slow. He has mingled much of his own thoughts and feelings with his descriptions of natural scenery; and those who are in no haste to arrive at the end of the journey, but are willing to await the leisure of wind and wave, and enjoy with the poet the delicious sea-breeze, the calm beauty of the sun-bright waters, and the sleepy haze through which the distant land is seen, will find their route delightfully beguiled. His picture of the every day life on board ship and the prayers at sunset is beautiful; his imagination is strongly affected by the solemnity of those duties performed under such circumstances.

"If prayer were not born with man, it is here it would have been invented, by beings alone with their thoughts and their weaknesses in the presence of the abyss of heaven where sight is swallowed up—of the abyss of ocean from which a frail plank divides them; here, surrounded by the sea, whispering, muttering, howling, roaring, like the mingled voices of a thousand wild beasts; by the blasts of wind that make the cordage yield to their sharp onset; by the coming night which magnifies all dangers and multiplies all terrors. But prayer was never invented; it was born with the first breath, with the first joy, with the first pang of the human heart; or rather, man was born for prayer;—to glorify or supplicate his God, is his only business on earth. All the rest perishes before or with him; but the voice of praise, of admiration and of love, lifted to his Creator, perishes not; it reascends, it resounds from age to age in the ear of the Almighty, like the echo of his own voice, like the image of his own magnificence."—p. 58.

He passes the coast of Africa, and remembers the fate of Saint Louis, who expired near the Cape of Carthage, as well as the heroes of elder time; over whom however he lingers not, but, like Dante, "looks and passes on." He touched at Malta, and lingers to describe its scenery and inhabitants. Detained some time by the indisposition of his daughter, the travellers at length set sail under the escort of an English man of war for the sake of protection against the pirates infesting those seas. This large ship riding in their van, with its "cloud of sails" rising in an "aërial pyramid," and floating majestically along the blue ether, a giant in the abyss of air, was an object for the gorgeous imagination of a poet, especially when the feeling of security was increased by its presence. Some verses addressed by Lamartine to his brother-in-law, are here introduced. The fanciful manner in which he alludes to the poetical genius of his relative, is a specimen of his *concetti*. The poetry of M. de Montherot, it seems, was not swept from the lyre; it was born of a glance, a smile!

——"Which, from day to day thy careless hand
Along thy way to spirit breezes flung,
Even as the pearly tears that morning weeps,
Colouring the fields at dawn, which gathered all,
Would flow a river—but which noiseless sink
Upon the traveller's path; while drinks the sun
The humble droplets, in rich perfume breathing
The air that robs their moisture."

His description of dawn near Athens is also worthy of notice:

"From high Cythæron break the beams of day,
Along a hundred barren summits play;
From flank to base, from meadows to the deep,
Untouched by hues, with unreflected sweep!
No cities golden in the distance blaze,
No wavy smoke in morning's silver rays;
No hamlets pendant on the mountains' steep!
Upon this land of tombs the sunbeam's track
Falls dead to earth that gives no lustre back;
Only the loftiest ray of feeble dawn
Before me gilds the ruined Parthenon;
On battlements decayed then sadly glides,
Where, pipe in hand, the sleeping soldier bides;
Then, mourning where the broken cornice lies,
Upon the front of Theseus' temple dies!"

On the 6th of August, at noon, they perceived under the white clouds of the horizon the unequal summits of the mountains of Greece, and here commences the land of enchantment for M. de Lamartine. Indeed we may say that every land is such to him; he invests all external objects with the bright colouring of his own fancy. Nothing is commonplace to him; he sees beauty and magnificence in all around him. We are somewhat surprised at the profusion with which he lavishes his rich and high-wrought tints upon objects comparatively insignificant; but we are persuaded that this is a necessity of nature with the poet, who breathes continually an atmosphere of excitement. Of Athens he fancifully says—"Athens is an altar to the Gods—the glorious pedestal on which past ages have placed the statue of humanity!" and elsewhere speaks of it as a "mystical land which seems stricken by some prophetic, divine malediction; the Jerusalem of nations, no longer possessing even a tomb!" If, as Lamartine somewhere remarks, the perfectly beautiful exists alone in the ideal, and illusion in almost every thing is an element of loveliness, he has assuredly taken pains to heighten the perception of what is admirable by preserving unbroken this pleasing charm. His admiration of the monuments of art in Greece is vividly expressed.

"At the Parthenon there remain but two figures, a Mars and a Venus, half crushed by two enormous fragments of the cornice which have fallen upon their heads; but these two figures are worth to me more than all I have beheld in sculpture in my life;—they live as never canvass or marble lived before. We suffer from the weight that oppresses them; we long to relieve those limbs that seem to bend and stiffen beneath the mass;—we feel that the chisel of Phidias trembled and burned in his hands when these sublime figures were born beneath his touch. We feel—and it is not an illusion; it is truth—sorrowful truth! that the artist infused his own individuality, his own blood, into the forms, the veins of the beings he created; and that it is still a portion of his life we behold panting in those living forms —those members ready to move—in those lips ready to speak."

He seems to have been especially fascinated with the extraordinary beauty of the oriental dames; and no longer wondered at the skill of the ancient sculptors, who had such models before

"At the approach of night, he was conducted with a procession to the house of his father. It was not until eight days had elapsed that it was permitted to the new made bridegroom to fetch home his wife.

"The women, who filled the house of Habib with their cries, also came out a little later. Nothing could be more picturesque than this immense procession of females and young girls, in costumes the most strange and splendid, covered with sparkling stones, surrounded each with their followers and slaves, bearing torches of resinous pine to illuminate their march; thus prolonging the luminous avenue across the straight paths shaded by orange trees and aloes, on the sea-beach—sometimes in prolonged silence, sometimes uttering cries that resounded over the waves, or under the great plane trees at the foot of Lebanon. We re-entered our mansion in the neighbourhood of the country house of Habib; where we still heard the talking of the females of the family; we mounted on our terraces, and followed long with our eyes the wandering fires that moved on all sides, across the trees in the plain." pp. 220—223.

The visit of our author to the famous Lady Hester Stanhope, has been so extensively copied in the newspapers in this country, that it would be a work of supererogation for us to extract any portion of it. We proceed to the highly interesting and characteristic account of his visit to the Emir Beschir. Our traveller, with his companion, passed on horseback the profound valley of the torrent Belus; and overleaping the stream, diminished by the summer's heat, began to ascend the high mountains of Lebanon, on their road to the palace of this prince, so powerful among the tribes of that country. After two hours' march, they came to a valley deeper and more picturesque than any they had yet traversed. To the right and left arose, like two perpendicular ramparts, from three to four hundred feet high, two chains of mountains, which seemed, in the graphic language of M. de Lamartine, "to have been recently separated by a hammer stroke of the artificer of worlds"—or perhaps "by the earthquake which shook Lebanon from its foundations, when the Son of man, rendering his soul to God not far from these mountains, poured the death-sigh which stemmed the tide of error, oppression, and falsehood, and wafted truth, liberty, and life, over a renewed world." The gigantic blocks, detached from the sides of these mountains, sown like pebbles in the river's bed, formed deep and horrible abysses in the dry channel; some were fixed uprightly like solid and eternal cubes; others, suspended by their angles, and sustained by invisible rocks, seemed ever in the act of falling, and presented an image of *ruin in action.*

"——An incessant fall, a chaos of stones, an everlasting stony avalanche; rocks of a dismal hue, grey and black; marbles white and flame coloured; the petrified waves of a river of granite. Not a drop of water was seen in the deep interstices of this bed, calcined by the burning sun of Syria; not a blade of grass, a trunk, nor climbing plant, upon the lofty and indented slopes of the sides of the abyss: it was an ocean of stones, a cataract of rocks, to which the variety of their forms, the diversity of their positions, the fantastic jumble of the ruins, and the play of light and shade on their surface and in their depths, seemed to give motion and fluidity. If Dante would have depicted, in one of the circles of his hell, the hell of stones, of barrenness, of the ruin of all things, of the degradation of worlds, of the decrepitude of ages, this is the scene he might have simply copied!"

They followed for two hours this vale of lamentations, which seems to our poet sacred to the terrible denunciations, and the solemn and pathetic wailings of the ancient prophets. He also finds a cause to account for the superior sublimity of the imagery employed by the old Hebrew poets; and no longer marvels that the superhuman inspiration which breathed in the souls and over the harps of the poetic people to whom God spoke by symbols and images, thus aided by the grandeur of the aspect of nature, should elevate the souls of bards consecrate from their birth, to a divine supremacy over ours, old and pale inheritors of the ancient lyre.

Having ascended the mountain, and paused to contemplate the glorious beauty of the prospect that burst upon them—a delicious valley, a picturesque water-fall, rich verdure, and villages gleaming on the terraces of the hills, presenting, in the distance, over the lowest summits of Lebanon, a view of the Sea of Syria, they came within sight of the hill of Dptédin, crowned by the Emir's palace:

"—— Extending majestically along the mountain-rampart, with its square towers, pierced with *ogives* indented at their top;—long galleries rising one above another, and presenting files of arcades, light and slender as the palm trees that crowned them with their aërial plumes: vast courts descending by degrees from the summit of the mountains to the enclosing walls of fortifications. At the extremity of the largest of these courts, on which we looked from the elevation on which we stood, the irregular front of the palace, appropriated to the women, appeared, ornamented with light and graceful colonnades, whose hollowed and slender stems, of irregular and unequal forms, ascended to the roof, bearing like an umbrella light draperies of painted wood, serving as a portico to the palace. A marble staircase, decorated with balustrades sculptured in arabesque, conducted from this portico to the door of the palace for the females; this door, wrought in wood of various colours, framed in marble, and surmounted with Arabic inscriptions, was surrounded by black slaves, magnificently dressed, and armed with silver pistols, and sabres of Damascus, sparkling with gold and carved work."—

They approached the massive door of the first court of the palace, guarded by armed Arabs, and sent to the prince their letters of presentation, which brought M. Bertrand, first physician to the sovereign, to conduct them to the apartment assigned them by the royal hospitality. This hardly comported with the magnificent exterior of the palace; the windows being without glass, a luxury unknown in the East, in spite of the rigours of winter among those mountains; the room without bed, chairs, or furniture of any sort; only the bare, dilapidated walls, pierced with holes made by rats and lizards; the floor of rough earth, mixed with chopped straw. The slaves, however, brought rush mats and carpets, together with small tables of wood incrusted with mother of pearl, on which their dinner was served.

"We had hardly dined, when the emir sent to desire our attendance. We crossed a vast court ornamented with fountains, and a portico formed of high slender columns, which rose from the ground, and sustained the palace roof. We were introduced into a splendid hall, paved with marble with the ceiling and walls painted

with brilliant colours and elegant arabesques by the artists of Constantinople. Waterspouts murmured in the corners of the apartment; and at the bottom, behind a colonnade whose pillars were grated and glazed, was seen an enormous tiger, sleeping with his head on his crossed paws. Part of the room was filled with secretaries, with their long robes and silver inkstands sticking like a poniard in their girdle; with Arabs armed and richly dressed; with negroes and mulattoes waiting the commands of their master, and some Egyptian officers in European vests and head dresses of Greek bonnets of red woollen stuff, with a long blue tuft drooping to their shoulders.

"The other end of the apartment was elevated about a foot, and surrounded by a large divan of red velvet. The emir was squatted upon a corner of this divan. He was a fine looking old man, with a bright and penetrating eye, a fresh colour, and a grey and flowing beard:—a white robe, confined by a girdle of cachemire, quite covered him, and the shining handle of a long and large poniard rose from the folds of his robe as high as his breast, and supported a bundle of diamonds, of the size of an orange. We saluted him after the manner of the country, first placing the hand upon our forehead, then upon the heart; he returned our salutation with grace, and smiling, made sign that we should approach and sit near him on the divan. An interpreter knelt before him and us. I expressed to him the pleasure I had experienced in my visit to the beautiful and interesting country which he governed with so much firmness and wisdom; and said, among other things, that the best eulogium I could make upon his administration was to be found there; that the safety of the routes, the richness of the cultivation, and the peace and order prevailing in the cities, were the most speaking witnesses of the virtue and capacity of a prince. He thanked me, and made a multitude of inquiries respecting Europe, and especially the policy of Europe in the struggle between the Turks and the Egyptians; questions which showed at the same time his interest in these matters, and a degree of intelligence and acquaintance with general affairs, not common among the princes of the East. Coffee was brought, and long pipes, which were several times renewed; and the conversation continued nearly an hour."

The guests were afterward conducted to the baths, and in the evening entertained with musicians and singers, who improvised Arabic verses in their praise. The Arabs who perform this sort of ceremony, and who are devoted solely to this profession, resemble the Troubadours in the castles of the middle ages, or the popular minstrels in Scotland. They stood behind the cushion of the emir or his sons during their repast, and sung verses in praise of their master, or the guests whom he delighted to honour. One of these poetical toasts is preserved by M. de Lamartine, and is curiously characteristic. Our traveller witnessed also the morning devotions of the Mussulmen, whose religion is cherished in the dominions of the Emir Beschir, notwithstanding he is himself a Christian. The beauty, gentleness and spirit of the Arab horses particularly excited the attention of the visiters. M. de Lamartine made proposals for purchasing one of them, but without success; an Arab holds a first rate horse beyond all price. A singular illustration of the fondness of these children of the desert for their horses, and their pride in their good qualities, is related in the journal of Fatalla Sayeghir, which has been translated into French and appended to that of M. de Lamartine. A Bedouin, who had reason to apprehend that one of his neighbours designed to steal from him his favourite mare, for which he had refused vast sums, secured her at night by attaching an iron ring to her foot, from

which a chain was brought into his tent, and fastened to a stake driven in the ground under the mattress on which he slept. His neighbour crept at night into his tent, and gliding softly between the sleeping Bedouin and his wife, without awakening them, cut a hole in the mattress, drew out the stake, and detached the coveted animal. Then touching her owner with his lance, to announce his triumph, he mounted and rode off, pursued, however, by the mortified Arab, on a mare belonging to his brother, of the same blood, though of inferior excellence, accompanied by several of his friends. Distancing all who started with him, the Bedouin pursued the fugitive several hours, till on the very point of overtaking him. But at this critical moment his mortification at the idea of his own mare's speed being equalled by another, quite overpowered his desire to recover his property, and he called out to the robber—"Pinch her right ear, and give her a blow with the stirrup!" This direction, which conveyed the secret for exciting the animal to her utmost speed, which an Arab only uses in cases of urgent necessity, and never communicates even to his son, was obeyed on the instant; the fugitive shot away like lightning; and all further pursuit being useless, the Bedouin consoled himself for the reproaches of his companions, by declaring that he would rather lose his mare than sully her high reputation.

Passing the "black Lebanon" and the ruins of Tyre, M. de Lamartine bethought himself of the prophetic eagles who were to prey on the buried palaces, and while recalling his lines on the subject, actually perceived, on the summit of a rock, five stupendous eagles, who eyed the travellers disdainfully, as if conscious of fulfilling the mission of divine vengeance. We know not what to make of these poetical presentiments of our author; he tells us of another on coming within sight of Nazareth, where, overpowered by the enthusiasm of the moment, he flung himself almost involuntarily from his horse, and knelt in the sacred dust. The words which escaped his lips—*Et verbum carno factum est, et habitavit in nobis*, he was struck with surprise afterwards, to find engraven in letters of gold on the marble table of the subterranean altar in the house of Mary and Joseph.

He compares the sensations experienced by a visiter to these consecrated places, to those felt by a traveller who tracks laboriously the course of a mighty river, to discover and examine its unknown sources.

"Thus it seemed to me, when climbing the last hills which divided me from Nazareth, I contemplated, at the spot of its mysterious source, this vast and fertilizing religion, which, for two thousand years, had made the universe its bed, and from the mountain heights of Galilee, had watered so many human generations with its pure and benign waters!"

The scenes of the Holy Land afford ample opportunity for our author to luxuriate in depicting them. His account of the view of

the vale of Zebulon, combines, we had almost said, all that is magnificent in description; while that of the Sea of Galilee equals it in graphic and picturesque beauty. In delineating the grand and the beautiful in natural scenery, Lamartine is unsurpassed by any writer within our knowledge; and his poetic fancy frequently furnishes him with illustrative expressions, which convey the idea he wishes to represent, more forcibly and vividly, to the mind of the reader, than pages of elaborate writing. Thus, in describing a storm which occurred in Galilee, he speaks of the sunlit summits of the mountains being "suddenly plunged into the waves of darkness that were rolling above them;" thus presenting to the imagination a perfect picture, embodied in a single image. Another figure, which he frequently employs to express the utter desolation of some of the once flourishing towns of the East, is yet more striking; "the earth," he says, "instead of producing trees and herbage, seems to bring forth ruins." He mentions the Jews on the borders of the Sea of Tiberias, so frequently noticed by other travellers, who had come to pass their last days in their wasted country—to die in the land of their fathers.

On awaking the next morning, M. de Lamartine was surprised at hearing himself saluted in Italian, and found his visiter to be the old French vice consul to Saint-Jean-d'Acré, M. Cattafago, who brought him a pacquet of letters from his wife and daughter, and some late French journals. On opening one of the latter, his own name was the first that struck him; the publication contained a quotation from his lines addressed to Walter Scott. The allusion in those lines to the great social and political changes of Europe, seemed little less applicable to the author on the spot whence had originated the mightiest revolution ever undergone by the human mind; where the renewing genius of Christianity had taken wing for its earthwide flight. As the verses are here given in the original, we cannot do better than translate them.

"Tired of the pageant of poor human life,
Thou leav'st us in rude paths of toil and strife.
No bard or prophet have the nations more
To charm their route, and march their ranks before;
Thrones are convulsed—the trembling monarchs' ban—
Days measure princes', months a kingdom's span:
The impetuous tide of all pervading thought,
The burning ferment that hath mind o'erwrought,
Grants none, not e'en in hope, unmoved to stand
On power's dread height, the summit of command;
But each in turn exalting over all,
Whirls the mad brain, and speeds his headlong fall.
The world in vain invokes a saviour, guide,
Time sweeps us onward with resistless tide;
When low the sea, an infant curbs the wave—
But, swelled the surge, man is the billows' slave.
Kings—people—soldiers—tribunes—listen all!
God lays his hand on each, but none doth call;

And the swift lightning of avenging power
Glares on our front, to judge us and devour!
'Tis done! the Spirit stirs the abyss forlorn,
Old Chaos heaves—another world is born!
And a new race, no more by crowns made blind,
Their safety not in one, but all, shall find.
By the wild rolling of the waters vast,
The whirling firmament, the plunging mast,
The giant surge that breaks above our head,
We know that round some stormy cape we're sped—
And pass, 'mid angry gloom and tempests drear,
The raging tropic of another sphere!"

The following magnificent view opened to the travellers after leaving Nazareth:—

"After two hours march we reached a series of small valleys gracefully winding among hills covered with lovely forests of green oak. These forests separated the plain of Caipha from the country of Nazareth and the desert of mount Tabor. Mount Carmel, an elevated chain of mountains that rises from the bed of Jordan, and terminates in a peak above the sea, began to be visible on our left. Its outline, of a dark green, was defined upon a sky of deep blue, filled with waving vapours, like those issuing from the mouth of a furnace. Its lofty sides were covered with thick and rich vegetation, which was every where a bed furred with shrubs, overtopped here and there by the slender heads of the oak trees; grey rocks, cloven by nature into whimsical and colossal forms, interrupted this verdure from time to time, and flashed back the dazzling rays of the sun. Such was the view on our left as far as the eye could reach; at our feet, the valleys we followed descended in gentle slopes, and began to open upon the beautiful plain of Caipha. We climbed the last peaks that divided us from it, and lost sight of it a moment, only however, to find it again. These peaks, between Palestine and maritime Syria, form spots the most beautiful and at the same time of the most solemn aspect of any we have beheld. Here and there forests of oak abandoned to their sole vegetation, formed extensive clearings covered with a short green sward as downy as in our meadows of the west; behind, the summit of Tabor lifts itself like a majestic altar crowned with green garlands, in a heaven of fire; more distant, the blue heights of the mountains of Gilboa and the hills of Samaria, tremble in the horizon. Carmel flings its dark curtain in immense folds on one side of the scene, and the eye in following it, reaches the sea that terminates all, like heaven in beautiful landscapes."

We cannot resist the temptation of extracting the highly wrought description of a young lady with whom our author met in one of these towns. She was the sister of M. Malagamba, Sardinian Vice-consul at Caipha.

"Madame Malagamba, the mother, received us with the ceremonies usual in the country. She presented to us perfumes and scented waters; and we were scarcely seated upon the divan, wiping the sweat from our foreheads, when her daughters, two celestial apparitions, entered from an adjoining chamber, and offered us orange-flower water and confitures, upon porcelain plates. Such is the empire of beauty in the soul, that, though devoured with thirst and wearied with twelve hours' march, we should have remained silently gazing at these young girls without lifting the glass to our lips, had not the mother pressed us to accept what her daughters presented. The whole East was there—such as I have pictured it in the visions of youthful fancy, a fancy replete with the enchanted images of its poets and romance writers. One of the girls was quite a child, only the graceful attendant of her sister, like an image that reflects another. After having offered us hospitalities in the most simple and picturesque manner, they took their places beside their mother, upon the divan opposite us. I would fain preserve this picture in my language as it remains in my thoughts; but though we have within us the power to feel beauty in all its delicate shades, in all its mysteries, we have but one vague and abstract

word to express that it is beauty. Here is the triumph of painting; it gives us a feature; it preserves for ages this ravishing impression of the female face, of which the poet can only say—it is beautiful. We believe his words—but his words paint not.

"The young girl was sitting upon the carpet, her limbs folded under her, her elbow resting on her mother's knees, her head a little declined backward, as she occasionally raised her blue eyes to express to her mother her innocent astonishment at our looks and words, and anon fixed them upon us with a graceful curiosity, soon involuntarily dropping and hiding them with her long black silken lashes, while a richer colour suffused her cheeks, or a light smile scarcely suppressed played about her lips. Our singular costume was new to her, and the eccentricity of our manners excited continual amazement; in vain her mother made signs to her not to testify her surprise, for fear of offending us; her simplicity and *naiveté* displayed her emotions in spite of herself; her ingenuous soul was depicted in every expression of her features with such grace, with such transparence, that we read the thoughts of her mind before she was herself conscious of them. The play of sunbeams that glide across the shade upon limpid waters, is less clear and less changeful than her physiognomy.

"Mademoiselle Malagamba has that kind of beauty which is rarely found except in the east; a form elegant as that of a Grecian statue; a soul speaking in every look, as in the races of the south; and that simplicity of expression which only exists among a primitive people. When these qualifications of beauty meet in a single figure, and harmonize on a face wearing the first bloom of girlhood, where a sweet thoughtfulness dwells in eyes that permit us to read the depths of the soul, because innocence suspects nothing to hide, when the delicacy and purity of contour, and the elegance and flexibility of form, reveal to the eye the voluptuous sensibility of a being born to love, and so mingle soul and sense that one knows not, in gazing, if he feels love or admiration—then beauty is complete, and we feel at the sight that perfect satisfaction of the heart and the senses, that harmony of enjoyment, which is not what we ordinarily call love, but is the love of intelligence, the love of the artist, the love of genius for a perfect work.

"Her oriental costume added to the charms of her person; her long hair, of a deep blond inclining to golden, was braided on her head in numberless tresses, that fell on both sides over her bare shoulders; a confused *melange* of pearls, gold, and white and red flowers, was scattered over her locks, as if a hand full of jewels had let fall upon her head the shower of gems and flowers. Her breast was uncovered, according to the custom of the females of Arabia; a tunic of muslin bordered with silver flowers was tied by a shawl round her waist; her arms passed through sleeves open to the elbow, hanging from a vest of green woollen stuff whose flaps descended to the hip; large trowsers in numerous folds completed this dress; and her bare ankles were ornamented with two bracelets of wrought silver. One of these bracelets was adorned with small silver bells, the noise of which accompanied every movement of her feet. No poet could picture so enchanting a vision. Lord Byron's Haidée, in Don Juan, has something of Mademoiselle Malagamba, but she is far from this perfection of grace, innocence, and sweet confusion, of voluptuous languor and bright serenity, which mingled in her juvenile features."

This is indeed enthusiasm; perhaps a little too French to command our entire sympathy, but showing the rich colouring the writer's imagination throws over the objects he depicts.

Our pilgrim was not to enter the walls of Jerusalem; he was informed that the plague was raging there; that all who returned from Palestine were placed by the pacha under quarantine, and that even should he be so rash as to penetrate thither, and so happy as to escape the pestilence, it would be several months before he could re-enter Syria. Nevertheless, he resolved to visit the Holy city, which he had crossed seas and mountains to behold, and offered to dismiss his attendants and depart alone. But he was

not permitted by the governor to expose himself unprotected to the dangers of the way, and an escort of soldiers from the garrison at Jaffa was provided for him. Stationing himself at the convent of St. John in the desert, M. de Lamartine thence visited the places in the environs of Jerusalem, and even ventured within its walls. Through a country of imposing and sublime aspect, he crossed with his companions the mountains that intervened between them and the goal of their desires. After passing one higher and more barren than the first, the horizon suddenly opened to the right, and displayed all the space extending between the summits of Judea and the high range of the mountains of Arabia; a space inundated by the wavy and vaporous light of morning. Besides the inferior hills below their feet, broken into blocks of grey rock, the eye discerned a dazzling waste, like a vast sea, where the sun gleamed on plates of silver, changeful as the light play of billows. On the shores of this imaginary ocean, at the distance of about a league, the light shone upon a square tower, upon a minaret elevated on the yellow walls of some edifice that crowned the summit of a low hill, whose base the hill itself concealed; and by the points of minarets, battlements more elevated, and the dark summits of other domes, the travellers recognised the signs of a city, whose more elevated portions alone were visible, situated along the side of the hill. It was Jerusalem!—The descriptions of the scenery about, of places whose names have long been familiar to Christian ears, are highly interesting;—the following passage we select from the account of one of his visits to the city of David:—

"We were sitting all day before the principal gates of Jerusalem; we made the tour of the walls, in passing before all the other gates. None entered, none came out; even the beggar was not sitting on the stones; no sentinel showed himself on the threshold; we saw nothing, we heard nothing; the same void, the same silence, at the entrance of a city containing thirty thousand souls, during the twelve hours of daylight, as if we had passed before the dead gates of Pompeii or Herculaneum! We only saw four funeral proccssions issuing in silence from the portal, and advancing along the walls toward the Turkish cemeteries; and from the gate of Sion, when we passed it, a poor Christian dead of the plague that morning, whom four grave diggers carried to the burial place of the Greeks. They passed near us, laid the corpse on the ground, wrapped in his clothes, and began silently to dig his last bed, under our horses' feet. The earth around the city was freshly disturbed by similar sepultures which the plague multiplied every day; and the only intelligible sound without the walls of Jerusalem, was the monotonous plaint of the Turkish women who bewailed their dead! I know not if the pestilence was the sole cause of the nakedness of the highways and the profound silence around and within the city. I believe not, for the Turks and Arabs turn not aside from the scourge of God, convinced that every where it can overtake them, that no path can escape it. Sublime reasoning on their part, but which often leads to the most fatal consequences!

"To the left of the platform, the temple and the walls of Jerusalem, the hill that bears the city suddenly declines, enlarges itself, and descends in gentle declivities, supported here and there by terraces of running stones. This hill sustains on its summit, at some hundred paces from Jerusalem, a mosque and a group of Turkish edifices, resembling a European hamlet, crowned with its church and steeple. It is

Sion, the palace! the tomb of David! the place of his inspirations and his delights, of his life and his repose! a place doubly sacred to me, who have so often had my heart touched, and my thoughts rapt, by the divine minstrel! the first of the poets of sentiment—the king of lyrics!"

Some days after, Lamartine, with a few others, entered the city. Passing through deserted streets, and squares composed of small and miserable houses, they visited the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and paid their devotions on the consecrated spot.

We next find our pilgrim at Jericho, where he visited the town and tasted the hospitality of the scheik, whose son related a remarkable story of an Arab rescued from captivity by his horse, in a truly oriental style of exaggeration. M. de Lamartine describes the Jordan winding through a desert, but investing its banks with a rich curtain of verdure; the forest that followed the digressions of the river weaving for it a perpetual garland of leaves and branches. He visited the Dead Sea, and was only prevented by want of time from fully exploring its shores.

"The aspect of the Dead Sea is neither gloomy nor fatal, except in imagination. To the eye it is a shining lake, whose vast and silvery sheet reflects the light and the sky; the mountains, with their beautiful summits, cast their shadows even to its strand. They say no fish live in its bosom, nor birds upon its shores. I know nothing of it; I saw neither seagulls, nor those lovely white birds, like marine doves, that swim all day on the waters of the sea of Syria, and accompany the *caiques* upon the Bosphorus: but at some hundred paces from the Dead Sea, I drew down and killed birds like the wild water fowl, that rise from the marshy shores of Jordan. If the air of the sea were fatal to them, they would hardly venture so near, to tempt its unwholesome vapours."

We quote a scene described before our author's final departure from Jerusalem:—

"Yesterday I pitched my tent in a stony field crossed by knotty and stunted trunks of olive trees, under the walls of Jerusalem, at some hundred paces from the tower of David, a little above the fountain of Siloa, which yet flowed in the worn channel of its grotto—not far from the sepulchre of the poet king who has so often sung of it. The high and black terraces where stood of old the temple of Solomon, rose on my left, crowned by three blue cupolas, and by the light and airy columns of the mosque of Omar, which ascends at this day upon the ruins of the house of Jehovah. The city of Jerusalem, ravaged by the plague, was inundated by the rays of a dazzling sun, reflected from its thousand domes, its white marbles, its towers of gilded stone, its walls polished by time and by the saline breezes from the Lake Asphaltites. No sound arose from its enclosure silent as a death bed; the great gates were open, and from time to time were perceived the white turban and red mantle of the Arab soldier, useless guardian of these forsaken portals; the morning breeze alone, raising the dust on the highways, produced for a moment the illusion of a caravan; but when the breeze had passed, the dust fell, the desert appeared as before, and the step of a camel, or a mule, resounded not upon the paved route. At intervals of a quarter of an hour, the two iron folding doors of all the gates of the city opened, and we saw pass those who had died of the plague, borne by two naked slaves upon a barrow, to the tombs spread every where around us. Sometimes a long procession of Turks, Arabs, Armenians and Jews, accompanied the dead, chanting as they walked, among the olive trees, and re-entered the walls with slow and silent steps;—more frequently the dead were unaccompanied, and when the two slaves had dug the sand or earth from the hill, and laid the victim of pestilence in his last bed, they sat down upon the mound they had just raised, and divided the garments of the deceased; then, lighting their long pipes, they smoked in silence,

watching the smoke of their *chibouks* mounting in a light blue column, and losing itself gracefully in the limpid, bright, transparent air of the autumnal day. At my feet, the valley of Jehoshaphat stretched out like a vast sepulchre; exhausted Kedron divided it with a whitish seam, strewn with large pebbles; while the sides of the hills that surrounded it were white with tombs and sculptured turbans, the common monument of the Mahometans. A little to the right, the hill of Olives sunk, and permitted the horizon, between the scattered chains of the volcanic cones of the barren mountains of Jericho and Saint Saba, to extend and prolong itself, like a luminous avenue, amid the summits of irregular cypresses:—the eye was attracted thither by the blue and leaden lustre of the Dead Sea, which gleamed at the foot of the mountain terraces, while behind, the blue range of the mountains of Arabia Petrea bounded the horizon. But bounded is not the word, for these mountains seemed transparent as crystal, and we saw, or thought we saw, a vague horizon stretching yet beyond, and floating in the ambient vapours of an atmosphere tinged with purple and white.

"It was noon; the hour when the muezzin watches the sun on the highest gallery of the minaret, and chants the hour and the prayers for every hour;—living, animate voice, which knows what it says and sings! far better, in my opinion, than the unconscious voice of the bell of our cathedrals. My Arabs had given the barley from the goats hair sacks to my horses fastened here and there around the tent, their feet secured with iron rings. These beautiful and gentle animals stood motionless, their heads drooping and shaded by their long manes; their grey coats shining and reeking under the rays of an intense sun. The men were assembled under the shade of the largest olive trees; they had spread on the ground their Damascus mats, and smoked while they related the stories of the desert, or sung the verses of Antar."*

* * * * *

"Some paces from me, a young Turkish woman bewailed her husband upon one of the small monuments of white stone with which the hills about Jerusalem are sown:—she appeared hardly eighteen years of age, and I never saw so ravishing a picture of grief. Her profile, which her veil thrown backward permitted me to see, had the purity of outline of the loveliest heads of the Parthenon; with the gentleness and graceful languor of the women of Asia; a beauty far more feminine, more lovely, more fascinating to the heart than the severe perfection of Grecian statues. Her hair, of a blond, bronzed and golden like the copper of antique statues, a colour much esteemed in this land of the sun, of which it is a permanent reflection, loosened from her head, fell around her, and literally swept the ground.—She had strewn with all sorts of flowers the tomb and the earth around it; a beautiful Damascus carpet was spread under her knees; upon the carpet were placed some vases of flowers, and a basket filled with figs and barley cakes—for this woman was to pass the entire day in lamentation. A hole dug in the earth, which was believed to correspond with the ear of the deceased, served her as a speaking trumpet to communicate with the other world where slept he whom she came to visit. She stooped from time to time to this opening; sang words mingled with sobs, and then applied her ear, as if she waited a reply; again singing and weeping as before. I tried to understand the words she thus murmured, and which reached even me; but my Arab drogman could not catch or comprehend them. How much I regretted this! What secrets of love and of sorrow, what sighs fraught with the mutual life of souls rent from each other, those confused words, drowned with tears, must have contained! If aught could avail to raise the dead, it would be such language murmured by lips like those!

"At two paces from the woman, under a piece of black cloth supported by two reeds fixed in the ground to serve as a parasol, her two young children played with three black slaves of Abyssinia, crouched like their mistress on the sand covered by a carpet. These three females, all young and handsome, with the slender forms and aquiline profiles of the negroes of Abyssinia, were grouped in various attitudes, like three statues carved from a single block. One knelt with one knee on the ground, holding on the other one of the children who extended its arms toward its weeping mother; the other had both legs folded under her, and her hands joined on

* The national poet of the wandering Arab.

her apron of blue cloth, like the Madeline of Canova;—the third was standing, a little bending over her companions, and balancing herself on the right and left, rocked against her bosom the youngest of the children whom she endeavoured in vain to put to sleep. When the sobs of the youthful widow reached the children, they also began to weep—and the three black slaves, having answered by a moan to those of their mistress, began anew to chant the soothing airs and childish songs of their country, to appease their infant charge.

"It was Sunday; at two hundred paces from me, behind the thick and high walls of Jerusalem, I heard by swells, from the black cupola of the Greek convent, the faint and distant echoes of the vesper service. The psalms and hymns of David arose after three thousand years, chanted by strange voices and in a new tongue, upon the same hills that had inspired them;—and I saw upon the terraces of the convent the figures of the old monks of the Holy Land, going and coming, their breviary in their hands, and murmuring the prayers already murmured through so many ages in divers languages and measures.

"And I also was there to speak of all these things; to study the ages in their cradle; to trace even to its source, the unknown course of civilization, of religion; to inspire myself with the spirit of the place, and with the hidden sense of the histories and monuments on these shores, the point of departure from the modern world—and to nourish, with a wisdom more real, and a philosophy more true, the grave and thoughtful poetry of the age in which we live!

"This scene, coming by chance under my eyes, and preserved among the thousand recollections of my pilgrimage, presented to me the destinies and phases of poetry. The three black slaves lulling the children with their artless songs, might represent the pastoral and instructive poetry of the infancy of nations; the young Turkish widow mourning for her husband, and addressing her sobs and complaints to the ground, elegiac and impassioned poetry, the poetry of the heart;—the Arab soldiers reciting fragments from Antar, warlike, amorous, and marvellous, the epic and warlike poetry of a wandering or martial people;—the Greek monks chanting psalms on their solitary terraces, the lyric and sacred poetry of an age of religious enthusiasm;—and myself, musing beneath my tent, and gleaning historical truths or subjects of thought over all the earth, the poetry of philosophy and meditation, in which humanity reviews and improves herself in the very songs with which she amuses her leisure."

This is fanciful enough; but we shall not quarrel with our author's disposition to find subjects of moral reflection in such scenes, as long as his whimsical illustrations are so ingeniously presented. We have left ourselves no room to notice his account of the visits paid to other spots in Palestine, and the exquisite description of his excursion with his daughter upon the slopes of Lebanon. For these, and the interesting visit to Baalbec, we refer our readers to the original volumes, and close our extracts with a few stanzas from the poem entitled "Gethsemane, or the death of Julia," which is introduced at the conclusion of his sketches of Jerusalem, though not written till fourteen months after. It is a pathetic lamentation for the deep affliction sustained in the loss of his child; and being evidently written under the influence of strong feeling, ought, on that account, to be exempt from the criticism which a more elaborate production might seem to challenge. Nevertheless, we have strong objections to the publication of poetry of this kind;—any display of personal feelings, particularly those of grief, which is more sacred and shrinking than any other passion, to the public eye, appears to us like an ostentation of emotion. Some of our most eminent poets have not hesitated thus to lay open to the uni-

vernal gaze the fountains of bitterness in their own soul; and the consequence has been, a host of imitators, who, adopting the conventional language of passion, boast of feelings they have never experienced, and claim the indulgence and admiration awarded to those whose superiority of genius alone induced us to tolerate their weaknesses. But the French are accusttomed to express their thoughts and emotions with more freedom than we; and a public lament for a private calamity does not probably convey to them the sensations that we feel. The sorrow of M. de Lamartine was undoubtedly deep and sincere, and his mingling the recollection of the sad and solemn scenes he had visited, with the keen sense of his own suffering, natural to a mind of his imaginative cast. His grief seeks the abodes of gloom:

"From vernal fields, o'erarched by purest skies,
Sweet valleys opening to embrace the sea,
With bitter smile I turn my aching eyes;
Abodes of joy, alas, are not for me!
My heart no echo hath, save misery's moan,
My country lies where lonely sufferers weep;
In beds of ashes and of tears like stone,
'Tis there I love to sleep!

* * * *

"A pilgrim in the land where Christ was born,
My heart sought not the consecrated field,
Where thousands did his path with palms adorn,
Where by his voice the Word himself revealed;
Where round his conquering steps hosannas rang,
Where, wet with tears of many a sinful guest,
His hand, first wiping from his brow the pang,
Their little children blessed:—

"Lead me, my father, where the Saviour wept!
That garden dread, where he who gave our breath,
Of Heaven, of man abandoned, vigils kept,
And sweat the sweat of one that's nigh to death:
Leave me alone: I too will suffer there
The sorrow of that hour so dark and drear;
Wo is my worship—votary of despair—
My altar shall be here!

"Here, at the Mount of Olives' dusty feet,
Beneath the rampart's shade whence Sion fell;
Where sunbeams scarce that spot of gloom may greet,
Where Kedron filters 'twixt its shorelet's swell;
There gleams the sepulchre of Judah's king—
In place of herbage, earth with ruins blooms;
And from the trunks decayed, the roots that cling,
Trail o'er the mouldered tombs.

"There opens 'twixt two rocks the darksome grot,
Where felt the Man of wo death's keenest power;
When waking thrice the friends who on that spot
Slept—"Watch," he cried—"for fearful is the hour!"
The shuddering lip, upon the pavement red,
Yet seems that cup of bitterness to drain;
Yet seem the grief-wrung drops the victim shed,
Those fatal rocks to stain."

He thus alludes to the love of his lost daughter:

"'Twas all remained to me 'mid tempests stern,
Sole fruit of many a flower—sole hope of love—
A farewell tear—a kiss at my return—
An endless feast my wandering hearth above.
A sunbeam to my window bearing light—
A warbling bird with me to drink and play;
A breath of music round my couch at night,
A sweet caress at the awakening day!"

We cordially recommend these charming volumes to the attentive perusal of our readers; the declamatory style, and somewhat overwrought pictures, may be unpleasing to some, but will, we hope, deter none from the enjoyment of the author's magnificent descriptions, or prevent them from following him in the frequent poetical trains of thought growing out of his contemplation of the scenes he witnessed. His religion is strongly tinctured with the imaginative character of his mind; but is undoubtedly not, on that account, less heartfelt than with those who deem it sacreligious to blend the visions of fancy with the feelings of devotion.

ART. III.—*A Treatise on the Rights, Duties and Liabilities of Husband and Wife, at Law and in Equity.* By JAMES CLANCY, Esq., *Barrister at Law.* First American from the third London Edition, with great additions. New York and Boston: 1828.

"So great a favourite is the female sex of the laws of England," says Judge Blackstone at the conclusion of his chapter on the legal effects of marriage. Whether the learned commentator verily believed this, or merely inserted the phrase to please Her British Majesty, to whom he had dedicated his immortal work, we will not pretend to assert. But if such were candidly his opinion, he had a less exalted idea of the sex, than we should have looked for in a lawyer and a poet.

Upon this point we are more disposed to agree with his annotator, Mr. Christian, who opines, that a knowledge of the fact, if it were such, would make the dry study of the law pleasant to the English student; but adds, he is not inclined to leave it in possession of a glory it may not justly deserve. A slight review of what that law provided with regard to females, will show which of the two had the more correct view of this subject.

During marriage, the common law says that the *very being*, or legal existence of the woman, is suspended. She performs every thing under the wing or protection of her baron or lord—hence is she called *covert*, and her condition *coverture*. If unnatural barbarity prompted the death of his wife, the common law drew no

distinction between that and the killing of any other person by the husband: but it regarded in a very different light the female who raised her hand against her consort's life; it was more than murder—it was petit-treason, a casting off of subjection to her superior's authority; and the unfortunate criminal was burnt to death, while the man, says Mr. Christian, was *only* drawn and hanged.

Again, a distinction as ridiculous as it was barbarous, obtained in the case of what was called benefit of clergy; a signal instance of the sway exercised over the minds of the laity by those in holy orders in the middle ages, and a further proof (if more were wanting) of the fact, that knowledge is power; and if confined to a few, is, from the weakness of human nature, too apt to be exerted with a disregard of the rights of others. Because a certain text of Scripture ran after this wise, "touch not mine anointed; and do my prophets no harm,"* the clergy assumed the privilege of committing offences with perfect impunity. This exemption originally extended to those alone who wore the clerical habit. In process of time, however, learning of any kind being almost exclusively cultivated by that class of the community, if a man were but able to read, he was considered a clerk, and allowed the benefit of his clerkship. But it was impossible for a woman, although she possessed the learning of a Christina or a Mrs. Carter, to take holy orders; and she was consequently liable to be hanged for a simple larceny. The famous Dutchess of Kingston, upon her conviction of bigamy, owed her escape from what to a female in her condition would have been as bad as death itself, burning in the hand, not to any gallantry in the laws towards the ladies, but because the stars in her aristocratical country shone propitious on her natal day; and she was born a—Peeress.

The *baron* (husband) too, although he was not allowed, as in the civil law, "*acriter flagellis et fustibus*," ("sharply with cords and ropes,") yet it was permitted to him, "*licité et rationabiliter*," ("lawfully and reasonably,") to correct his *feme* (wife). The licentiousness of the Court of the Second Charles produced one good effect—the politeness consequent on a deferential and constant attention to the female sex, extended its influence to the grave judge upon the bench, and this power was doubted: "yet the lower rank of people," says the commentator, "always fond of the old common law, still claim and exert their ancient privilege;" designating thus, with the name of *privilege*, the unmanly assumption of the power of inflicting personal violence on the weaker party; a trait, which, together with the unnatural pleasure evinced in the contemplation of exhibitions of pugilism, cock-fighting, and other equally refined amusements, casts a shade over the really

* Keilw. 181.

estimable qualities of the English yeomanry. And it would appear to be law even at this day, that a man can restrain his wife of her liberty in certain cases. *Stra.* 478, 875.

The separate legal existence of the wife we have said was merged in that of her husband. And the reason given why a man cannot grant to, or covenant with his wife, is, that it would suppose her separate existence—as if she did not live, and move, and have her being, as well as he. So, generally, all compacts entered into previously to marriage, are avoided by the intermarriage. A woman, it is true, may be attorney for her husband; for then she shines by reflected light; his existence is shadowed forth in her's; she is the representative of her lord. He takes her for better and for worse in a double sense, both as regards the happiness of the union and her pecuniary circumstances, and is therefore obliged to pay her debts contracted before the coverture. This obligation, however, exists only where the creditor takes care to sue whilst the wife is yet alive; for no matter how valuable the estate she may have brought her husband, in case of her death before suit, he enjoys her personal property freed from the incumbrance of her debts. If a woman be injured in her person or property, slandered, struck, or damnified in any possible mode; without her husband's concurrence, and without his name as well as her own, no redress can be obtained by her. *She* has no satisfaction against one who deprives her of his protecting care; but if *he* receive inconvenience consequential on an injury done to her, he has his action for damages, *quia consortium amisit*, because he has lost the solace of her society.* She cannot contract or sue; if she give a warrant of attorney to confess judgment, and afterwards marry, the warrant is countermanded, because it would charge her husband. 1 *Salk.* 399. Though if one be given *to* a *feme sole*, her subsequent marriage shall not avoid it, for it is to *his* advantage. *id.* 117. So, if she make a will, and afterwards marry, it is a revocation. 2 *P. Wms.* 624. And if a *feme obligee* take the *obligor* to husband, it is a release in law. *Co. Lit.* 264. b. A promise by a man to a woman, in contemplation of marriage, and for the performance of any act during its continuance, is revoked at law by the marriage. She cannot, moreover, devise lands to her husband, for she is supposed to be under coercion.

It has been remarked, that as respects the property of women, there is taxation without representation. The position is correct. They have no voice in the formation of the laws, which are to be the rule of their conduct, as well as that of the other sex. We have seen the pernicious consequences, in some countries of Europe, arising from the *indirect* agency of females in the affairs of

* Much the same remedy which the lord or slave owner had for an injury done to his villein.

government. A court is the proper sphere for such intrigues. Upon this point our English brethren are not altogether free from inconsistency; they deny to females the privilege of voting, and yet permit a feminine hand to sway the sceptre of empire. "Whereat," says Captain Clapperton in his Travels, "the African Sultan of Boosa, when he heard it, laughed immoderately; and thought it worse than having but one wife." We have adopted, in the United States, the utmost rigour of the Salic law, in forbidding not only women to legislate or reign over us, but in prohibiting their exercise of the elective franchise. In fact, they have here no political privileges whatsoever; and the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has denied even the right of voting for vestry men of a church to female pew-holders.* Equality is the soul of our Constitution; the words, however, of that charter, are, *all men* are born equal.

The important contract of marriage, which, more than any other, affects the interests of the parties to the agreement, was allowed, by the common law, to be entered into by females at the early age of twelve.† The proper discretion for so solemn an engagement, was, contrary to every dictate of reason, supposed to exist at that early age. It is presumed, that, in fixing this premature time, the law of England blindly followed the Roman law, which designated the same periods. A like rule existed in France until the adoption of the Napoleon Code, which fixed the age of consent, at eighteen in males, and fifteen in the other sex. Municipal regulations may vary this rule of the common law. The English Statutes have made some very wise alterations; and some of the States may have followed the salutary example. Others, we know, have merely attached a penalty to clergymen and public officers joining minors in marriage without the consent of parents or guardians. We think that the rule of the common law which still prevails in Pennsylvania, requires important alteration. Either make void all marriages before eighteen and twenty, in the two sexes respectively, or render the approbation of parents and guardians essential to matches before that early period. In fact, majority would not seem to be too late a period to render marriages valid, when made on the sole wish and responsibility of the parties to the contract.

Female virtue is protected from violence—barbarous indeed would be the code that did not profess to secure the weaker sex from aggression. But female chastity is absolutely without protection from the arts of a seducer, unless there be a promise of

* The Court, to be sure, professed to found its opinion upon the words of the charter in the particular case, and the usage under it. The words of that instrument were, however, very general, and the Court intimated, that females had no right to vote, under any circumstances. Judge Tod differed from his brethren. The case, we believe, is not in print.

† And by males, at fourteen.

marriage violated. Does the law then leave the act unpunished? by no means—the redress is extended, however, not to the injured female herself, but to her father—the mother having nothing to do with it. And the reason given in the books why the action lies, is one which shows more plainly the total disregard evinced upon this subject by the common law; it is, that the daughter is the servant of her father, and that he is deprived, by the consequences of the act, of the benefit of her labour. The other ground of supporting the action, is what no one but a lawyer could have discovered or can appreciate—to wit, that the seducer is a trespasser upon the premises of the parent. The law nowhere considers the injury as suffered by the female, or gives *her* redress; on the contrary, it seems anxiously to have sought for extraneous reasons to support the suit; instead of laying down at once, unequivocally and manfully, the irretrievable injury to female honour, as the true foundation of the complaint. And although, in cases of this description, juries always, with the feelings of virtuous indignation, give damages commensurate with the wrong done to the honour and peace of families, yet this technical relation of master and servant must exist and be proved at the trial, or the plaintiff will fail of recovery. In England, defamation of female virtue is a matter altogether out of the cognizance and jurisdiction of the temporal courts.

The ludicrous yet cruel punishment of the ducking stool, inflicted upon common scolds, is another instance of the regard shown to the female sex by the laws of England. The penalties of excessive volubility were imposed exclusively upon females, while full license was given to the tongues of the other sex.*

The policy of the common law forbade either husband or wife to be a witness for or against the other. Whether, pursuing the idea of the legal non-existence of the *feme*, the rule went upon the principle of the identity of person, and considered a contrary course as opposed to the standing maxims, that one should be neither a witness for, nor compelled to be such against himself—or whether it proceeded upon the ground, that the testimony of either could not be indifferent, and was maintained from a regard to the peace of families, it is not perhaps very material to determine. The exclusion of the wife from testifying against her husband may possibly have had its rise from considerations springing from the inferior situation of women in very early times, which suffered them not to be arrayed in any manner against their superiors. A feeling of reciprocity may have afterwards dictated a similar exception of the husband's testimony: certain it is, that, but in very few cases, the rule was imperative.

* We, of course, except the case of *slander*, and speak merely of impunity for overmuch talking.

A fundamental principle of the English law of real estate, was the preference of the male to the female in the order of inheritance. A younger son took priority of all his elder sisters. They, whose sex presented so many obstacles to the earning of an honest maintenance, were deprived of any portion; while the son, with such superior facilities of acquiring wealth, took the whole estate. If a woman marry, her husband becomes entitled to the profits of all her lands during the coverture; and if he survive, and have had a child born alive, he retains the income of all her estates of inheritance during his life, and that by the "*Curtesy* of England," the only instance of *courtesy* in the law, and, when it does occur, evinced in favour of the stronger sex. The widow is entitled to one-third only, for her life. At common law, the husband could discontinue his wife's estates of inheritance and bar her of her entry: and though the *Stat.* 32 H. 8, took away this power, yet even now he may convey away the wife's freehold for his own life. He may forfeit not only his own, but his wife's interest in her estates of inheritance by his neglect; as by default in payment of rent, in consequence of which a re-entry is made. *Co. Lit.* 246 b. So if a woman have a right to land and marry, the laches of her husband to make claim, binds her, *Dy.* 159 a. though the law takes away her own power to remedy herself during the coverture.

Another unjust distinction obtained in the case of trust estates. The husband was allowed to be tenant by the curtesy, but the wife was not endowable of such estates. 3 *P. Wms.* 229.

Her situation was infinitely worse with respect to personal property. By the marriage all her personal chattels in possession, to the last penny, became her husband's absolutely. Even her paraphernalia were not protected from the grasp of an avaricious or dissipated man, if he chose to deprive his wife of them during his lifetime; although there was sufficient sense of propriety in the law, to protect them from the operation of his will. If Lord Keeper Finch be authority, paraphernalia are the perquisites of women alone, who are noble by birth or marriage. Lady Tyrrel's case, 2 *Freeman* 304. Her chattels real were completely at his disposal, if he thought proper to exert his power of selling; and they became his by survivorship. Her *choses in action*, as the law designates her credits, bonds, notes, &c., it was optional with him to reduce to possession and enjoy for himself; and after her death, as her administrator, he has the same right of ownership. What then did the law impose upon the husband in return for so much given to him? the obligation of paying his wife's debts if he were sued during the coverture, and of providing her with the bare necessaries of life. The husband is indeed liable for her torts or civil injuries: it is however jointly with her, for she may be taken on a *ca. sa.* and imprisoned in such a case, and the court will not discharge her. 1 *Archb. Prac.* 275. She is liable moreover to a

ca. sa. for her own debts contracted before marriage, as well as her husband; and in England she cannot obtain the benefit of the insolvent laws as he can, because she is incapable of executing a warrant of attorney. 5 *B. & A.* 759. In Pennsylvania, females are protected from arrest for debt, by act of assembly. The exemption from arrest is confined to the case of debts. It seems hardly necessary to add, that by marriage the woman acquires no indefeisible interest in her husband's personal property.

For certain purposes, as marriage, making of a will by a single woman, &c., the law, following what would seem to be a rule of nature, gave validity to acts performed by females at an earlier period of life than was required in the case of males. The enumeration of these details would take space that might be better employed. In regard to *majority*, the English rule (which has been adopted generally in this country,) made no distinction between the sexes; requiring both the man and the woman to be twenty-one years old, before they were regarded as of full age. This period is known to be earlier than that generally fixed on the continent of Europe.

By the common law, the only mode in which a married woman could part with real estate, even with her husband's consent, was by the tedious, expensive, and sólemn process of what was called a *fine*. (The *will* of a *feme covert* was void.) This was, in truth, a protection to the wife, so far as related to the alienation of her inheritance. The profits of her lands, we have seen, were already her husband's during marriage; and this mode of passing her estate may have been devised for the purpose of effecting that object, in contradiction to the general principles of the law which negatived any separate existence of the wife. We have, in this country, simplified the conveyances of married women's estates, merely for the purpose of general benefit supposed to be advanced by facility of alienation. There is but little difficulty here in the way of wives' parting with their estates.

The Act of Assembly lately passed in Pennsylvania, (April 8, 1833,) regulating last wills, has made the principle of equity which we shall notice hereafter, a statutory provision. A married woman may now, in that state, provided she be twenty-one years of age, under a power legally created, dispose of her real or personal estate by will, and may, with the license of her husband, also dispose of her personal estate. All testators must now, in Pennsylvania, be of full age.

It is an observation of Justice Blackstone, that even the
bilities a *feme covert* lies under, are for the most part i
for her protection and benefit. We are at a loss to disco
advantages. It is true, she cannot be sued alone for debts due
fore marriage; but as all her personal estate, which in l
was the only fund for the payment of debts, vested in her

it was no great privilege, for the law, which stripped her of property, to exempt her from suit. And as to protection from actions for breach of contract during coverture, as the law takes away her capacity of forming, we do not see how she can violate contracts.

Although it is laid down in broad and unqualified terms that the legal being of the wife is suspended, she is considered as still in existence for all purposes of liability for trespasses and crimes. In one particular there is an exception. Where some inferior crimes are committed by her in actual company with her husband, the presumed constraint and coercion on the part of the latter, are very properly an excuse to her. *The presumption* of constraint may, however, be rebutted by proof of the contrary.

A court of equity looks upon this union with very different eyes from those with which the common law regards it. A *feme covert* is there considered, as to her separate estate, a *feme sole:* and she may in that court sue and be sued. She may even, (so distinct are they there considered,) by the agency of a nearest friend, sue her own husband, 3 *Cox P. Wms.* 39, or be sued by him. *Prec. Chanc.* 24. We have before adverted to the disability, at law, of a married woman to dispose of her estate by will. This disability existed both in regard to real and personal estate. In equity, however, the difficulty was, substantially, obviated, wherever there was a marriage contract, made before the union actually took place, in which the power was reserved to the wife. A court of chancery gave effect to a disposition by a married woman, in pursuance of such previous authority, as an appointment or declaration of a trust—though as we have remarked, it was essentially, a will. Without such marriage settlement, therefore, either in England or in those states which have courts of chancery, any testamentary disposition by a wife would be wholly inoperative. It is well known that in many of the states there is no chancery court; and we do not consider it at all desirable, that the anomaly should exist of two different laws with regard to the same persons in different courts of the same state. To whatever extent the courts of those states which are without an equity jurisdiction may adopt chancery principles, we presume they will never go so far as to make an alteration in the common law, as radical as the adoption of the practice of equity on this subject would introduce. We will now proceed, briefly to note such alterations not before noticed, as have been made in the particulars we have mentioned, and to exhibit the state of this important branch of the law here.

The *Stat.* 30 *Geo.* 3. c. 48, assimilated the punishment of husband and wife in case of the death of either at the hand of the other. The distinction never existed in this country. A little common sense was introduced into the doctrine of benefit of clergy,

and all persons and classes became entitled to its advantages. It was, in substance, merely a mitigation of the dreadful punishment of death for the first offence (the penalty of almost all offences in the bloody code of the early English criminal law,) by the substitution of one of inferior severity—and the improvement extended to all classes the benefit of that commutation, which had been previously monopolized by one. The burning in the hand or cheek (as was provided by one statute,) has been altered for transportation, fine and imprisonment, by successive acts of the British Parliament. As in the United States, there are no privileged classes; the punishment of all for every offence is the same,* and the benefit of clergy, if the name exist in any of the states, means nothing but a certain mitigated quantum of punishment for the first offence.

The punishment of the ducking stool for scolds, that barbarous relic of a barbarous age, we believe still to exist in theory in England; though the progress of refinement has put a stop to its recurrence in practice. When the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* James, 12 *Ser.* & *Rawle*, wiped off this stain upon our system of jurisprudence, or rather declared that it had never been introduced from the British law, we wish they had at once declared the non-existence of such a misdemeanor—it still remains in that state punishable by fine and imprisonment. The ancient privilege, as Justice Blackstone calls it, of a man to beat his wife, hung for a time in suspense on the doubt of the judges in the reign of Charles II.—but it was finally settled that a wife may have security of the peace against her husband, 2 *Lev.* 128; not to give the wife, however, any advantage, the same security was given to the husband in case of being beaten by his wife. *Stra.* 1207. This we presume is the law in all the states.

We have entirely abolished in the United States, as inconsistent with our institutions, the doctrine of primogeniture, and along with it the preference of the male to the female sex in the right of representation†—there is perfect equality so far. The intestate laws of Pennsylvania have increased the dower of the widow by giving her a portion of the personal estate smaller or larger according to circumstances, in addition to her thirds at common law; being somewhat similar to the statute of distributions in England. As lands, however, in Pennsylvania, are chattels for the payment of debts, the widow's dower is postponed to the claims of creditors on her deceased husband's estate. In England the contrary is the case; the right of the wife to dower, attaches upon the marriage, and is indefeisible by any act of her husband.‡ The distinction

* We speak not of the southern slaves.

† The states of Vermont and Delaware have lately repealed those provisions which gave a greater portion to the male than the female heirs.

‡ The Acts of Assembly of Pennsylvania, providing for the absence or desertion of the husband, have given additional efficacy to the common law rule of his liability for necessaries.

as to dower and curtesy in trust estates, has been abolished, and except in the particulars just enumerated, the law of Pennsylvania agrees with that of England on this subject. The laws of most of the states differ, we presume, but little from that of Pennsylvania.

This abstract will be superfluous for the professional man, and we fear tedious to the general reader. It seemed necessary, however, to present the legal effects of marriage on the condition of women, in all its aspects. The result has been to show that their condition is by no means enviable, or such as an equal system of laws would provide. The most important and interesting inquiry arises, is the law, which we have been investigating, and have seen to be established, accordant with the state of society in the nineteenth century? To follow out this question into all its ramifications, would exceed the proper limits of this article. Our object now is mainly to direct attention to the subject, and propose some few ideas that have occurred to us, for the consideration of others.

In order to determine this problem, it becomes necessary for us to mount if possible to the source of the institution; and if we find it to take its rise in an age and under auspices foreign to our present advanced state of civilization, and abhorrent from the genius of the times, we may with reason doubt its excellence. The cause of the situation of married women with regard to their real estate, and their general inferiority in reference to personal rights, we think may be sought with success in the feudal law. That law which marched forth from the forests of the north, and established its iron reign over the fairer regions of the south—that law of war, conquest and slavery—of primogeniture and privilege; where the scale gradually ascended from the vassal to the mesne, from the mesne to the lord, until it reached in its rise, the sovereign—where all the property of the state proceeded from and was in the end to revert to the monarch—the law, in fine, of superiority in right of the male over the female sex. So deep have its foundations been laid in Europe, so strongly cemented its different parts by their admirable adaptation to the purposes of a military empire, that it has taken the struggles of centuries to break its chains; and although the reasons of many of its provisions have long since ceased, yet in the law of real property, they form so fundamental a part of the structure, and have acquired so much reverence from the rust of ages, that a regard for its security and repose has induced their continuance.

When the northern warriors burst from woods, too narrow to contain their growing numbers, and set out on their march of conquest, war their business and their pleasure—the aim to which their nature and habits impelled them, was the establishment of military governments. The conquered lands were parcelled by the chiefs among their followers, as the rewards of valour; saddled of course

with the condition of military service, the spirit and the support of their institutions. The men were the warriors and the conquerors; they bore the brunt of the battle, and earned the fruits of victory. Their wives were their servants; attended to their household duties; tilled their grounds, and nursed their children; incited them, by their cries, to the combat; dressed their wounds when injured, and brought them food and refreshments when weary. After they had seated themselves in their habitations, and consolidated their power, the lands, of course, were divided among the men, and the females depended, for protection and support, upon their husbands, fathers, or brothers. Fiefs were, for a time, merely at the will of the lord; they gradually became certain for a fixed number of years; then for the life of the feudatory; and finally, hereditary in the eldest son of the deceased chieftain. The males alone could comply with the conditions of tenure, by the performance of military duties; and the policy which prohibited the splitting of estates, by division among all the sons, would operate with tenfold effect to exclude those whose sex prevented their co-operation in military measures. It was a rule with the early feudists, that no female could succeed to a genuine feud. The form of homage, a ceremony inseparably incident to all such estates, shows this beyond doubt. The words, in part, were, that the vassal became the *man* of his lord; "*devenio vester homo*" (hence the word *homage*)—from that day forth, of life, and limb, and earthly honour. How, or with what propriety, we are not informed, after fiefs became inheritable by females, the wife could join with her husband in this ceremony, as she did, while she continued without children; but after that event, the husband did homage alone. We refer, of course, to the case of a man seised in right of his wife; and although, in process of time, females, as we see, did inherit, the reason of the exclusion becoming every day less operative, from the progress of civilization, yet so long as there were any male descendants, they were preferred.* It must have been a long time before females became possessed of any real estate whatever, in any part of Europe where the feudal law prevailed. It was not until the thirteenth century that this occurred in Germany. The era was earlier, however, in France and England. The succession of females, was the last in the series of successive changes in the originally strict character of feudal estates.† We find, that very soon, with few exceptions, all the lands of the conquered countries partook of feudal qualities, as the allodial estates were commuted for feuds. If the Norman Conquest did not strictly *introduce* the feudal tenure into England, (and it is probable it did not,) yet it established it with infinitely more severity. There never

* With the Anglo-Saxons, land was divided among all the *sons*.
† See Note 8, Vol. I., Robertson's Charles V.

existed a more cunning and ingenious set of men than the Norman Jurists, who constantly racked their brains to conjure up ways and means to extend the privileges of the nobles. It would appear, that at the period of the Conquest, (in the eleventh century,) daughters were permitted to inherit, in case of the failure of sons. Notwithstanding the very natural feelings of preference of the children, though females, of the last proprietor, over more remote male relations, overcame the principle upon which that tenure was established, to wit, the ability to perform warlike service, yet we find it so far regarded, that, on pretence of securing a proper feudatory as an husband for his ward, the lord claimed what was called the *marriage* of his female tenant; one of the most unjust and oppressive of all the incidents of the system. As soon as the union did take place, the husband stood in the place of his wife, enjoyed her estates, and performed the services in her stead. The fact, that this interference in the marriage of tenants, did not exist in *Socage tenure*, which appears to have been established before the Conquest, is entitled to some weight as a proof that the feudal law greatly extended this inferiority of the female sex.

As the husband, during the coverture, performed the services annexed to the estate, he very naturally took the profits to his own use; and as he was once in possession, he retained it during his life, notwithstanding his children came of age prior to his death.

The pure and primitive law of feuds did not allow any dower at all to the wife. The Emperor Frederick II., a contemporary of Henry III. of England, introduced it into the system. Dower was not a part of the early Saxon laws. Jurists are not agreed whether it was introduced by the Normans into Britain, (though the better opinion, from the above facts, is the other way,) or whether it is a relic of the Danish customs; for it took its rise with the Danes, from an institution of Swein, who founded it out of gratitude to those Danish ladies, who had ransomed him from his captivity among the Vandals. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* XXXII. 91. The extent of dower, with the ancient Germans and Gauls, (and we suppose most of the northern nations had similar customs,) was the grant of some articles of use in agriculture and war, to the wife, in return for some she presented her husband, conferred, no doubt, by her parents, who were present at the marriage, consisting of a yoke of oxen, a bridled horse, and a shield, with a javelin and sword. These were symbols that her fate was linked to his in prosperity and in adversity; that, in peace and in war, she was to be his constant companion; and that the battle-ground, in case of death, was to be the resting place of both. Tacitus beautifully observes, "hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant." Dower, then, was engrafted on the law of feuds as established in England; and, to whatever source its introduction may be traced, it is a most proper, though, in many cases, a very inadequate pro-

vision, for the support of the widow, and the maintenance of the younger children. It is very evident, that the civil law had nothing to do with its establishment; no two things being more dissimilar than dower in the rival systems—the word signifying, in the civil law, the marriage portion which the wife brought to her husband. So much for real estate under the law of feuds.

We must look to another source for a reason why all the personal property of women vested in their husbands. The feudal law paid no attention to it, nor condescended to give rules concerning it. There is nothing to be found in the feudal writers upon the subject; and the old English jurists who have any thing in their works about personal property, borrowed what they have from the civil law. In fact, in those early times, it was scarcely worth attention; hence, as Blackstone remarks, a subsidy, in England, of a fifteenth or a tenth of the moveables of the subject, did not occasion surprise or murmuring. We all know, that one of the striking features in the advance of society in modern Europe, has been the immense increase in the value of this species of property. Bonds, mortgages, stocks, securities of a personal nature of all kinds, have so increased, in number and value, that where the law formerly vested in the husband a spinning wheel or a cow, it may now give him accumulated thousands. This may have been one reason why the law was so little scrupulous on the point. If it were, it is any thing but a reason now. Research is vain, to discover, in the writings of jurists, a foundation for this principle, or a rational account of it; or, in fact, any other explanation than the one we shall give immediately, which is perfectly ridiculous, and not only so, but likewise untrue. And that reason, handed down, without dispute, or a doubt of its correctness, from Bracton, who wrote in the reign of Henry II., to Mr. Clancy, is this—that man and wife are one person in flesh and blood—"vir et uxor sunt quasi unica persona, quia caro una et sanguis unus," are the words of the former in his fifth book. "She and her husband constitute but one person," says Mr. Clancy in his first book; and as they make but one person, either the husband or the wife must represent that one person, and take all the property. The husband is selected, as the more worthy of the two. "The husband is the head of the wife, and therefore, all she has belongs to him," says Finch, with commendable logic; because he is the head of the wife, *therefore*, all she has belongs to him. It is well that some better reason can be given for the enjoyment of our liberty and our republican institutions, or "the blood of ancestors," as our orators are so fond of saying, "was shed in vain." It appears, then, to be an unchangeable maxim of the English law, so far back that its commencement cannot be traced, and we have adopted it in this country in its full extent. The most that can be urged in its favour, is its antiquity; and, in our opinion, that is the very

reason for its abrogation. It had its source in an age of the world not more remote from ours in point of time, than completely different in habits, manners, value and species of property; in every thing that laws are to regulate and enforce. Among savage tribes, in the early years of every people, even with the enlightened nations of antiquity—as enlightened they undoubtedly were in literature and the arts, but ignorant of true liberty, and of the refinements of social and of feminine intercourse—we say among all of them, before Christianity was introduced, or properly understood, the females were infinitely below the other sex, not only in political, but in civil privileges.* It is an easy mode, to cut the Gordian knot, and to solve the question we have put, by saying, that from the days of Adam, and among every people, this inequality has existed, and that the trouble of a search for its peculiar origin, may be spared. It is true, and, to a certain extent, the inequality is proper; but that it is carried too far, and probably so from an inattention to the subject, we do assuredly think. It may be said, that a female, on the eve of marriage, if she wish not all her personal property to vest in her intended husband, may provide against it by marriage settlement. The argument is unfair; it throws the burden upon the party least able to bear it; and commonly the most ignorant in matters of the kind. Men are generally lawyers enough to understand their own rights; women, on the contrary, are not. Hundreds may, and do marry, without knowing its legal effects upon their property, until they discover them by sad experience. It would be a better reason, if the law were exactly the reverse of what it is.

We looked into Mr. Clancy's treatise, and into other works, purposely to find a reason for the rule we are considering; for some slight endeavour to trace this important subject to its source, or start a philosophical argument in its favour. We were disappointed in our search; and met only with the unsatisfactory reason we have already noticed.† It is, we think, a deficiency in these works. We would not wish to be understood as speaking disrespectfully of that which is the title of our article. Its reputation is established. It gives with clearness, both of arrangement and style, and, as far as we are enabled to judge, with correctness, the law as it *is:* although professing to be a general treatise upon the subject, some points resulting from the union of man and wife, are omitted. We would, however, have been more satisfied, if we had any other argument in support of the policy or justice of the principle we have been considering, than that of the unity of person. This

* In the early era of the civil law, the husband had the power of life and death over his wife, for grievous crimes, as well as over his children. *Dionys., Halicar., and Pliny. Nat. His.* 14. B.

† See also, 2d vol. Kent's Com. p. 109.

position we have before said to be untrue—it is so—and we will show that the law does consider the wife, in some respects, as a distinct person; that same common law which Mr. Clancy asserts scarcely considers her to have a separate existence. We have seen that the wife continues liable, after marriage, for debts due before; that this liability is shared with her husband, and that the same law prevails in case of *torts* committed by a *feme covert*. How, if she is not a separate, distinct person, and separately existing, could she be taken on a *ca. sa.*? The creditor certainly arrests something more than the shadow of her former self. If the husband were alone liable, it might be some equivalent for the taking away of her property. But really, in England, where a married woman can acquire no personal property, and the marriage takes away all she has, if she be taken in execution for a debt due before coverture, she must lie in prison until the debt is discharged, or the court sees fit, in its discretion, to release her; her separate existence is, in such a case, lamentably obvious. Again; the common law, in the case of a fine, not only considers a *feme covert* as a separate person, but as one endued with sufficient capacity to consent to a disposition of her real estate, and to the formation of most important contracts in relation to it. By a separate examination her consent is obtained. The simpler process of the wife joining in a conveyance, coupled with her separate examination, which has been adopted in Pennsylvania, and, we presume, most of the states, effectuates the same purpose. And although a man may not grant, directly or immediately, to his wife, yet he may by the intervention of trustees. *Harg. Co. Lit.* 30. There is an instance mentioned in *Co. Lit.* 133 a. n. 4. which is a perfect anomaly. It is certainly in direct opposition to the doctrine we are endeavouring to refute. It is this; that if any one levy a fine in his wife's name, she shall have a writ of deceit against him. We have selected these instances for the purpose of showing that the common law has not, in all cases, this contracted idea of a *feme covert*, and, of course, that the law based upon this assumption is without foundation.

It may not be altogether sound reasoning, to instance, under this part of our subject, the cases where the law clothes a married woman with the capacity of a *feme sole*, when her husband is banished, transported, or an alien enemy.* They operate, however, so far in favour of our position, as to show that this unity of person is not absolutely indissoluble; that it may be governed by circumstances; and that, where public policy requires it, a *feme covert* may act on her own responsibility, and for her own

* Or where the wife is a *feme sole* trader, in the sense of the Act of Assembly of Pennsylvania.

benefit. Public policy, we think, requires it in numerous other cases.

The Queen of England is an exception to the general rule, that a married woman cannot sue or be sued. The exception in her case is founded, not as one would suppose, upon any regard paid to her sex or superior rank, but depends solely upon attention to the convenience of *his* majesty. Hear Lord Coke: "the wisdom of the common law, would not have the *King*, (whose continual care and study is for the public good, *et circa ardua regni*,) to be troubled and disquieted for such private and petty causes."

It is perfectly unnecessary to argue, that if the situation of females in relation to real estate, be founded on the law of feuds, that law is altogether inapplicable to our policy and institutions; although it may not be totally abolished. Some few of its incidents remain; escheat for instance. And in theory, we would suppose, the lands of Pennsylvania, and of all the states where the contrary has not been expressly provided by statute, partake of the character of feuds. All the oppressive incidents of that law, however, have been cast off; and for the purposes of commerce and free enjoyment, they are practically, though not theoretically, allodial. There are no services attached to estates which would require the husband's any more than the wife's capacity of performance. The lord can no longer summon his vassal to the field, with horse and armour, upon a quarantine, quite as disagreeable as that under our health laws; or call upon his tenants to assist him in his baronial court. The universal rent for the enjoyment of land, is the payment of money, which requires no superior capacity to perform. The days of chivalry indeed are gone, and we thank God for it; and though the eloquent advocate of aristocracy (Burke) so beautifully laments the succession of a race of economists and calculators, the rational, practical freedom, and just perception of the rights of human nature, that have attended the change, must endear it to the understanding of every man, though the enthusiast may mourn the transit of the heroic age.

We have quarrelled so much with the law of man and wife as it is, that the reader may consider it high time for us to suggest some improvement. We are perfectly aware that many parts of the system are too firmly fixed to be easily shaken; and that one of our very objections, the antiquity of the institution, is a chief maxim of the common law, for the establishment of any principle. *Sic usitatum*, or *ita lex scripta est*, have been the triumphant answer to many an argument, and refuted the ingenuity of many a lawyer. We feel as much as any one the force and the propriety of the reply in the general. It is, however, one of the most glorious qualities of that admirable system, that it accommodates itself to the temper and advancement of the age; that it grows with the growth of the arts; expands with the increase of the varying

wants of mankind, so as to meet their exigencies, and supply pre-existing deficiencies in their rules of action; no wrong without a remedy, no right without a means of enforcement, are axioms of the common law. What jurist is ignorant, in what manner, when society, by the advance of commerce, needed a system to regulate its growing and numerous relations, guided by the enlightened and comprehensive mind of a Mansfield, its attention was directed to the luminaries of other countries; and how, as it were, the law expanded her arms, to embrace principles, which, incorporating with herself, she formed into a code, whose bases are equality and good faith?

Why not secure to a woman, in the event of marriage, a part at least of the profits of her lands, and of her personal estate, safe from the disposition of her husband, and from the execution of his creditors? In repeated cases, the effects of the union are merely to provide a fund for the payment of debts of the husband previously contracted, and to strip the wife of what would be a support for her and her children. We see no good reason for not securing the whole. It will not do to say that the harmony of the married state may be disturbed by rendering the wife independent, without showing, that those connexions where this has been effectuated by marriage settlement, are less happy than others. It may have a directly contrary effect, by putting a stop to marriages of speculation, where just so much is calculated to be gained by the event.

As respects, then, both real and personal estate, it appears to us, that marriage should leave the parties where it finds them; and that the estate of a woman should be her own after the union. It would seem proper to deprive her of the power of aliening it, during marriage, without her husband's consent, manifested by his joining in the conveyance; though unlimited freedom should be given to her, of disposing of all her estate, real and personal, by will executed with proper formalities.

The privilege of voting in private corporations, it would appear proper to accord to all single women of full age, where the only distinction between the members of such corporations is that of sex; in case of marriage, the husband could represent his wife. Public affairs would seem to be well as they are in this respect.

It has been shown, we think, that the obligation imposed upon the husband, of paying his wife's debts, is not a sufficient reason for the rule, as she herself is not discharged from liability, although she has no property to satisfy the demands, and her husband's responsibility is not absolute, but merely contingent. If, however, it should be thought so, alter it, by discharging him; and render all the wife's property she brings upon the marriage, liable for the demands against her.

If it should be determined, that the personal estate of a female does not, upon marriage, vest absolutely in her husband, new re-

gulations must, of course, be adopted to meet another condition of things. It is familiar to lawyers, that principles applicable to the case are to be found in the equitable code of England, and of those states, who have followed her example in the establishment of a Janus-like system of jurisprudence. So far as regards her legal control over her separate estate, she is considered as unmarried and as existing in her own right; and the senseless fiction of the common law is brushed away; and with it, its train of absurd consequences.

It may not be objected, that intricacy and confusion will be the result of these changes; unless such should be shown to be the case in England under her rules of equity. It is probably of less importance what the law is than that it should be distinctly known and understood at least by its professors. No wise man would enter the labyrinths of any science, without recourse to the aid of an *expert;* so long, therefore, as there exists a body of men, making the laws of their country their constant study, and to whose counsel instant recurrence can be had, there need be no cause of complaint based upon the intricacy or the complexity of jurisprudence. No permanent good ever resulted from the simplicity of laws—in fact, such simplicity never can exist in an advanced state of civilization.

In adverting to the well known difference between the common and the civil law in respect to the rights of property belonging to the matrimonial parties, Chancellor Kent* says:—

"Our law concerning marriage settlements appears, to us at least, to be quite simple, and easy to be digested, when compared with the complicated regulations of the community or partnership system between husband and wife, which prevails in many parts of Europe, as France, Spain, and Holland, and also in the State of Louisiana. That system is founded on the Roman law, which Van Leeuwen, in his Commentaries, terms the common law of nations. I do not allude to the earlier laws of the Roman republic, by which the husband was invested with the plenitude of paternal power over the wife, but to the civil law in the more polished ages of the Roman jurisprudence, when the wife was admitted to the benefit of a liberal antenuptial contract, by which her private property was secured to her, and a community of estate between the husband and wife introduced. The civil law, at first, prohibited the husband and wife from making valid gifts to each other, *causâ mortis;* yet the rigour of the law was afterwards done away, and donations between the husband and wife were good if they were not revoked in the lifetime of the parties; and Justinian abolished this distinction between donations *inter vivos, ante nuptias et post nuptias,* and he allowed donations *propter nuptias,* as well after as before marriage. The wife could bind herself by her contracts without charging her husband. She was competent to sue and be sued without him. They could sue each other, and, in respect to property, were considered as distinct persons, and the contracts of the one were not binding on the other."

We regard the English equitable doctrine on this subject as having very many advantages over the community or partnership system spoken of in the above extract.

* 2 Vol. Com. p. 153.

It is not to be expected, that a review of this nature should contain a complete code of legislation. All that is properly required, is to direct public attention to the subject, which, when once awakened, will no doubt regulate it with correctness. The aid of the Legislature is of course necessary. Our judges, in the early periods of our history, appear to have anxiously followed the law of England, where it was not manifestly contrary to the spirit of our institutions. The settlement of a new country, where a novel system of laws was in some measure necessary, was a happy epoch for the formation or adoption of rules suited in all respects to the manners and customs of the country. The judiciary was not the proper source whence to expect a new code. Besides, a judge's mind, from its training and direction, is not apt to be inclined to innovation; and, in most cases, fortunately is it thus. The early age of the States, was a golden opportunity to purify, from dust, and from rust, and from rubbish, a monument of the wisdom of our ancestors, which is yet susceptible of cultivation and improvement.

There remains but one other consequence of the relation between husband and wife, which we shall notice: that which prevents either from being a witness for or against the other. The reason of this exclusion is now generally rested upon this ground; that if a wife were permitted to testify *for* her husband, she would be under a strong temptation to commit perjury, and if admitted *against* him, it would be contrary to the policy of marriage, and might create dissension and unhappiness. *Bull. N. P.* 286. Some writers, however, who seem to think the unity of person an answer to all objections, and a reason for all consequences, put it upon this footing; that if allowed to be witnesses *for* each other, they would contradict the maxim, "nemo testis esse debet in propriâ suâ causâ," ("no one should be a witness in his own cause,") and if *against* each other, the other maxim, "nemo tenetur seipsum accusare," ("no one is forced to accuse himself.") But, as has been very properly remarked by Christian,* this will scarcely account for it;† because, though the confessions of the husband or wife are no evidence against the other, yet those of the party are legal evidence. He thinks, and we agree with him, that the rule ought to be confined to cases where the husband or wife is a party to the prosecution or action; and he seems to dislike the case in 2 *T. R.* 263; where it was held, that a wife shall not be called, in any case, to give evidence even tending to criminate her husband.

* 1 Christ. Blacks. 443. n. 20.

† Though in Rome man and wife were considered separate persons, they could not be witnesses for or against each other. *Wood.* 315. This confirms Mr. Christian's view of the subject. In France, Domat says, depositions of kindred as far as cousin-germans were rejected; upon the same principle—a fear of improper bias towards one of the parties.

If that be true, he argues, a plaintiff or prosecutor may have the benefit of the testimony of the one, and the defendant or prisoner cannot have the advantage of the other's testimony, because the evidence of the latter might tend to charge the former with perjury. Surely, in such cases, where the interests of strangers are concerned, the furtherance of public justice is a consideration of greater weight than the possible domestic strife of the witnesses. The rule, we may add, it is well known, yields to considerations of policy; and in cases of high treason, or where the injury is directly to the person of the wife, an exception is very properly introduced. The case of the infamous Lord Audley led the way in the adoption of the latter exception, which has been enlarged by statute in England.

We may be mistaken in the opinion, that the United States and England are the only civilized nations, where the rights of property of the female are thus entirely disregarded in the event of marriage. Certainly the civil law contains provisions altogether distinct: and that law is the basis of the legislation of a great part of Modern Europe. The general features of that system undoubtedly provide for a *feme covert* retaining her property, and acting in regard to it as a *feme sole*. We are far from wishing to introduce that law in the place of our own. With all its defects, the common law is far superior to any code of jurisprudence yet framed by the wit of man. A spirit of freedom breathes through its general provisions; while the warmest admirers of the civil law must admit, that their favourite system deserves any praise rather than that. But though we prize our unwritten system far above any other, and would be altogether unwilling to make an exchange of its advantages, yet we should not be too proud to adopt a beneficial principle, although its origin may not be traced to the forests of Germany, or be hid in the obscurity of the traditions of the ancient Britons.

It is a trite yet true observation, that the state of any society is affected materially by the situation which the female sex occupies; and that a courteous regard to the rights of females is an index of the progress of civilization. Their salutary influence is co-extensive with the respect evinced towards them. The gallantry of the days of chivalry was their only redeeming feature; it softened the rigours of war, and taught the exercise of benevolence and generosity to Barons, in an age when all rights were disregarded, and all laws set at defiance, but that of the strongest. We need not the false, visionary, and pernicious schemes of a Wolstonecraft or a Wright to enforce the claims of woman: a temperate discussion of the principles of the law, and a proper application of improvement to existing institutions, where improvement may appear desirable, is all that is needed, without resorting to the utter annihilation or upturning of the present constitution of civil society.

We cannot better conclude our remarks, than by presenting what the accomplished author we have before quoted, Chancellor Kent, says, towards the conclusion of his chapter on the subject:

"The law concerning husband and wife has always made a very prominent and extensive article in the code of civilized nations. There are no regulations on any other branch of the law, which affect so many minute interests, and interfere so deeply with the prosperity, the honour and happiness of private life. As evidence of the immense importance, which in every age has been attached to this subject, we may refer to the Roman law, where this title occupies two entire books of the Pandects, and the better part of the fifth book of the Code. Among the modern civilians, Dr. Taylor devotes upwards of one-sixth part of his whole work on the *Elements of the Civil Law*, to the article of marriage; and Heineccius, in his voluminous works, pours a flood of various and profound learning on the subject of the conjugal relations. Pothier, who has examined, in thirty-one volumes, the whole immense subject of the municipal law of France, which has its foundations principally laid upon the civil law, devotes six entire volumes to the law of the matrimonial state."

ART. IV.—*A Narrative of Events in the South of France, and of the Attack on New Orleans in* 1814 *and* 1815. By CAPTAIN JOHN HENRY COOKE, *late of the* 43*d Regiment of Infantry.* London: 1834.

WE are not about to dissect this work for the benefit of our readers. We have merely appropriated the title to our use, that, agreeably to the approved canons of criticism, we may tell our own story of the eventful inroad which it describes, rather than make our journal a vehicle for the narrative of another. Yet the work is not without interest. The author relates occurrences which passed before his eyes, during a period of active military service in Europe and America, and when "great events were on the gale." Many of his descriptions are spirited. Some of them racy. His style is at times forcible, though frequently loose, and not always free from affectation. But there is about him a commendable effort at impartiality, for which we may vainly seek in many military journalists, particularly in those who mingled in the adventures they describe; and a spirit of free investigation, which we should suppose would prevent him becoming a favourite at the Horse Guards. He criticises the operations before New Orleans with equal freedom and severity, and with no little ability. And independently of the judgment to be formed of this ill-fated expedition by its result, it is impossible to rise from the perusal of these sketches, without being struck with amazement at the imbecility of the British leaders, and their utter neglect of the plainest principles of their profession. Still, the disclosure of truths, humbling to national and professional pride, cannot always be looked

for, and the higher claim have those, who perform this duty with stern indifference to the consequences.

Our last war with Great Britain was preceded and accompanied by peculiar circumstances. There were evil passions abroad, far more than are the usual accompaniment of a belligerent attitude. Society was in commotion, and principles were advanced and practically enforced, which startled the common sense of mankind, and broke down, for a time, the most salutary barriers of international law. The jargon of that day is not, even yet, quite obsolete, and once in a while a writer is found, who talks seriously about the battles of the world being then fought by England, and the ingratitude of her step children, in not acquiescing in her demands; about their duty to surrender every attribute of their own independence, because England was fighting for hers: as though such a principle does not place it in the power of any nation to assume at pleasure the character of a universal champion, and annihilate all commerce but her own, that that of others may be *free*. And recent political events have shown that the other doctrine, practically established in that day of lawless aggrandizement, that priority of injury becomes the test of right, is not yet abandoned to the musty shelves of decrees and orders in council; but has found advocates in a French representative chamber. It is scarcely credible, that for years, two of the most enlightened nations of the world, in the face of all Christendom, were preying with unbridled license upon the commerce of the United States, and that each was seriously justifying its wanton aggressions, upon the pretext that the other committed the first wrong. What a ground of justification, both as respects the fact and the doctrine! The one can never be susceptible of exact proof, or rather may be twisted at pleasure by political casuistry; and the other would lead to an endless succession of crimes, each excused or justified, because a preceding one had been committed. War is a great calamity. But if the first bale of cotton or barrel of flour, which is *rifled* from an American vessel under such a pretext, is not the signal of instant resistance and reprisal, if, as Mr. Jefferson beautifully expresses it, the deed does not bring the public sensibility to a crisis, and the forbearance of the government to a necessary pause, we shall deserve to pass *sub jugo*, and merit the contumely of the world.

We are led to these remarks, not from any feeling with regard to the past. That is matter of history only. But we are seeking instruction for the future. The struggle in which England was engaged in Europe, withdrew the attention of her people from the operations here. And satisfied we are, that they are not, to this day, aware of the manner in which the contest was waged. The spectator of occurrences here, be he naval or military, who shall tell, in this day of quietude, the things he saw, and as he saw

them, must expect that something worse than incredulity will follow from his narrative. So the author of the "Life of a Sailor," who is understood to be Captain Chamier, has found it. He accompanied the expedition under Admiral Cockburn, which so long desolated the shores of the Chesapeake, and carried plunder and devastation into almost every harbour and river and creek and inlet of that extensive estuary. He tells of the houses that were burned, the stock that was killed, the furniture and valuables that were taken, and of the families that were ruined. But for this testimony, given as an eye witness, his patriotism has been impugned, and his statements discredited; and Captain Scott, of the British Navy, has come forward and publicly contradicted, under his own name, and as an eye witness also, the truth of the allegations. Verily we may well join in the doubts, which have been expressed of the truth of all history. Here are two officers of high rank, both engaged in a great expedition, affirming and denying the truth of certain general statements, which must have been known to every man and boy on the ship's books, and which were known to the people of a whole continent.

That these depredations were committed, and frequently under circumstances of much atrocity, is a fact as certain, as that war then prevailed between the two countries. They were bruited in every paper on the continent, communicated to Congress by President Madison, made the subject of a special and detailed report in the Senate, accompanied by precise and authenticated statements, and seen and felt by thousands.

If Captain Scott, the *gallant* but indiscreet champion of Admiral Cockburn, will turn to the Appendix of La Tour's history of the war in Florida and Louisiana, he will find copies and extracts of letters, written by British officers to their companions, and speaking with equal freedom and levity of these depredations. These documents have been published nearly twenty years, and we have never heard that their authenticity has been disputed. They were found on board the British armed schooner St. Lawrence, Lieut. James E. Gordon, commander, when that vessel was captured on the 20th February, 1815, by the privateer Chasseur, Capt. Boyle. We shall quote a few extracts from them.

From Mr. Swainson to Lieut. Douglass of H. M. Brig Sophie —off New Orleans.

"9th February, 1815.

"We had some fine fun at St. Mary's; the bombs were at the town, and had plenty of plunder. How are you off for tables, chests of drawers? &c."

From J. Gallon to J. O. Reilly, Esq., on board his Majesty's Ship Tonnant—off New Orleans.

"Cumberland Island—9th February, 1815.

"We have had fine fun since I saw you. What with the Rappahannock and various other places, we have continued to fetch up a few trifling things, such as mahogany tables, chests of drawers, &c."

Admiral Cockburn himself, in a letter to Captain Evans, dated Cumberland Island, February 11, 1815, speaks in the true *Dalgetty* style of this expedition to St. Mary's, where glory and drawers were gained. He says,—

"We have been more fortunate in our small way. We have taken St. Mary's, a tolerably rich place, &c."

And Sir Thomas Cochrane, in a letter to Sir Thomas Trowbridge, off New Orleans, dated North end of Cumberland Island, February 12, 1815, expresses a pang of disappointment, that he had missed the *provant* of St. Mary's. "I came here," says he, "just too late to share in the good things going on."

Mr. J. R. Glover, in a letter to Captain Westfall of the Anaconda, dated Cumberland Island, 1st February, 1815, wishes, like Westmoreland, though not like Westmoreland for patriotism, but for profit, *that he had more men from England.* Not to baptize in blood a new field of Agincourt, but to reap a harvest of plunder, of tables and drawers and geese, &c. "We have established our head quarters here, after RANSACKING St. Mary's," says this frank marauder, "from which we have brought property to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, and had we two thousand troops, we might yet COLLECT A GOOD HARVEST before peace takes place." Harvest indeed! How his feelings must have struggled between a wish for more labourers at the gathering of the crop, lest the hopes of these military husbandmen should fail, and a fear, that in conformity with the principles of political economy, the wages might decrease, as the labourers increased. All this is admirably stated, with his usual learning and precision, by the Rittmaster already quoted. "I myself," says this RANSACKER *in a small way*, "never saw twenty dollars of my own all the time I served the invincible Gustavus, unless it was from the chance of a storm, or victory, or the fetching in some town or doorp, when a cavalier of fortune, who knows the usage of wars, seldom faileth to make some *small profit.*"

But we have found one Oasis in this desert, one bright spot for the eye to rest upon. And we cannot resist the temptation of bringing it to the notice of our readers.

A detachment belonging to the British Ship Saracen, commanded by Captain Dixie, landed at St. Inigoes, a religious establishment upon the St. Mary's river in Maryland, belonging to the incorporated Catholic clergy of that state, and plundered the houses of the *Religieux* and the church. A contemporaneous publication says:—

"On returning to the house it was pitiful to view the different rooms they had ransacked, particularly the chapel; they left the crucifix on the altar, broke the cruets, and scattered the pieces over the floor; they carried off six feather beds, sheets, blankets and pillows—bed curtains, an alarm clock, silver spoons, knives and forks, glass, the reverend gentleman's watch, the candlesticks belonging to the altar,

kitchen furniture, and almost all the clothing belonging to the persons who reside in the house, two trunks with clothing, books and medicine, several pairs of new shoes made for the people, and a quantity of leather; even the linen which was at the wash, and many other articles not yet known."

We have been at the trouble to copy this *catalogue raisonné*, because it exhibits, we presume, a pretty fair sketch of the pilfering upon these occasions. It is more extensive than that furnished by the author of the "Life of a Sailor," but with the exception of the sacred utensils, which may be considered an accidental *treasure trove*, it is, in the general character of the articles, essentially the same.

To the honour of Captain Dixie, he returned this ill-gotten plunder with the following creditable letter:—

"To the Clergyman belonging to the Chapel of St. Inigoes, and the other residents there, to whom this letter refers.

"Gentlemen,—

"An officer and boat's crew belonging to his Britannic Majesty's Ship Saracen, under my command, having landed at St. Inigoes on the 30th ultimo, and taken several articles of furniture and other things from the houses and chapel there; and such proceedings being unauthorized by me, I have taken the earliest opportunity of causing restoration to be made of the property so taken, and now send one of my Lieutenants with this letter and the property above mentioned to you, under a flag of truce, hoping this instance of justice will efface any prejudicial sentiment towards the British from your minds, and that the injured parties will express their satisfaction at our present conduct in this matter.

"I beg you to believe, gentlemen, it is matter of great regret to me, that the proceedings complained of should have been performed by those under my command, and with sentiments of consideration,

"I am, Gentlemen, your very obedient servant,

"ALEXANDER DIXIE, Captain.

"His Britannic Majesty's Sloop
Saracen—off George's Island.
"11th November, 1814."

Whether this restoration took place in consequence of the property being rifled from religious edifices, or from the personal indisposition of Captain Dixie to participate in such a dishonourable mode of warfare, or from whatever other cause, the act is the more creditable to him, as the predatory examples around him would have sanctioned any course of rapine, and as the procedure itself was much better adapted to draw forth the censure, than the commendation of his superior officer, Admiral Cockburn; unless the character of that officer has been greatly misunderstood in the United States. Admiral Cockburn has left behind him a most unenviable fame. Time has, indeed, done its usual office, and mellowed the feelings of that period; but the impression of his unworthy conduct has been as lasting, as it was deep and general. His adventures, or more properly his *ventures* in the Chesapeake, were, as he himself describes those at St. Mary's in Georgia, in "*a small way*," if we regard his rank, and the kind of property, belonging indiscriminately to males and females, adults and infants; but in a LARGE WAY, if we regard the extent of country where this *harvest* was collected, the number of persons pillaged,

or the misery inflicted upon the exposed, and in too many instances, defenceless inhabitants. That the involuntary and unfavourable emotion, which the name of Admiral Cockburn to this day excites in an American breast, is not the necessary result of an able and vigorous execution of his duty to his own country, by carrying on war against this, is shown by the example of General Brock, who inflicted the most serious injury upon the United States by the capture of a territory and an army, and whose memory, notwithstanding, is held in honourable recollection by those who were his enemies, as it is by his own countrymen. We have, ourselves, stood upon the monument erected to him by a grateful community upon the spot which he defended and where he fell, and recalled his praiseworthy conduct, of which we were an eye witness, in the hour of his triumph.

It is obvious, however, that no officer would have ventured to collect and carry off such a mass of property, had there not been a system of rapine established in the fleet, which, by its example, would protect him from punishment, as well as secure to him, in his own expectation, his *proper* share of these acquisitions. In this expectation, however, he was in this instance disappointed.

How unworthy of honourable warfare is this spirit of cupidity! Long may we remain at peace with the land of our forefathers; —with that land, which is endeared to us by so many natural sympathies, by so many proud recollections, by so many bonds of interest and affection. But should it be otherwise, and if the evil day of war must again come, we hope it will be prosecuted in a spirit of honourable emulation, and not be waged against the poultry yard and the kitchen garden, the chamber furniture and the wardrobe: against the articles which Captain Chamier saw taken, against the *geese*, the *ducks*, the *pigs*, the *clocks*, the *knife and fork case*, the *books*, &c. Well may the writer style this a *Swing* warfare, and reprobate it as "disgraceful."* And sure we

* Captain Chamier, in his letter to Captain Scott, published in the United Service Journal, Part I., 1833, page 555, says, "When Dr. Bolinbroke's house was sacked in real good style, (I have some of his books yet,) do you imagine we run over the country to pay the poor medico, or left an equivalent for the plunder? Not a bit of it, I promise you; why we put the staircase clock in the midshipman's birth, as a memento of *past time*, for it never went, and his knife and fork adorned our buffet."

The author of the "Life of a Sailor" will allow us to correct him. The gentleman whose house was thus plundered in the most approved style, was not Bolinbroke, but Brockenbrough, Dr. Brockenbrough, one of the most respectable men in Virginia. And it so happened, that while we were recalling the facts of this case, we accidentally met a gentleman, who then bore a high military office in that state, and who personally knew all the circumstances of this most disgraceful "sack." He assured us that the house was stripped as completely as Captain Chamier has represented, and that, in the mere wantonness of devastation, the marble mantel pieces of the "*poor medico*" were broken, and that they yet exhibit *marked* proofs of what Captain Scott has been pleased to designate Sir George Cockburn's "anxiety to prevent, as much as possible, the miseries attendant on war, from falling upon the more harmless portion of the community, and the ready attention and remuneration he always granted to an aggrieved or injured party."

are that few Englishmen, now the frenzy of those times has passed away, will justify these scenes, or desire their recurrence.

If the spirit of the age cannot meliorate the system of maritime plunder, it can, at all events, prevent its transference from the ocean to the land. And there is, certainly, in the British army, enough of principle and patriotism, to furnish all necessary stimulus for exertion, without holding out the hope of plunder, and rendering honourable men mercenary and predatory.

But it is time to proceed to the object we have more directly in view. That object is to present a sketch of the military operations connected with the invasion and defence of Louisiana, and particularly with the battle of New Orleans. We have been induced, by recent circumstances, to look back with some attention to the stormy events of that anxious period. We found the leading facts recorded by authors who had favourable opportunities for investigating the truth, and who have creditably performed their voluntary tasks. But our purpose has not been forestalled. A sketch of the occurrences, making the great conflict of the 8th of January the prominent object, and presenting such a view of the accessories as is necessary to give interest and proper effect to the whole picture, we cannot ascertain has been prepared. We have thought, that such a work, if properly executed, would not prove unacceptable. Whether this is so, must be left to the judgment of those who may find sufficient interest in our article to lead them to its perusal.

The defence of New Orleans is a prominent object in our military history. It closed, with the most brilliant success, a war undertaken in self defence, and whose progress had been marked by signal disasters, as well as by signal victories. It gave tone to the national feeling, and elevation to the national character. But it has other claims to consideration, still greater than these. It was a defensive victory, achieved, principally, by a militia force, and altogether, by a force recently and hastily raised, with little discipline, and less experience. The assailants were among the best troops of the age, and flushed by recent success. And they excelled their adversaries as much in numbers as in practical discipline. A repulse, under such circumstances, furnishes a useful and cheering lesson. Whatever tends to check the pride of conquest, and to give stability to nations, is interesting to all who look to human happiness as the true object of government, and as the great end of social institutions.

The war of 1812, forced upon the government of the United States by a series of injuries and indignities unexampled in modern history, found the nation prepared, in feeling and spirit, for any exertion or sacrifice which might be required; but not equally well prepared in those elements of power, personal and material, which are essential to success in military operations. Undoubtedly

we suffered in interest and reputation by this state of things; but its existence is inseparably connected with the nature of our institutions, and will probably be felt, under similar circumstances, at all future times. And whatever temporary reverses it may occasion, its general effect is salutary, operating as a beneficial restraint upon that tendency to war which forms almost a constituent principle of human nature. War can never overtake us suddenly. There are, in the atmosphere of modern times, signs of its approach, which cannot be concealed or disregarded; and although true wisdom requires us to make all the necessary preparations relating to the permanent defence of the country, which demand much time and means, still the "putting on of the armour" can only be done when the national feeling has reached its proper crisis.

During the first campaign of the war, we were, with few exceptions, acquiring lessons of experience, which produced their natural and profitable result in the second. The downfal of the French Emperor, and the annihilation of those vast schemes of conquest which so long fixed the attention of the world, relieved the British government, and enabled them to direct their undivided efforts to this continent. They acted with great promptitude, and detachments from their armies in France were soon on their way to Upper Canada, and to the American coast. But indications, not to be misunderstood, pointed to the south-western extremity of the Union, as the place where the most serious efforts at invasion were to be made. There were circumstances, connected with the physical geography as well as with the political history of Louisiana, which, no doubt, led to the decision of the British cabinet upon the question of invasion. That region was then but a recent appendage to the American Confederacy, to which it had been united without any concurrence of its own, after having been successively under French and Spanish domination. It is evident, from the statement of Captain Cooke, as well as from the tenor of the proclamations issued by the British General, that the disaffection of the inhabitants was anticipated as one of the causes of success. Even as late as the present year, this author appears utterly ignorant of their sentiments at that period. He says: "The whole of this day," that is, the day succeeding their debarkation, "most of the people, now placed under martial law, in New Orleans, *were anxiously looking for the entrance of the British, minute after minute, and were lost in chagrin and amazement, when night again closed without their entrance into the city.*" There was as little ground for the expectation, as for the assertion. This subsequent events have shown; and the loyalty of the inhabitants of Louisiana to the Union, survived all the trials to which it was exposed.

But that country is physically connected with the extensive re-

gions whose united streams form the Mississippi. The valley of that mighty river stretches from the ridges of the Alleghany to those of the Rocky mountains, and from the sources of the waters of Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, embracing an extent of country equal, probably, to a million of square miles. Even at the period of the invasion, the trans-Alleghany population amounted to about a million and a half of inhabitants, and the navigation of the Mississippi was essential to their prosperity. The possession of the delta of that river, by an enemy in war and a rival in peace, would have inflicted a most serious injury upon the vast country seeking its outlet to the ocean through this channel. The acquisition of Louisiana had been hailed as one of the most important and memorable events in the history of the Confederacy, and its loss would have created a corresponding sensation of regret. Whether, therefore, the object of the British government was to obtain permanent possession of a most valuable region, to injure their adversary, or to render unpopular the war itself, and those by whom it had been undertaken, the motives for this expedition were sufficiently obvious. Rumours were at that time rife, that Louisiana was to be permanently annexed to the British dominions, and there are not wanting sufficient reasons to give countenance to this opinion. It is said, that many of the arrangements, connected with the expedition, indicated not a mere conquest or temporary occupation of the country, but its annexation to the British dominions. The London Times, of December 3d, 1814, evidently looked to this ulterior state of things. "The permanent occupation of New Orleans would be a fatal blow to the American views of aggrandizement on the side of Louisiana," &c. No doubt it would be one of the most serious injuries which could be inflicted upon the Republic, because it would close the great highway of the Mississippi to the inhabitants living upon its waters, or subject them, as in the day of Spanish rule, to vexatious restrictions and interruptions.

A Barbadoes paper, of November 7th, 1814, issued while General Keane, with his troops, was at that island, and speaking, no doubt, the feelings of the expedition, discloses visions of conquest, which were fair and beautiful in the prospect, but which, in the retrospect, prove not only their sanguine hopes of success, but a lamentable ignorance of the country they came to overrun, and of the people they came to subdue. After stating the number of troops which were to accompany General Keane, and which were estimated at six thousand, and announcing that this was but the "vanguard" of a large expedition, which was then on its way from England, the chronicle continues, "it is but fair to conjecture, that it is the purpose of our ministers to extend the line of military operations along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, till they meet and communicate with our forces contiguous to Lakes Michigan,

Erie and Ontario, or Upper Canada—and thus completely encircle the United States."

The coincidence between this "conjecture," and the demand made about this time at Ghent by the British Commissioners, that an unalterable boundary should be established for the Indians, which, running from Cleaveland, on the line of Wayne's treaty, to Fort Recovery, and thence to the mouth of the Kentucky river, and which would have severed forever from the United States all the country north of the Ohio river, except about a moiety of the State of Ohio, and perhaps a tenth of the State of Indiana, shows that a vital blow was meditated against the integrity of the Union. But a Montreal paper, of January 14th, 1815, while making known to its readers the arrival of the British fleet upon the coast of Louisiana, ventures still further in this patriotic second sight. "It may be concluded, in consequence," the editor says, "that hot work would soon follow, or that the place (New Orleans) would be an easy conquest. We may calculate upon the latter," &c. After adding that the conquest of New Orleans will be the means of securing the friendship and commerce of the western people, "whose ruling passion," he says, "is interest," he subjoins; "They will be loyal to the nation which can best protect them, and secure to them the most gain." Thus profoundly ignorant were the British public of the physical and moral obstacles in the way of the success of the expedition, which was to march from New Orleans to the great lakes on our northwestern border, and to find a *loyal* people ready to receive them with open arms. Instead of twenty degrees on the great circle of the globe, thus traced out for them, their march was limited to three miles. Still however, these extravagant speculations show what was the probable final object of this formidable force. It is a well known fact, that there was a bevy of civil officers, to be employed in the administration of the conquered States, who accompanied the expedition. Some of these were captured, and the British Admiral, with a characteristic sneer, refused to recognise them as entitled to exchange.

It were idle now to speculate on the consequences of this invasion, had the British succeeded in their attempt upon New Orleans, and evinced an intention to retain permanent occupation of the country; though little is hazarded in the opinion, that their tenure would have been difficult in its maintenance, and short in its duration. The progress of this country, in population and in all the elements of strength, has never been fully appreciated by the great European community. Nor was the British government, in 1814, aware of the physical force which even then occupied the valley of the Ohio—a force which, if necessary, would have descended like the inundations of their own rivers, and swept before them every opposing obstacle.

The geographical features of Louisiana are peculiar and interesting, and if the nature of the country present some uncommon difficulties to an invading foe, it offers others, which are not less so to defensive operations. The region, traversed by the lower Mississippi, has been gained from the ocean by the deposites borne down by the current of that river. During its annual inundations, its surface, when at the greatest elevation, is considerably higher than its natural banks; and these, in their turn, are higher than the land in their rear. Contrary, therefore, to the usual fluvial formations, there is an inclined plane, highest at the river, and extending to the swamps, which serve as a reservoir for the water that escapes in the period of the inundation. Human labour and ingenuity have counteracted the operations of nature, and a dike or *levee* has been formed along the river for a great distance, which protects the land between the stream and the swamp from the periodical *freshets*, occasioned by the falling of the rain, and by the dissolution of the snow in the immense trans-Alleghany valley.

This dike or levee, frail as it apparently is in its structure, has yet been found sufficient to guard the habitations and the works of man from the danger which hangs over them. It is indeed liable to occasional breaches; but these are generally repaired without delay, or if not, the water passes in a considerable stream through the inclined plane to the swamp, making indeed a channel for itself, but extending its ravages no further.

From this very general view of the country it may well be supposed that there are various routes by which it may be approached and entered from the ocean. Placing ourselves at New Orleans, the key of this whole region, we shall take a *coup d'œil* of these avenues of communication, without a sketch of which, neither the plans of operation, nor the merits of the contending parties, can be understood or appreciated.

To the east of New Orleans are three inlets of the ocean, called Lakes Borgne, Pontchartrain, and Maurepas. Lake Maurepas communicates with Lake Pontchartrain by the pass of Manchac, and Lake Pontchartrain with Lake Borgne by the two passes or channels of the Rigolets and Chef Menteur. Lake Borgne itself is an indentation of the Gulf of Mexico. An enemy, approaching in this quarter, and having the command of Lake Borgne, sees before him the whole interior of the country, either covered by the waters of these lakes, or by swamps and marshes, overgrown with high reeds and thick cypress timber, and intersected in every direction by channels of communication called *bayous*. These channels are comparatively narrow, but deep towards the lakes, gradually shoaling in depth as they multiply in number, and extend their numerous ramifications towards the Mississippi. This marshy waste is impenetrable to human footsteps, except upon the

banks of some of the larger bayous, or in a season of extreme drought.

One of the most considerable of these lagoons, which is supplied by Lake Borgne, is the Bayou Bienvenue, entering the lake on its western side, and extending its branches through this world of marsh in various directions towards the Mississippi, below the City of New Orleans. A guard was stationed at the outlet of this channel, and its observation and defence were intrusted to General Villeré, who commanded a division of the Louisiana militia, and who, from his long residence below the city, was well acquainted with the topography of this whole region. South of the Bayou Bienvenue is another similar channel, called the Bayou Dupré, opening a communication from the south-western part of Lake Borgne, and through the sunken lands, by many branches, to the Mississippi. These passes, however, were but little known, nor was it believed that they afforded much facility for the approach of an invading army. They occupied the region below that divided by the Bayou Bienvenue.

There are two passes between Lake Borgne and Lake Pontchartrain. That of Chef Menteur and that of the Rigolets. The former was defended by a battery and redoubt. This position was highly important, for it was situated at the junction of the Bayou Sauvage with the Chef Menteur pass, and thus commanded both avenues of communication.

The Chef Menteur pass is probably eighteen or twenty miles from the City of New Orleans, and the Bayou Sauvage extends through the intermediate country, almost equidistant between Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, and approaches the suburbs of the city. Along its bank is the Gentilly road, which was passable for troops and their artillery. In addition to the redoubt and battery at the junction of this road and bayou with the Chef Menteur pass, these communications were defended by batteries upon the route, and were intrusted to the Louisiana militia, under the command of Governor Claiborne.

The Rigolets, the other channel between these lakes, was defended by the fort of Petite Coquilles. A flotilla, forcing either of these passes, and entering Lake Pontchartrain, could steer directly to the southern shore of the lake, which is within three miles of the city. The Bayou St. John here offers a direct and easy communication across to the Mississippi, and to the upper part of the City of New Orleans. This quarter was defended by Fort St. John at the outlet of the Bayou. West of Lake Pontchartrain is Lake Maurepas, and between them is the pass Manchac. From Lake Maurepas, by the Amité and the Ibberville, is another communication with the Mississippi, intersecting the river about seventy miles above New Orleans, and thus enabling an enemy to make his attack from that quarter.

The river itself furnished another, and the most obvious mode of approach; but it was secured by Fort St. Philip. West of the Mississippi Barataria bay and Petite lake formed another line upon which an enemy might operate, and reach the bank of the river immediately opposite the city. A part of the 44th regiment was stationed there to afford the necessary security.

It will thus be seen, that from the peculiar nature of the country there were several approaches to the City of New Orleans, by which an invading army might advance, and that great vigilance on the part of its defenders, as well as the occupation of proper positions along these lines, could alone guard against surprise. A dispersion of the troops was the necessary consequence of this state of things, as well as general incertitude respecting the operations.

The government of the United States, during the autumn of 1814, became satisfied that a hostile expedition for the invasion and conquest of Louisiana was in progress; and the indications of such a design soon became too distinct to be misunderstood. The troops which had been employed in the attacks upon Washington and Baltimore, and in those marauding expeditions into the country upon the Chesapeake bay, which, while they carried terror and distress to the exposed inhabitants, left unattained all the objects of just and honourable warfare, were withdrawn to the West Indies, to await the arrival of a detachment ordered from England to join them in this service. This junction took place at Jamaica, on the 24th of November, 1814, and the next day the fleet sailed, and gained the American coast on the 9th of December.

From this time, and until the final catastrophe and retreat of the British army, several reinforcements were received by them, and it would be satisfactory to ascertain the precise strength of both parties in the various engagements which decided the fate of the country. The authenticated returns, which are appended to this narrative, furnish all the information necessary on the part of the American troops, except upon the 23d of December, the report of which day we have not been able to procure, and have therefore subjoined the statement of Eaton, founded on information furnished to him by the Adjutant General. But our inquiries have not been so satisfactory in relation to the British army. Eaton and La Tour estimate their whole force at about fourteen thousand men, and they give the elements on which the calculation is made. We have seen no accounts, resting on British official authority, which contain an approximation towards the military or naval strength of this expedition. General Jackson's force at the lines upon the left bank of the Mississippi, on the morning of the 8th of January, including all the rank and file, or in other words, the corporals

and privates, who are considered as combatants, was 4264, as the authentic returns show.

During the summer and a part of the autumn of 1814, General Jackson had been engaged in the necessary measures for the defence of the military district intrusted to him, which included the south-western part of the United States. Florida, at that time an appendage of the Spanish crown, was so situated with relation to his command, as to interrupt his communications, and to embarrass his operations. It had proved itself a place of refuge, where his enemies, both white and red, had sought safety, and whence they had issued to overcome and devastate the country.

The neutral duties of the Spanish local authorities were openly neglected. They had certainly not the inclination, perhaps not the power, to cause the British and their allies to respect their territory. The consequences already felt, and those anticipated, led General Jackson to the adoption of one of those decisive measures which have characterized his course through life. He determined, upon his own responsibility, to enter Florida, and in expelling the British, to teach the local government a salutary lesson. This design he executed with equal promptitude and success. Pensacola was taken, the hostile expedition driven from the province, and the fortifications, upon which they had relied for defence, demolished.

This proceeding, equally wise and just in its conception and vigorous in its execution, was essential to the defence of the region committed to General Jackson. Had this concentration of British troops and Indians been permitted to continue with impunity, his whole left flank would have been uncovered and exposed, Mobile must have fallen, and St. George's banner, associated with the Indian *Kukewium*,* waved over all the prostrate settlements in that exposed region. We have no taste for puling sentimentality, nor have we a wish to revive the embittered feelings of that period. *Let byegones be byegones.* There are many, very many noble traits of character in the British nation. And we sincerely believe, that had their government and people been aware of the dreadful nature of the warfare conducted by the North American Indians, they would have rejected with horror any proposition for their employment. The lessons of history, however, are always salutary, and may be read for improvement when the period of excitement has passed away. It cannot be doubted, but that if the usual routine of diplomatic remonstrance had been resorted to, and the action of the Spanish authorities, colonial or imperial, awaited, an intimate communication would have been established between the

* *Kukewium.*—This is understood to be the Chippewa name of the Indian standard, which is composed of feathers attached to a spear, and which, when displayed, indicates that the fight is to be for life or death.

British troops and all the disaffected southern Indians, and their mutual co-operation secured. It has been our fortune to witness the untold horrors of such a warfare. Well may it be said, that eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the atrocities of these incursions. Before them, is all that constitutes human happiness. Behind them, a ruined country and a murdered people; or a captivity, terminated by all the sufferings which savage cruelty can inflict, or prolonged for the purposes of savage caprice or cupidity.

General Jackson, having secured his left flank by the expulsion of the British, and prevented any co-operation between them and the Indians, and having concluded a series of decisive operations, which could not but produce a powerful moral effect on all the southern tribes, prepared to assume the immediate personal command of the troops collected in the vicinity of New Orleans.

The public indications, which gave warning of the danger to others, were not unheeded by him, and there were some, which reached him confidentially, confirming the belief, that a serious attempt against that part of the country was meditated by the British Cabinet. These he had communicated to the government, and he now felt that the time was come when prompt measures must be adopted to meet the impending danger. After making all the necessary arrangements in his power for the defence of Mobile, and for the security of that part of the country, he commenced his journey to New Orleans, and reached that city on the 1st of December, 1814.

At this period Louisiana was as defenceless as it was exposed. Both in the *personnel* and *materiel*, there was an appalling deficiency of the means necessary for the ultimate safety of the country. He had under his command the skeletons of two regiments of new raised regular troops, but the rest of his force was militia, drawn from the invaded district, from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Of arms and of ordnance stores generally, the supply was wholly inadequate to the exigency. A quantity had been some time before demanded and ordered, but from some administrative error, these were yet slowly descending the Ohio, in the lowest stage of its water, and in fact did not reach their place of destination till the struggle was over. Had it not been for the provident foresight of General Carroll, in transshipping into his boats a part of these equipments which he accidentally passed, the whole Kentucky reinforcement would have been weaponless in the day of trial, and as it was, not less than from twelve to fifteen hundred of them were mere spectators of the combat, not being able to mingle in it for the want of arms. As another example of the defective state of the military supplies, it may be remarked, that General Jackson, in a report to the Secretary of War, of February 18th, 1815, informs that functionary,

that when the "enemy landed, he had not a flint except what was procured from the Baratarians."

The works upon the Mississippi below the city, and which were intended to secure the line of communication by the river, were in an unfinished or dilapidated condition, and as a general sketch of the state of the country, so far as regards its permanent military defences, it may be remarked, that there was not a respectable fortification in the state; that the bayous were unobstructed; important points left without the defence of batteries; and the City of New Orleans itself, the depot of the trade of the whole western country, the seat of the State government, and the immediate object of the British invasion, was destitute of the slightest entrenchments. But there was a state of moral feeling, still more unfavourable to efficient action than the difficulties arising from the want of the necessary preparations. The tone of public sentiment was depressed. There was an evident want of some central authority; some master spirit, confident in its own purposes, and able to inspire confidence in others. Appearances were indeed sufficiently alarming to excite the apprehensions of the least timid. The military councils were divided respecting the best plan of defence, and indecision and inactivity were the necessary results. The very uncertainty in the time and place of attack, and in the force of the enemy, combined to increase the alarm.

General Jackson's efforts were directed to the acquisition of a personal knowledge of the topography of the country, and to the adoption of the necessary measures for obstructing the advance of the enemy. He laboured with equal zeal and assiduity to gain the confidence of the community. In this he was successful. Order was restored. Discipline established. The fort upon the Mississippi was inspected and repaired. Those upon the passes of the lakes were strengthened. The bayous were obstructed by fallen timber. Batteries were erected and furnished, and activity pervaded every department of the public service.

In the meantime the British expedition had reached Cat Island, upon the coast of the Gulf, and a powerful detachment from the fleet had captured the American flotilla of gun boats, destined for the defence of the lake. Lieutenant Jones and his command fought with great gallantry, but were overpowered by numbers. This result placed it in the power of the British general to convey his troops, unopposed and unobserved, to any point of debarkation he might select. The sea is here so shallow, that large vessels cannot be employed in the service of transportation, and the boats of the fleet and the captured gun boats furnished the only means of conveyance within the power of the enemy. The distance from the fleet to the mouth of the Bayou Bienvenue, is about sixty miles, and a small swampy island, at an intermediate distance, was selected as the place of concentration for the troops. Here they

were conveyed, and this point of departure they left on the 22d of December, and gained the mouth of the Bayou Bienvenue on the morning of the 23d. A small guard had been stationed for the security of this communication, but they were surprised, and the pass was thus opened to the British. They availed themselves of their good fortune, and reached the Mississippi about noon of the same day without opposition, and it is believed, without observation.

Great credit is due to the commander of the British army for this well concerted plan of operations, and to his troops for their exemplary conduct in the circumstances in which they were placed. They were crowded into open boats, and exposed to all the dangers and inconveniences of a voyage at an inclement season, and upon a dangerous and unknown coast; and it is said that some of them did not leave their boats for six days. Had the subsequent operations of the campaign been conducted with as much spirit and judgment, Louisiana might have fallen, notwithstanding all the efforts of her defenders.

General Jackson received information of the approach of the enemy between one and two o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d. His troops were stationed at the various positions we have already enumerated, as the uncertainty, attending the movements of the enemy, required that all the avenues of communication should be secured. Even at this moment, when his approach was announced, it was still the duty of the commanding general to survey the whole ground, and not by hastily withdrawing his troops render defenceless those positions, which would open to his antagonist an unmolested entrance into the city. It was possible that this movement was but a feint, designed to attract the attention of the Americans, and that the real effort was to be made in some other quarter. Of the small force, therefore, assembled in the vicinity of this exposed city, it was impossible, with any just regard to military principles, to concentrate the whole upon a particular point, till the designs of the enemy were more fully unfolded.

This successful and well concerted movement of the British, brought the affairs of this interesting region to a crisis. There was no obstruction to the advance of the enemy. Neither troops nor defences to oppose his march to the city, and a level road upon the bank of the river invited his approach. But he did not avail himself of the opportunity within his reach. He left ungathered the fruits of his own enterprise. The British troops halted at the river, spread themselves over the plain, and at once yielded to all those impulses which belong to the life of a soldier, and which lead him to enjoy the present, regardless of the future. It is the recklessness of habit:—the result of those alternations of safety and danger, that are the inseparable companions of active military operations, and which have practically enforced the injunction

to "take the good* the Gods provide," from the feast of the Macedonian conqueror to the vigil of Waterloo,—where

> ——"was a sound of revelry by night
> And Belgium's capital had gathered then
> Her beauty and her chivalry,"

But where too—

> "there was mounting in hot haste,"

And then—

> —"rider and horse—friend, foe—
> "in one rude burial blent."

By a rapid march the invaders would have reached New Orleans before any other notice of their arrival, and the city might have fallen by a *coup de main.* There were not wanting enterprising officers in the British camp, who estimated at their full value the advantages of a prompt and decisive movement. But more cautious counsels prevailed, and the opportunity thus offered, passed away, no more to return. The British commander found, as all indecisive generals will find, the truth of the remark of Phædrus, to nothing more applicable than to unnecessary military delays.

> "Elapsum semel
> Non ipse posset Jupiter reprehendere
> Occasionem rerum significat brevem."

Happily for himself and his country, the measures adopted by General Jackson, at this juncture, were dictated by another spirit. He might have concentrated his forces in some position below the town with as much promptness as possible, and, strengthened by such defences as the operations of the enemy might permit him to make, awaited his approach. Had he done so, he would have lost the country. All the moral effect of a vigorous attack, both in elevating the feelings of his own troops and in depressing those of his opponents, would have been lost. The enemy, not having learnt to respect the vigour of the American General nor the efficiency of his troops, would have advanced with full confidence, and without allowing time for any of those preparations which soon began to foreshadow, and finally produced the unexampled *denouement.*

When General Jackson received intelligence that the British had reached the Mississippi, he instantly determined upon his plan of operations, and issued his orders for the movement of the troops. The Inspector General, Colonel Hayne, was directed to proceed down the river with such force as could be immediately collected, and if he met the enemy advancing, to attack them and retard their march as much as possible. If, however, he found them encamped at the position where the latest information left

* Qu. *Goods?*

them, he was directed to take post in the Orange grove on Larond's plantation, and there await further orders: and he was assured, that he should be supported without delay by the commanding general, and such strength as he could bring into the field.

Hayne moved out within an hour after receiving these decisive orders, and took with him a corps of about three hundred and fifty men, most of whom were mounted.

General Jackson remained in the city to facilitate, by his presence and directions, the assemblage and movement of his other corps. The 44th Regiment was on the opposite side of the river. It was brought over with the utmost despatch. General Coffee, with his command, was four miles above New Orleans. No time was lost in communicating to him, and to the corps of Planche and Daquin, the necessary orders, and requiring their immediate presence. General Carroll and Governor Claiborne, with the militia force under their orders, were stationed upon the Gentilly road in the rear of the city, as it was not yet known where the actual point of approach and attack would be.

The necessary dispositions having been made, and all the disposable force in motion, General Jackson left the city about sunset. The whole force which marched out of New Orleans on this occasion, was as follows, agreeably to the return furnished to Eaton by the Adjutant General, Colonel Butler.

Coffee's brigade and Beal's company, - - -		648
The 7th and 44th Regiments, - - - -		763
Marines and artillery, - - - - - -		82
Plauche's and Daquin's battalions, - - -		488
Mississippi Dragoons under Hinds, - - -		186
		2167
From which are to be deducted—		
Hind's command, not in action, - - -	186	
Two companies of Coffee's brigade, left to hold the horses, estimated at - - - - -	100	
		286
		1881

Making, probably, about eighteen hundred men, rank and file. Of this force, two of the regiments were regular troops. One had been some years raised, but the other was composed of new men, levied the preceding year. The residue were militia. Some belonging to Louisiana and others to Tennessee, who had voluntarily tendered their services, and who had marched more than a thousand miles to repel the enemy from a distant border. It may convey some notion of the arduous nature of this service, and of the zeal and devotion of those who had cheerfully embarked in it,

if we state, that General Coffee's command, having been informed that the enemy were hourly expected in force before New Orleans, and having been urged to hasten their movement, marched, in the last two days, one hundred and twenty miles, in an inclement season, and through a country almost inundated by the autumnal rains.

This force, about to place itself between the enemy and the object of his campaign, was, in a great measure, ignorant of the rudiments of discipline. Many of them had never seen an opposing weapon; and scarcely one of them had ever been brought into contact with civilized troops. They were now following their leader in a daring and desperate attack upon soldiers, who had fought in many a well contested field, and who were led by officers whose reputation had been acquired in the great schools of war in Portugal and Spain. Of the strength of the enemy at this time, we have no authenticated statement. Eaton and La Tour estimate it at between four and five thousand men. Captain Cooke states that the first division consisted of sixteen hundred, and that this was reinforced during the action, so that at its close the actual force of the British was two thousand, after deducting their loss. But there is an evident mistake in this computation, which is easily shown by a comparison of the accounts.

The whole number of troops embarked in this fleet with General Keane, is stated by Captain Cooke to have been four thousand seven hundred. But the author of the "Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army at Washington, Baltimore and New Orleans," &c., who was an officer in the expedition, estimates the strength of the army at this time, as follows:—

The 93d regiment.
Six companies of the 95th.
Two West India regiments.
Two squadrons of dismounted dragoons.
Detachments of artillery, rockets, sappers and engineers, and recruits for the different corps in this part of the world.
Being the force brought from England and collected in the West Indies, and amounting to - - - 3500
The 4th regiment.
The 44th regiment.
The 85th, which three had been serving in the Chesapeake.
The 21st, which joined at Bermuda.
The whole of these he estimates at - - 2500

Making the total amount of force, bayonets we presume, as this is evident from his allusion in the case of the Highlanders, - - - - - - 6000

Admiral Cochrane, in his despatch of January 15th, 1815, re-

ports, that by the 21st all the troops, except the greater part of the two black regiments and the dragoons, were embarked in the boats. The author of the "Narrative" estimates the two black regiments at eight hundred each, making - - 1600
Two squadrons of dragoons, say - - - 100

1700

We suppose that one thousand may be safely assumed as coming within the fair meaning of the "greater part," and we shall thus have five thousand as the number actually embarked at this time in the boats.

It is impossible to say how many of these were delayed till the action was over. But as it is known that heavy detachments arrived during its continuance, and took part in it, and as it is expressly stated that the "sound of firing reached them and roused the rowers from their indolence," we may fairly take the estimates of Eaton and La Tour as exhibiting the probable number of the British troops, who took part in this contest during its progress.

The enemy was upon the Mississippi, and their immediate designs were unknown. As soon as General Jackson arrived in their vicinity, he proceeded forward to make a *reconnaissance* of their position, and to arrange his plan of attack. The light of their fires enabled him to ascertain where they were stationed, and to perceive that they extended from the river into the plain, and that strong picquet guards were posted at intervals between their right flank and the swamp, which is here about a mile and a half from the Mississippi. Although the usual routine of military duties was observed in the general disposition of the troops, and in the arrangement of the guards, there was still an evident impression among the British troops that they had little to apprehend from an enemy. The men were apparently enjoying themselves by a full indulgence in the good things which fortune had given them; such, says one of them, as "hams, fowls, and wines of various descriptions," and the light of their fires rendered distinctly visible their whole arrangement and operations.

General Jackson's plan was instantly formed and communicated to his officers. His right flank rested on the river, and his line extended into the plain, with General Coffee and his command upon the extreme left. That officer was directed to endeavour to turn the right flank of the British, and to attack them in rear. The rest of the line, under General Jackson's immediate command, was to advance in front; and as orders had previously been sent to Colonel Morgan, who was stationed below with a detachment of about three hundred and fifty men, to co-operate in the attack, it was hoped he would be able to attain their rear, and

thus succeed in intercepting their communication with the Bayou Bienvenue. General Coffee was to commence the attack, but this intention was frustrated by the intervention of a large double ditch, which his horses could not cross, and where he was compelled to leave them. In the meantime the armed Brig Caroline had been ordered by General Jackson to drop slowly down the river, and to anchor opposite the British camp. When the land attack commenced, she was to open her broadside upon the enemy.

Commodore Patterson accordingly descended the river, and having attained his position, dropped his anchor, and swung round upon his moorings. The character of his vessel seems to have been entirely unsuspected, and it was some time before she was challenged. No satisfactory answer being given, a rocket was thrown up, and Patterson, finding longer concealment impossible, though still waiting for the signal, discharged an iron storm upon the British bivouac. Thus the action commenced.

It is, at all times, difficult graphically to describe the operations of a battle:—to trace the combination of the movements, to present to the reader distinctly the prominent and moving incidents, to mark the alternations of exertion and lassitude, and above all, to avoid the confusion so closely connected with an attempt to narrate, in succession, circumstances occurring simultaneously. And the task is still more discouraging, when the conflict is in the night, and when the opposing forces are mingled in *mêlée*, instead of carrying on their operations agreeably to the principles of scientific warfare. We shall merely give the features of this irregular but spirited conflict, and pass on to the progress and result of the campaign.

The armed brig was within musket shot of the bank, and her guns swept the whole plain. The British forces were gathered round their fires, reposing in apparent security, and without any protection from the sudden and destructive attack. They were instantly thrown into great confusion, and we might say, consternation; for some minutes passed before any efficient measures were adopted, either of annoyance or defence. The fires, however, were at length extinguished and order restored; but probably after the loss of one hundred men, killed and wounded by this extraordinary naval effort. Captain Cooke says, in his *serio*-comic manner—"and thus round after round and ball after ball were vomited forth, driving the troops into the most dire confusion, which caused a tenfold panic during the darkness, and the confusion beggared all description. No mob could be in a more utter state of disorganization."

As soon as the Caroline opened her fire, the main body of the American force, under the immediate orders of General Jackson, moved forward and soon met the enemy. The plan was to march in columns from the first position, and to form the line when suffi-

ciently advanced, as it is well known that an *alignement* is preserved with much difficulty by new troops. By a misapprehension, however, of one of the principal officers, this arrangement was not understood, and that portion of the troops beyond the immediate observation of General Jackson, attempted a forward movement with an extended front. At this place the river encroached upon the plain, and the consequence was that the American line soon became curved, and in fact so far broken, that detachments were forced from their position, and placed between their friends and enemies, and exposed to the fire of both. The effect of this mal-formation was felt through all the subsequent operations; and the darkness of the night prevented the application of the proper remedy.

Still, however, both parties were soon warmly engaged, and the British fell back before their assailants. The scene was, no doubt, an extraordinary one. It was at this time between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, and the last rays of twilight had disappeared. A damp fog was ascending from the Mississippi, and extending over the plain, shrouding objects, as it approached, in almost impenetrable darkness. The opposing forces had met, and were contending in a mortal struggle, guided in the attack by the flashes of their adversaries' guns. General Keane says, in his official despatch—"A more extraordinary conflict has perhaps never occurred; absolutely hand to hand, both officers and men." The field was intersected by many small ditches, formed to convey the water of the river to the swamp, and the operations were continually affected by the interruptions which these occasioned. The combatants spoke the same language, and during this eventful night friends and foes were intermingled, without discovering the character of each other till it was made known by actual contact, and announced by the death stroke.

Under these circumstances, and with the occurrence of every variety of incident which may be found in the histories of the campaign, but which we have not time to describe, the British were driven from their positions, and gradually yielded about a mile of ground.

While these operations were in progress, General Coffee had dismounted his corps and led them to the right of the British army. As soon as the broadside of the Caroline told him that his movement could no longer be concealed, he formed his line at right angles with the British order of position, and pushed on to the attack. He received their fire sooner than he had anticipated, because the guns of the brig had driven them into the plain for safety. Coffee returned the fire, and with much effect. The enemy retreated before him, and after forming more than once, and as often falling back, took up a position in an orange grove. They were dislodged from this after a sharp conflict, and finally reached

the river and took refuge in a sort of redoubt, formed by a double levee, which had been constructed to resist the encroachment of the river. Here they were secure from the fire of the Caroline, and Coffee, satisfied of the danger of attempting to dislodge them, withdrew his troops, and proceeded to join General Jackson.

The second division of the British army arrived during the engagement, and took an immediate and efficient share in its operation. From the point of its approach, and the nature of the attack assigned to General Coffee, its first effort was directed against the rear of the Tennessee riflemen.

General Jackson, fearing the consequences of a longer prosecution of the action with new troops, now much scattered, determined to relinquish further efforts, and encamped where he had halted upon the field of battle. Here his troops remained unmolested till morning.

Captain Cooke has described this action in his usual spirited manner. But he has introduced an episode, as wonderful as any to be found in the most *veracious romance.* It narrates the adventures of Captain Hallen and his company, and as the author was not present, not joining the army till the 5th of January, it is fairly presumable that he received the account of Captain Hallen's adventures from the gallant hero himself. It is in the true *Ercles* vein, and sets forth how Captain Hallen's company was in "proud array," and "burning for a trial of strength with the long vaunted prowess of American riflemen." How General Jackson came "on in person with three thousand regular troops and militia men to the fight, the latter in coloured clothes." "*Some even assert that they counted more men than here specified.*" Captain Hallen's command must have contained some marvellous arithmeticians, with marvellous powers of vision. Falstaff's men in buckram were but the type of these. What, three thousand counted out of eighteen hundred! More than six hundred of these were across the field a mile distant, and to add to the wonder, this deliberate numbering took place in a dark night, in the confusion of a battle unprecedented in modern times, and while the gallant captain was opposing the whole American army with eighty men! If that officer has not received his baton, his country is ungrateful, and a field marshal lost to her service.

But to proceed in our examination; we are next told, that "They fought foot to foot, and hand to hand, and probably since the invention of gunpowder there is no instance on record of two opposing parties fighting so long muzzle to muzzle." Poor Hallen's detachment was left alone, "isolated like a ball of fire, to fight for themselves." We will let the simile pass muster, as we are not captiously inclined. Our author continues, "Neither ancient nor modern history can show a parallel resistance to that made against General Jackson by Captain Hallen and his com-

pany," "and at a time, too, when the main body of the British were nothing more or less than a confused mob in uniform," &c.

Captain Cooke is sometimes disposed to be facetious. He is particularly so at the close of this narrative, where he says, that "General Jackson, as a last resource, laid hold of some of his *posse comitatus*, that were wandering about in the utter darkness, and implored them to sit down one by one in a row," &c. But above all, when he states that "the British, having won the victory, had no more to do than to follow it up," &c., and it may be, that in the same vein of dry humour, he recounts the adventures of Captain Hallen, as a satire upon some military Bobadil. But if the worthy chronicler is serious, we must seriously tell him, that a cruder or a more incredible story is not to be found in modern military annals. Why, it is refuted in its main point by the official report of the British commanding General. He says expressly, that a vigorous attack was made on the picquets under Captain Hallen and Captain Schaw, and that "these officers and their respective picquets conducted themselves with firmness, and checked the enemy for a considerable time; but renewing their attack with a large force, and pressing at these points, Colonel Thornton judged it necessary to move up the remainder of both corps," namely, the 95th and 85th regiments. That the outpost of Captain Hallen was not maintained by that officer, is also admitted by General Keane. He says that the enemy made a last effort, and "at first, his line drove in all the advanced posts." He then proceeds to describe how, by the exertions of Colonel Thornton, the Americans were finally repulsed.

There is little gained by this system of rhodomontade—by exalting ourselves and depressing our adversaries. If eighty men of the British army could foil General Jackson and his whole force, what censure is strong enough for a commander, and for his army of four thousand men, who could suffer such an adversary to throw them into confusion, "to convert them into a confused mob," to attack them with an inferior force, to drive them from their positions, and finally to sleep quietly upon the field of battle?

This panegyric upon a portion of the force, at the expense of the residue, is akin to the fortunate solution, by which our English congeners accounted, during the late war, for the victories of the *striped bunting* and the *fir frigates* over those wooden bulwarks whose thunders had so long "quelled the floods below." They said, and no doubt believed, that the crews of the American ships were composed of Englishmen: thus complacently claiming the credit of the victory, which side soever it might visit, without reflecting, that if a crew composed of Englishmen, in an American ship, could conquer a similar crew in an English ship, the difference must result from the courage, efficiency, and experience of the officers; and as these were native Americans, their character

and services must be a treasure of which we have a right to be proud.

Captain Cooke will allow us to say, and we do it upon the *best* information, that the picquet in question was stationed at the intersection of the main road running along the bank of the Mississippi, and one of the numerous ditches, which collect and convey away the water, that would otherwise destroy the hopes of the planter upon this fertile plain. The principal part of the guard were in the ditch, and protected by that and by a slight post and rail fence. Some of them, however, were probably advanced in the road to give the first intelligence of the approaching enemy. When that part of the American army under the immediate personal direction of General Jackson, amounting to about three hundred men, *instead of three thousand*, which advanced upon the road, were within reach of the enemy, the picquet opened its fire upon the assailing troops, and immediately fell back to the next ditch, about one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of the former. *The Americans did not halt. They did not even check their motion.* The fire was almost harmless, and the order to charge was immediately given and obeyed. When, however, the advancing column gained the second ditch, where the picquet was posted, a much more efficient fire was received, which killed and wounded several men, and disabled two of the artillery horses employed in drawing the guns. This circumstance occasioned a pause. The two guns were unlimbered, and turned round upon the enemy, who again yielded their position, and sought safety in retreat. It was at this moment that Colonel Thornton reinforced the discomfited guard, as described by General Keane, with the 85th and 95th regiments, and assumed the immediate direction of the British operations at this point. And here then succeeded one of the sharpest conflicts which marked this eventful night. Here it was that the combatants were intermingled, assailants and defenders; the regular disposition of the troops broken up; personal strength and activity restored to that importance, which belonged to them in the early periods of history, and many a deed of valour shrouded by the darkness of the night and by the grave.

This scene continued about fifty minutes, when the British gave way, and occupied the position we have before described, where they were protected, as in a redoubt, by a double bank or levee.

The videttes, who had been sent on the first intelligence of the approach of the enemy to the Chef Menteur, to ascertain whether they probably contemplated any operations upon that line of communication, returned during the engagement, and reported that there were no demonstrations in that quarter. General Carroll was immediately ordered to move down his troops from the position he occupied, and General Jackson determined to renew the attack with his whole force in the morning. But he found, on

opening a communication with General Coffee, that considerable reinforcements had been received by the enemy during the night, and that he had probably their whole army before him, of whose actual strength he was ignorant. He felt that the important trust committed to him, that of guarding the great artery of more than half the Union, could best be executed by assuming a defensive position, and putting nothing more to hazard than the progress of circumstances might require. The enemy had received a salutary lesson, and his own troops had been taught, that they might successfully contend with those disciplined warriors, the *prestige* of whose glory was now destroyed. Delay gave strength, moral and physical, to him. To them it was fraught with the most disastrous consequences.

The next morning, therefore, at dawn, he fell back unmolested to a position about two miles higher up the Mississippi, where the swamp and the river approached nearest to each other, and where, therefore, his line of defence would be the shortest and most tenable. General Hinds, with about three hundred militia, dragoons and infantry, was left near the field of battle, and took possession of a house within five or six hundred yards of the British line, where they remained undisturbed till the morning of the 28th, when they retired before General Packenham, who moved out with his whole force. And yet Captain Cooke claims this as a "victory won" by the British. We may well ask, if a conflict, so conducted and terminated, was a victory, what would have been a defeat? We suppose nothing short of the annihilation of their whole army.

This battle, thus fought and ended, saved New Orleans. Not by its necessary effects upon the series of military operations, but by its moral influence upon the invaders and invaded. It is evident, in taking a retrospective view of the incidents of that period, that the British army made its descent on Louisiana with a high, perhaps not too high, confidence in its own prowess; but with a thorough contempt for its adversaries. They forgot the cautious maxim, not to underrate our opponents. The author of the Subaltern in America, who was an officer in the expedition, says, "We held them," the Americans, "in too much contempt to fear their attack." Another journalist, an officer of the British army, observes, that "upon this intelligence our wonted confidence returned, and we betook ourselves to our former occupations, *remarking, that as the Americans had never yet dared to attack, there is no great probability of their doing so on the present occasion.*" And Captain Cooke, after slightly hinting, *con amore*, at the "rich merchandise" of New Orleans, subjoins, in the course of his narrative, this remark, of which he thinks the result of the campaign furnished a practical illustration, "that insignificant objects are not to be despised, and left to be captured at the will and pleasure of the dilatory." Had the American army shut themselves up in

New Orleans, or taken a position below the city, and awaited the onset of the invaders, in the ordinary course of events, skill, discipline, and experience must have done their work, and sealed the fate of the country. The great object, therefore, of the American General, was to teach his adversary caution, and thus to retard his advance, while his own troops might gradually acquire confidence in themselves and their leader. That the plan was successful, is evident from the fact, that during four precious days, between the 23d and the 28th, the British army kept within their lines, and were employed in the necessary communications with their fleet, whence heavy guns were brought, to destroy or drive off the little brig, which continued to annoy them with its iron messengers.

This action cost the Americans two hundred and thirteen in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and La Tour states that the British official report acknowledges a loss of three hundred and five. The return we have not seen.

The position now occupied by the Americans was immediately behind the race or flume of a mill, which was supplied with water from the Mississippi. The river, at this time, though falling, was fortunately higher than the natural bank, and *crevasses* or breaches were made in the levee, by which the swamp was inundated, and the front and left of the American position partially secured. In about a week, however, this advantage was lost by the subsidence of the water.

Every effort of the American General and his army was now directed to the construction of such defences as time and their position allowed. The troops were indefatigable at their labour, and their works, though rude, soon gave them confidence. A rampart of earth was thrown up on the northern bank of the mill race, and this was strengthened from day to day. The pressure of circumstances led to the adoption of an extraordinary expedient. The plain was a dead level, saturated with water, and it was almost impossible to procure earth with sufficient facility. Bales of cotton were therefore brought from New Orleans, and placed upon the line. These were covered with earth, and of such materials was the rampart formed. Until the final battle of the 8th of January, the work was industriously prosecuted. And the whole extent of the barricade constructed in this manner, from the river to the swamp, was eight hundred and forty-five yards. Thence the work was continued six hundred and ninety-one yards into the swamp, till it became impassable. But the mode of construction was changed. As cannon could not be here used, the parapet was formed of two rows of logs, about two feet apart, piled upon one another, having the interval filled with earth, so as to resist musketry. Cannon were mounted at proper intervals along the line, and the troops were assigned their regular position in the event

of an alarm. After all, this was but a slight field entrenchment, and utterly unworthy of notice as a military work, when compared with those proud fortresses, which had been won by British valour in the Hispano Lusitanian peninsula. The ditch was about thirty inches deep, and the parapet about six feet high. Behind this straight line, thus constructed and stretching across the plain, the Americans were prepared to receive their assailants.

But there were other objects pressing upon the attention of the American General. He was not at ease on the subject of the approach to New Orleans by the Gentilly road and the Bayou St. John, and an alarm of the appearance of the enemy in those quarters, compelled him to detach a portion of his force to repel the expected attack. It also prevented him from calling to his aid a considerable detachment of the Louisiana militia, which he had thought it prudent to station in the exposed districts. The command of the water, enjoyed by the enemy, in fact laid open to him the communications into the heart of the country, penetrated, as we have seen, by navigable channels, marking the peculiar geological features of this singular alluvial region. It was not till about the 28th that General Jackson became satisfied the enemy was determined to make his real effort by an advance in front.

In the mean time, on the 25th, Sir Edward Packenham arrived, and assumed the command of the British army. He made some change in its interior organization, and Captain Cooke says, manifested strong disapprobation at the measures which had been adopted. He may have felt the sentiment, and expressed it; but he went no further, for his brief military career was marked by the same deliberate caution, and want of enterprise, which had characterized General Keane, and which would have tarnished his memory as a soldier, had it not been redeemed by his high personal bearing in the hour of peril, and by his untimely death.

Offensive operations were resumed by the British on the 27th, when they opened a battery of red-hot shot upon the Caroline, and succeeded in setting her on fire. She blew up and disappeared, after having rendered the most essential service to the defensive operations. She had seriously injured the enemy, and annoyed them more, and continued to beat up their quarters for three days almost without intermission.

General Jackson had been unmolested during four days, when at dawn on the 28th the British army marched out of their lines, and driving before them General Hinds and his corps of observation, advanced towards the American position. They marched in two columns, one on the bank of the river and the other on the skirt of the plain. When they arrived within the range of the American cannon, these were opened upon them, and the columns immediately halted, and deploying into line, were ordered, says the official journal of the British operations, "to lie down." The

armed ship Louisiana, anchored in the river opposite to the right flank of the American line, sent her shot into the British ranks, while the cannon, placed in battery along the entrenched position, were served with spirit and considerable effect. The enemy returned the fire from their field artillery, and threw their bombs and rockets into the American lines. During seven hours did this scene continue, with but sixteen casualties on the side of the Americans, while those on the side of the British are computed at one hundred and twenty. Finally, the assailants relinquished the attack, and retired to a new position, about a mile and a half in front of the American entrenchment.

It is difficult to reconcile the operations of this day with any rational object the British general could have in view. If he left his camp with a design to attack his enemy, there was no visible reason why he stopped the movement, when he had reached the point, where, as Captain Cooke says, the blood of the men "was up ready for the usual rush." And the author of the Subaltern in America asserts, that "one spirited dart, such as we were preparing to make, must have carried us through them," the American entrenchments, "but our ardour was repressed." It is obvious that the great body of the army expected an immediate assault would be ordered. Certainly, the resistance experienced from the land and naval batteries was not greater than ought to have been anticipated, and much less than when, eleven days later, the final and disastrous effort was made.

If the British general expected to terrify his enemy by the discharge of rockets and bombs, and thus to throw him into confusion, and then mount the works, he assuredly reckoned without his host. Those missiles proved almost harmless, and the American backwoodsmen, who, if they had ever heard of a bomb or a rocket, had probably pictured to themselves some terrible instrument of destruction, soon learned, that like another enemy, they were more formidable in appearance than in reality.

Captain Cooke says that this affair, "to soften it off, was called a *reconnaissance*." "Words," Mirabeau told the French Convention, "are things." Still it is difficult to reconcile to common sense the idea, that a sight of General Jackson's works, standing directly in front of the British troops upon a naked plain, was properly purchased by a loss of one hundred and twenty killed and wounded, and by the far more serious loss of moral strength, produced by a distant cannonade of seven hours, and by the sheltered position and inactive state of the British troops. Captain Cooke says, "Indeed, the Americans, seeing the backs of the red coats, were elated accordingly, and were almost inclined to make a *sortie*." Not almost, but altogether; for Colonel Henderson was actually ordered to attack a party of the light troops, which had advanced near the American lines, and marched out for that purpose; but

mistaking the nature of his orders, placed himself in a false position, and lost his own life with five of his men.

The British general seemed now to consider heavy battering artillery essential to his success, and the army and navy were zealously engaged in transporting from the fleet the proper ordnance. Their supplies, too, and in fact all their *materiel*, were on board the vessels, more than sixty miles from them, and separated by a shallow arm of the sea, navigable only for boats of light draft of water. It may well be supposed, that the necessary intercommunication was preserved with great labour, and indeed the British accounts present a frightful picture of the difficulties they were compelled to encounter by the shallow water and sand bars of the lake, and by the mud and marshes, and intricate navigation of the Bayous. By the 31st, however, ten eighteen and four twenty-four pound carronades, together with the necessary ammunition, were brought to the British lines.

Sir Edward Packenham occupied a naked defenceless position. He was, in fact, almost in a *cul de sac;* for only one avenue of retreat was open to him, in the event of any disaster which might compel him to retire; and this was over a marshy plain, and down a narrow, intricate channel, where he was liable at any time to be assailed, and to have his movement checked. His means of transportation were inadequate to the conveyance of one half of his force, so that in any attempt to retire, they would have been necessarily separate, and thus liable to be beaten in detachment. He had, besides, no place of *depôt* for his stores.

Why, in this situation, he did not secure his position against a *coup de main*, is among the inexplicable circumstances of this strangely conducted expedition. A Roman *Imperator*, in the stern days of the republic, would probably have been thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for this neglect of the first principles of ancient castrametation, and a soldier of the school of Napoleon would have dashed at once upon the enemy, neglecting his own defences and disregarding theirs. The British general did neither.

Arrangements were now making in the camp of the invaders for an attack upon the American lines. It is stated in the journal of operations, transmitted by General Lambert, that the plan was to breach the American parapet, and silence their batteries, "while the troops were to be moved forward to storm the work, as soon as a practicable breach was effected." In order to execute this plan, three batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, were constructed immediately in front of the American works, and at the distance of about six hundred yards. Besides the guns mounted in the American lines, their defences were seconded by the flank fire of the Louisiana, and by batteries erected on the opposite side of the Mississippi.

The preparations within the British lines, and particularly the

noise of working parties on the last night of the year, indicated plainly to their vigilant opponents, that the next day would usher in another struggle. The dawn was obscured by a heavy fog, which shut out the sight of all objects at a few yards distance, and this circumstance, fortunate for the British, enabled them to prosecute their work without interruption, and to take the position assigned to the troops. About eight o'clock, however, the fog began to disappear, and their batteries immediately opened upon the American lines. Their guns were well served and skilfully directed, and the first effort of two of their batteries was directed against the quarters of the American General, which were known to the enemy. These were pierced by more than one hundred balls, bombs, and rockets, and almost demolished. But this uncourteous attempt proved fruitless, for he had repaired, as was his custom upon the first appearance of alarm, to the lines, where he continued during the cannonade.

There is no doubt that at the commencement of this operation the fire of the British was superior to that of the Americans. Their cannoniers were skilful, experienced, and well commanded, and they poured upon their adversaries discharge after discharge, with great rapidity and precision. Few indeed of the patriotic republicans, led by their own zeal to participate in this desperate and doubtful struggle, had ever conceived the existence of such a scene as that which was passing before them. Still, however, they were not found wanting in this hour of trial. Their batteries immediately answered the fire of the British, and gradually gaining the ascendency, dismounted their guns, killed and disabled the artillery men, and almost demolished the works which had been thrown up. About three o'clock the fire of the British was silenced, and their army retired to their camp.

During this severe cannonade, the whole of the enemy's force was drawn out and stationed in the ditches in the rear of their batteries, ready to advance to the storm of the American entrenchments, as soon as a serious impression should be made upon them. Independently of the loss occasioned to the British by the direct fire from the lines, many casualties were caused by the armed ship and the opposite batteries, which enfiladed and seriously annoyed them. Certainly the immediate theatre of this struggle must have presented a singular spectacle to these troops, many of whom had followed the standard of Wellington in his victorious career from Lisbon to Toulouse. There, the strongest fortresses, constructed with all the skill of modern military science, had opened their gates to these very troops, or had seen them scale the ramparts in the face of the most terrible opposition, and attended with circumstances of horrible atrocity, the details of which no historian can record. But here was a body of undisciplined men, collected suddenly from all the avocations of civil life, with-

out military skill or experience, and whose officers were chosen from themselves, and with no higher qualifications than native courage, strong intellect and genuine patriotism can confer. And these farmers and artisans and merchants and lawyers, amounting to less than one half of the British force, were now posted behind a line of cotton bags partially covered with earth, while the confident invaders were "supine," as General Lambert expresses it, or "lying down," as the Journal of Operations says, in the planters' ditches, waiting for a propitious moment to sally forth, and disperse what Captain Cooke calls General Jackson's "posse comitatus." "Was not this," inquires our author significantly, "enough to sicken the best troops in the world?"

At one moment, however, there was an excitement in the enemy's lines, a note of preparation for the coming onset, whose issue, had it taken place, is beyond our ken. Two caissons were blown up by a rocket, and the accident itself, and the momentary confusion attending it, probably led the British to suppose that some serious disaster had occurred. Their fire was suspended for a brief space, and a movement in the ranks was visible. They also manifested their emotion by three cheers. These were instantly sent back in startling shouts from the American lines, and were accompanied by a general salvo from the artillery. The besiegers resumed their former position, apparently satisfied, that no favourable effect had yet been produced by their fire.

During the progress of these efforts, an attempt was made to turn the left flank of the Americans. A detachment was ordered to penetrate the swamp, and passing the extreme left of the position, to attain, if practicable, the rear. Had this plan succeeded, it is possible, that in the consequent confusion, the assailing columns might have surmounted the entrenchments, and destroyed the American army. But such a manœuvre was too obvious not to engage the attention of General Jackson. He was well aware of the exposed condition of his left flank, and he had therefore adopted every practicable expedient to place it in safety. The breach in the levee had raised the water in the swamp, and had thus diminished the extent of the line of operations. Its defence was committed to General Coffee, and if untarnished honour, chivalrous courage, and the most devoted patriotism give any claims to confidence, this lamented soldier well merited that of his commander. He enjoyed it, and proved himself worthy of it.

This station required the most vigilant and severe attention. It was to be guarded day and night. From the depth of the water, it became necessary to erect a sort of scaffolding of logs and brush, upon which the troops could rest. This was pushed as far into the swamp as practicable, and the underwood cut down for some distance in front, that the riflemen might have timely notice of any advancing foe. The labour and exposure of

this particular service were excessive, but they were cheerfully borne by men inured to hardships, and identified with the cause in which they were engaged. Three British officers of engineers undertook to penetrate into this morass, and endeavour to discover some way, by which the position might be turned. While wading through the water, they suddenly came upon the station of three of the practised marksmen, who were scattered through the marsh. They were seated behind a log, and each taking deliberate aim at one of the officers, these were instantly killed.

For a few days subsequent to this period, both parties were busily engaged in their respective preparations for attack and defence, as it was obvious that some decisive event would soon bring the campaign to a close. Reinforcements were received by each of the combatants. Without entering into numerical details, little satisfactory to the general reader, we content ourselves with stating, as the best estimate we have been able to make from the data within our reach, that the British army was finally swelled to about nine thousand men on the left bank of the river, and that the number of combatants in the American army, was, as before stated, four thousand two hundred and sixty-four. The official returns, which are annexed to this article, furnish all necessary information on the subject of the defensive force. But the actual strength of the British army has never been publicly made known. The English writers, who have recorded the events of this expedition, and whose works we have met with, deal in vague generalities, and present no credible estimate of the final strength of their army. The different corps which composed it are named below,* as given in La Tour's memoir, together with his estimate

* List of the several corps of the British army employed in the expedition to New Orleans, as given in the Appendix to La Tour's Historical Memoir.

4th	Regiment,	King's Own, Lieut. Col. Francis Brooke,	750	strong.
7th	ditto.	Royal Fusileers, Lieut. Col. E. Blakeney,	850	"
14th	ditto.	Dutchess of York's Own (Light Dragoons) Lieut. Col. C. M. Baker,	350	"
21st	ditto.	Royal North Britain Fusileers, Lieut. Col. W. Patterson,	900	"
40th	ditto.	Somersetshire, Lieut. Col. H. Thornton,	1000	"
43d	ditto.	Monmouth (Light Infantry,) Lieut. Col. Patrickson,	850	"
44th	ditto.	East Essex, Lieut Col. Hon. Thomas Mullen,	750	"
85th	ditto.	Buck volunteers (Light Infantry,) Lieut. Col. William Thornton,	650	"
93d	ditto.	Highland, Lieut. Col. Robert Dale,	1100	"
95th	ditto.	Rifle Corps, Major Samuel Mitchell,	500	"
1st	ditto.	West India, Lieut. Col. C. W. Whitby,	700	"
5th	ditto.	West India, Lieut. Col. A. M. K. Hamilton,	700	"
A detachment from the 62d regiment,			350	"
Rocket brigade, artillery, drivers, engineers, sappers and miners,			1500	"
Royal Marines,			1500	"
Sailors from the Fleet,			2000	"
			14450	

of the numbers of each, and of the general aggregate. In Bissett's history of the reign of George the third, the American force, collected for the defence of New Orleans, is stated at thirty thousand!!! The author of the Narrative of the Campaigns of the British army at Washington, Baltimore and New Orleans, himself a participator in the scenes he describes, after mentioning the conflicting estimates of the American force, varying, as he says, from twenty-three thousand to thirty thousand, chooses "a middle course," and supposes "their whole force to be about twenty-five thousand."

In Baines' History of the Wars of the French Revolution, these exaggerated computations are reduced nearer to the standard of truth. This writer says, that the force on each side, at the battle of the 8th, was about ten thousand men.

From the official returns it will be perceived, that the lowest of these estimates more than doubles the actual number of armed men, who defended the American lines at the final repulse of the British.

Objects, which were thus exaggerated, must have been seen through a magnifying medium. Indeed, no clearer evidence is necessary, that the issue was equally mortifying and unexpected, than these attempts thus to increase the force of the Americans, and proportionably to diminish their claims.

The British force, however, was perfectly armed and supplied, with much labour, it is true, but still well supplied, with all the necessary *materiel* which they required. Their magazines, with the fleet, were filled with whatever was wanted, and these were freely opened to the demands of the army. The expedition had been abundantly prepared from the English arsenals.

On the 3d of January, General Jackson informed the Secretary of War, that no arms had then arrived. They were yet upon the river, having left Pittsburg the preceding autumn. He adds, "hardly one-third of the Kentucky troops, so long expected, are armed, and the arms they have are not fit for use."

It was lamentable that at this juncture some defect of inferior administration should have left unarmed a large portion of the force assembled at this point from so great a distance, and required by such imperious circumstances. But so it was, and the anxiously expected arms did not arrive till the British were driven discomfited from the attack.

We shall not stop to dwell upon the other defective arrangements for supplies, particularly of proper clothing, of which the distant militia were almost destitute. Harassing, indeed, were these circumstances to the troops, and perplexing to their leader; but they did not, like the want of arms, vitally affect the operations. Without arms the troops could not fight; but suffering and privation they could endure and overcome. And they did so. This

duty came down to them like an inheritance from their revolutionary fathers, and well was it performed.

We are desirous, however, of not being misunderstood. Far be it from us to cast the slightest imputation upon the venerable and patriotic man who then presided over the councils of our country, or upon his associates in this momentous struggle. Nobly, indeed, did they sustain the honour of the country, and rich should be their reward in the public gratitude. But their *surveillance* could not extend to every portion of every region of this vast confederacy, and derangements in the execution of the best concerted plans are every where the necessary consequence of extensive operations.

As we have already stated, the American lines were constructed on the upper bank of an old mill race. The lower side of the race presented a kind of glacis, and was left untouched. The fences in the neighbourhood were taken and planted upon the bank, to support the earth, and prevent it from falling into the race. Thus rudely constructed was the parapet. As different portions of the line were committed to different corps, and as the weather was remarkably inclement, there was little symmetry in the work. It was very unequal both in height and thickness, penetrable in some places by the enemy's balls on the 1st of January, and in others twenty feet broad.

With a commendable precaution, two other lines of defence were constructed, one about two miles in rear of the principal position, and the third still nearer to the city. The work upon these was vigorously prosecuted, and they soon assumed a respectable appearance. It was the intention of General Jackson, if compelled to retreat, to fall back in succession to these positions, and there renew the contest. It was a noble resolution thus to determine on transferring their standard from parapet to parapet, yielding, if compelled to yield, to superior numbers and discipline, but still resisting while resistance should be within their power. If executed, it would have been a beautiful illustration of the command of Tydides to the Grecian troops, when compelled to fall back before the Trojan army.

> "Ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρῶας τετραμμένοι αἰὲν ὀπίσσω
> Εἴχετε."

Their banner would have thus continued a signal of confidence to the troops, and of hope to the devoted city, which now, within plain view, was stimulating one party to exertion by its "rich merchandise," and the other, by all those sympathies and feelings which its precarious condition was so well calculated to awaken.

Should the enemy succeed in gaining his works by escalade, it was the impression of the American General that he could retard their advance with his mounted force, so as to be enabled to retire

in safety, and place his troops in the rear of the second entrenchment in time for a vigorous defence.

Behind the second line were stationed all the troops, and they unfortunately amounted to between twelve and fifteen hundred who were unarmed. This arrangement gave the position an appearance of strength, and every such appearance, which could impose upon the enemy, was now, more than ever, necessary to a successful resistance.

There was, indeed, but little opportunity for strategetic combinations during the progress of this campaign. The theatre of operations was, from physical causes, necessarily bounded by the visible horizon. The dark nights and the dense fogs, it is true, allowed the work of the spade and the axe to go on with less danger and interruption; but from dawn till twilight, the parties stood before each other, watching every movement, and equally exposed to observation.

We would not, if we could, cast the slightest unmerited reproach upon the memory of the brave but unfortunate soldier, who conducted this invading expedition. He had many difficulties to encounter, resulting from the face of the country, and from the distance between his line of operations and his naval *depôts*. It is obvious that he had not read, or did not heed, the maxim of the great master of modern military science: "*Il ne faut*," says Napoleon, "*point faire une guerre timide.*" Our article is a narrative, not a *critique*. And it must necessarily be so. The professional reader would not come here for technical details, nor would the general one find any interest in their perusal. We have besides not the time, and we may add, in all sincerity, that we do not feel ourselves able to enter into an analytical investigation of the faults and failures of this ill starred irruption. But it is open to the slightest glance, that while the British General was unimpeachably brave, his movements were slow, cautious, and "*timides.*" The vigour of his adversary had produced an impression, that his means of resistance were far greater than in fact they were.

But on the other hand, Sir Edward Packenham had great advantages over his opponent from the very nature of his command, and from the quality of his troops. He led none but regular forces, in a high state of discipline. His means, both of subsistence and annoyance, required nothing more than laborious transportation, and his cares and exertions were limited to his military duties. He had no one to thwart, to impede, to arraign him.

Far different was the situation of the American commander. He had the same military labours and responsibility as his rival. But he had others, not less perplexing, and which that rival knew not of.

The civil history of this campaign is perhaps not less interesting, certainly not less instructive than the military. At some future

day we may endeavour to present it to our readers. To attempt it now, would be to tax their patience beyond any reasonable limits of forbearance. But it is essential to a just appreciation of the true state of affairs, to recollect that the composition of the American army was not favourable to strict subordination—that they were inexperienced, partially unsupplied, collected from very different regions, hastily brought together, and almost all voluntary militia. The population of Louisiana was principally of French descent, and though they behaved nobly during the whole contest, still, in looking back upon circumstances as they were, it is easy to see that the elements of discord were present, and that great firmness and prudence were necessary in combining such materials into one mass.

There were other difficulties, peculiar to that time, and some of them to that place. Disaffection was there, not among many, but still among enough to make the public mind unquiet. The imminence of the danger rendered the most vigorous measures necessary. The theatre of operations and the vicinity of the army converted a large and populous city into a beleaguered camp. Anxiety and alarm were every where prevalent, and each day produced its ten thousand rumours, ever varying, but still upholding the feverish excitement. The institutions of our country are essentially pacific—from their nature and operations suited to a state of peace, and not to all the exigencies of a defensive warfare. We do not recognise the principle, that the laws are ever *silent among arms*, nor in the darkest day of the republic, should its darkest day approach, could we, by any established formula, pass that decree, "ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica," which was heard in Rome when the *Capitol* was in danger; nor authorize any magistrate to perform the functions of a dictator. Once, in the most portentous period of the revolution, and while the Articles of Confederation loosely prescribed the powers and duties of the general government, an authority approaching this was conferred upon him, who never exercised any power except for his country's benefit. What might have been unsafe in any other hands, was, from habit, from principle, from temperament, safe in the hands of Washington.

Certain it is, however, that there are times when a military officer, to whom a great trust is confided, may be called on to violate the laws, that the Constitution may be preserved. Such cases cannot be foreseen and defined. They must be met when they come. But this involves a fearful responsibility, and they should therefore be so extreme, as to leave no doubt of the duties they impose. No one, not lost in metaphysical abstractions, would insist on the preservation of formal regulations, or even of ordinary enactments, in those cases of extreme peril, where an invading enemy is laying waste the country, and where the energy of

military organization can alone stay his progress, and preserve that liberty, for which laws are not the substitute but the defender. But should a general mistake the crisis, he is lost. He must look to his countrymen, to public opinion, and to the proper legislature, for protection against those very laws he has violated, and whose spirit of elasticity restores them to immediate operation, when the pressure of danger is removed. It is, after all, a perilous resort, and most devoutly do we hope, that it may never be again witnessed in our country. But if it be, our next wish is, that the authority thus assumed may be quietly relinquished, and that its parting scene may be as memorable, as was the appearance of the American General before the Louisiana Court; where he was thanked for his military services and fined for his civil offences, and bowing to the decree, ransomed himself by complying with the judgment. The incident is not unworthy of the historical painter. We do not enter into the discussions, which then divided the executive and legislative authorities of the state. Suffice it to say, that there were criminations and recriminations, and that in the mean time the public interest suffered. These difficulties did not disappear, till the functions of the civil magistrates were limited or suspended, and till the energy of military authority pervaded the whole circle of operations, and brought all to the great work of defence.

This, however, was not effected without much trouble and anxiety to the American commander, which were superadded to the proper duties of his station.

There was occasional firing on both sides, during all this period, by which a few casualties were produced, and perhaps some slight interruption given to the respective working parties. But the great object of the campaign was neither advanced on one side, nor retarded on the other. The British were busily engaged in transporting their supplies, in preparing and strengthening their batteries, and in making their arrangements for the assault, while at the same time they were willing to delay the final effort, till the arrival of a reinforcement daily expected under General Lambert. It was also ascertained, that they were employed in excavating Villeré's canal, so as to open a navigable communication between the bayou they had ascended and the Mississippi. There could be but one object in this project, and that was to throw a portion, or the whole of their force, suddenly across the river, and thus place it in their power to move upon New Orleans by one bank or by both. The possibility of such a diversion had already been anticipated, and preparations had been made for the danger, by the construction of batteries and parapets on the western side, similar, in their general *contour*, to those on the eastern. As the probability of a vigorous attack in that quarter became greater, prudence required a proportionate increase of the means of de-

fence. The force was considerably augmented, and amounted, at the moment of attack, to about eight hundred men.

These works, however, were incomplete. A redoubt was thrown up near the river, and an entrenchment was constructed along the bank of a canal, for the distance of about two hundred yards. From this point to the swamp there was no defence but the canal.

The Americans had thus two lines of defence separated by the Mississippi, while the British commander had it in his power to concentrate his forces upon either, or to attack both simultaneously. There were not wanting those in his camp, who recommended that their principal effort should be made across the water, and had it been so, they might have pushed on to New Orleans, and compelled General Jackson to abandon his lines, and to commence a new system of defensive operations, or perhaps to risk the fate of the city upon an engagement in the field.

On the night of the 7th of January the American lines were manned by the troops, who were aware, from the incidents around them, that their enemy was preparing for the attack. The British had collected about forty boats, some of them armed with cannon, which were yet lying in the canal, ready to receive on board the detachment destined for the operations on the right bank of the river.

Many a sleepless eye watched the slow progress of that night—many, indeed, which never watched again. No man can contemplate, without emotion, the approach of such a struggle as was then evidently impending. When the blood is up, and all the excitement of battle around us, the mind is withdrawn from the reflection of danger, or rather is elevated above it. Duty, hope, shame, habit, discipline, all conspire to stimulate to exertion. But "the pain of death is most in apprehension." It is in the stillness of the night and of solitude that those thoughts come over us, which are told in such burning words by the great dramatic poet of our father-land. When,

> ——— "the dread of something after death,
> The undiscovered country, from whose bourne
> No traveller returns—puzzles the will."

Captain Cooke has portrayed with much feeling his impressions upon this eventful night; and whether his thoughts took their hue from the circumstances around him, or the latter from the former, certain it is, from his description, that a sinister augury was as natural in itself, as it proved in the end to be but too true. He states, that he wandered through the camp, contemplating the scenes around, and comparing the confusion at the head quarters, and the noise and revelry and fires at the lines, with the silence and order which appeared to prevail in the American army on both sides of the river.

The whole scene, with its associations, must have been singularly impressive to an Englishman—to a native of the older world, who had never seen the works of nature spread out in that magnificence which marks her operations upon this continent. Before him is that mighty river, of which he had heard from his infancy, rolling its endless floods to the ocean, and seeking its supply in the fountains of the north: traversing regions of boundless forests and perpetual solitude, and overtopping the rich but narrow plain, which man had gained from its dominion. High up, on its trunk and tributaries, those nomades wander, whose origin is a mystery; whose condition, habits, institutions and history, have arrested the attention of Christendom, since the veil, which insulated them and their world, has been withdrawn; whose fierce passions have always been gratified in the blood of friend and foe; who have been stationary, not in position but in improvement, while every thing around them has been changing; and whose destiny we have no pleasure in anticipating. Around him is the primeval forest, bidding defiance to the slow progress of human industry, shown, and scarcely shown in the little fertile tract, it has taken a century of labour to reclaim. The promised city, the object of his hopes and toils, is within his sphere of vision, though shrouded from his view by the obscurity of the night, and guarded against his approach by an enemy he came to conquer without an effort, but whom, he now fears, no effort can conquer. The river is sending up its dense canopy of fog, which gradually encircles all objects, animate and inanimate, and circumscribes the lonely spectator within his own narrow world. His companions had fought in many a foreign clime; at Corunna, says Captain Cooke, at Busaco, at Ciudad Rodrigo, at Badajoz, at Salamanca, at Vittoria, at Toulouse, at Martinique, and at other famous battles which he enumerates, and where they had seen the *elite* of Europe flee before them, and its proudest fortresses yield to their impetuous valour. Now they had been foiled by a band of husbandmen, a "*posse comitatus*," "*dressed in coloured clothes*," "*wearing broad beavers*," "*armed with long duck guns*," "*by lumps and crowds of American militia*," and "*by round hatted Americans*,"* but who, with practised weapons, with stout hearts, sharp eyes and steady hands, had planted themselves in the path between them and their prey.

Here was, indeed, food for reflection and recollection; and the reader of the two military authors, who participated in these events, will be struck with the sombre tone of their remarks, when depicting their situation and prospects on the eve of the battle. There was an evident want of confidence in the British army—a

* We suppose these epithets and descriptions were cant phrases in the British camp, applied to their enemies as marks of contempt. They are all to be found in Captain Cooke's work.

vague presentiment of some approaching disaster—a scepticism as to the abilities of their leaders, and the military policy of their arrangements.

"Coming events cast their shadows before."

These apprehensions are easily accounted for from the course of events, and from the promptness, decision, and confidence on one side, and the want of these military virtues on the other.

But the work of preparation went on in the British camp. The troops were embarked in the boats; the fascines and scaling ladders were prepared; the columns marched to the proper positions; the batteries made ready to open their fire, and the necessary orders communicated, according to military usage, through such channels as would ensure their reception and proper execution.—Thus passed the night.

Such was the relative situation of the hostile forces, when at the dawn of day, on the morning of the 8th of January, a signal rocket, thrown up from the left of the British lines, and immediately succeeded by another from the right, announced to the assailants that the moment of attack had arrived, and to the defenders, that their trial was at hand. The morning was calm, cold, and lowering, and the exhalations from the river and swamps still rested upon the whole face of nature, and masked the movements of the advancing troops. They had formed in two columns, the principal one on the right near the woods, and the other on the left near the river. As soon as their advance was perceived by the outlying picquets, these instantly retreated within the American lines, and gave notice of the coming storm. There could, however, be no surprise. All night the lines had been manned; one half of the troops doing duty at their posts, while the other slept, or more properly rested. Still the obscurity of the morning and a partial curve in the woods, enabled the main column to attain within two hundred yards of the American work, before it was distinctly visible. The enemy had constructed two heavy batteries, and these opened their fire simultaneously with the movement of their troops, and were served with great rapidity. The thunder of their discharges added to the sublimity of the scene, but in all other respects they were innocuous. Not a gun in the American batteries was disabled, and as to the killed and wounded, they did not equal, in the whole engagement, the number of cannon which the British had in battery.

The American artillery now took its part in the contest. Some of the batteries were directed against the enemy's cannon, while others swept the advancing columns. Commodore Patterson, from his position across the river, co-operated, by a vigorous flanking fire, with the general means of annoyance.

Sir Edward Packenham's plan of operations lay within a nar-

row compass. He designed to push his columns, by a rapid forward movement, upon the American entrenchment: to fill the ditch, as he reached it, with the fascines which had been prepared, and were to be carried by the heads of his columns, and then to apply scaling ladders, and mount the parapet. The principal object of the movement on the right bank of the river, was to seize the batteries constructed there, and to turn their fire upon the American right wing, and enfilade the lines. To render this co-operation effectual, it was essential that the collateral movement should precede the principal one, so as to place the batteries in the possession of the British before the lines were stormed. It was therefore a part of the plan, that Colonel Thornton, to whom the operations on the right bank were committed, should commence his movement at an early hour in the morning, so as to reach his point of attack about day-light. This, however, he did not do. Owing to the fall of the river, or to some mistake as to the depth of the canal, the boats grounded, and were got off with difficulty and after much delay. The best devised schemes may be marred by such unforeseen accidents. But he proves himself to be the great commander, who repairs the misfortune by prompt and vigorous measures. It might have been wiser, had the British General postponed his attack till the result of Colonel Thornton's expedition was disclosed. That movement seemed to be the key of his own. But he apparently thought it essential to success, that the assault should take place about the dawn of day, so that his columns might approach as near as possible without observation, and then precipitate themselves, by a sudden rush, upon the Americans. To a night attack he had insuperable objections, it is said, on account of the difficulty of distinguishing friend from foe, where both spoke the same language. However this may be, he gave the orders for the signal. The rockets ascended, and his plan was committed to its fate.

The British columns were instantly impelled onwards. A rush, an escalade, and the bayonet, only could save them. But they moved slowly. Some of them carried fascines of sugar cane, and all had their knapsacks upon their backs. A French *pas de charge* would have cleared the interval in brief space, if indeed it was in the power of any troops to clear it, in the face of the murderous fusilade which was vomited forth from the American works. But slowness was death. And so the assailants found it. The damp canopy which had shrouded the plain, was now rising, and bringing into view the whole fearful scene. The columns had debouched from their shelter, and the dense masses of human beings were now propelled to the very muzzles of a frowning line of guns, held by the best marksmen in the world. The eye upon the barrel, and the finger upon the trigger, and wo to the living target at whom the bullet is sped. The fire opened with volleys of flame,

and peals of thunder, which are described as being the most awful sight and sound that ever broke upon the eye or ear. Captain Cooke's description of the reverberation of the intonations from the forest is appalling. Well it may have been so, to men who stood before these terrific discharges, and were mowed down without resistance. No doubt, as he says, none but a spectator could form an adequate conception of this horrible catastrophe. It was not our fortune to be there, and we cannot therefore spread before our readers a vivid picture of a scene without a parallel in ancient or modern warfare. Nor indeed would it be possible for any one to describe, with minuteness and precision, the varied incidents of such a field, fought and won under such peculiar circumstances. Suffice it to say, that some of the British troops, with matchless courage, gained the brink of the ditch, but could go no farther. The column itself, broken, dispersed, disheartened, retreated in the utmost confusion to the ditch, behind which they had formed, where being rallied, and depositing their knapsacks, they were once more brought to the conflict. But the effort was vain. There was no intermission in the American fire. Musketry and artillery still poured out their messengers of death. The British General was killed in the front of his troops, animating them by his presence and example. His second and his third in command were disabled and carried from the field, and probably not less than a thousand men, dead and wounded, were lying beside him. It is said, that from some defect in the management, the ladders were not brought forward, and this has been assigned as one of the causes of failure. But without men to mount, why ask for ladders? All the scaling apparatus ever invented and employed would have been useless in that hour of consternation; when, as Captain Cooke says, "a few brave officers and soldiers were prowling about the edge of the ditch." *Not a hostile hand was placed upon the parapet during that bloody day.* It is idle, then, to inquire into the mischances which prevented the production of the ladders. We must look to other causes for this disaster to the British arms.

Temporary success at first attended the movement of the left column. To this was confided the attack of an advanced redoubt, which had been commenced some days before, and which was at this time in an unfinished state. The assailing force advanced rapidly upon the redoubt, which was feebly defended, and a portion succeeded in entering it through the embrasures and over the parapet. This, from the state of the work, was not difficult. But the difficulty was to retain possession, or to carry the entrenchment in the rear. This was soon found impracticable, and a fire from a detachment of riflemen killed and wounded many of the assailants, and compelled the others to evacuate the post. The column was almost destroyed, and its wrecks were strewed upon

the levee and road. As soon as the American commander heard of the loss of the redoubt, he gave orders for its immediate recapture, *coute qui coute;* but it had been regained before any other measures were taken.

On the fall of General Packenham, the command devolved upon General Lambert, who had been assigned to the care of the reserve. He immediately came forward to direct the operations, and to restore, if possible, the fortune of the day. He met the discomfited troops retiring in confusion. But not till they had once and again passed through the scenes we have described. It was wonderful to see how the instinct of discipline, and the native courage of Englishmen, bore the devoted troops through this appalling struggle. Their cry was onward, and onward they went, till nature could endure no more—till the hopelessness of the attempt was apparent to all—till one-third of their number was placed *hors de combat;* and till the narrow field of strife had become an *Aceldama* indeed, covered by the bodies of their leader and their companions. The American peals were uninterrupted; but while the enemy was canopied by the clouds of smoke, the discharges were directed with less precision. As this veil swept off, or as their flight or advance brought them into view, the work of destruction went on.

General Lambert, on examining the state of affairs, relinquished all intention of farther prosecuting the attack; and withdrew his troops from the reach of the guns, and finally from the field of battle.

While these events were in progress on the left bank of the river, fortune was not equally propitious to the Americans on the right. Colonel Thornton had, indeed, been delayed in his movement; but having surmounted the difficulties in his way, he passed over the Mississippi, and debarked with at least five hundred men,* about three miles below the lines occupied by General Morgan. A detachment had been pushed in advance of this position, to prevent the landing of the enemy; but owing to some of the *one thousand and one* causes which so often disconcert previous arrangements, and particularly when these depend for their execution upon unexperienced militia, this force offered no resistance to Col. Thornton, and were, indeed, ignorant of his having made good his landing, till he was almost upon them. They fell back as the British advanced. The action on the left bank had now begun, as Thornton was aware from the din of battle which was wafted to him; and yet he had three miles over a heavy road to march, and a fortified position to carry, before he could seize the battery, whose possession and co-operation were all important to the plans

* This is the number stated by General Lambert. Captain Cooke says there were seven hundred. The number actually detailed for the service was twelve hundred.

of his commander. He however advanced up the bank, accompanied by three gun boats.

As soon as General Jackson became satisfied that a demonstration would be made by the enemy on the trans-Mississippi bank, he directed a reinforcement to cross the river, and to join General Morgan, who commanded there. This detachment was ordered to consist of five hundred men, but from the scarcity of arms they could not all be supplied, and it appears probable that its actual strength, at its junction with Morgan, was about two hundred and fifty, who were badly armed, and fatigued by the want of food, and by a rapid harassing march along the heavy Mississippi bottom. As soon as they reached Morgan, they were pushed forward to support the picquet, which had been ordered to watch and oppose the enemy's movement. After proceeding about a mile they met the picquet in full retreat, and ascertained that the enemy was advancing in force. A position was then taken by the whole detachment in the rear of a mill race, and the approach of the enemy immediately followed. The disparity in the number and composition of the troops left no rational hope of a successful resistance. For Davis, who commanded the American detachment, had about three hundred and fifty militia, while Thornton had regular troops, and three gun boats to enfilade his adversaries' line. The defence was certainly not discreditable to the troops under the circumstances. But after a few volleys, fired with spirit and some effect, they abandoned their lines and retreated to Morgan's position. The military fault was not in the degree of resistance, but in the attempt to make a stand where nothing could be gained, and where defeat was inevitable. The object is wholly incomprehensible. After the British had landed, the advanced detachments should have retired slowly before them, annoying them where practicable, and joining Morgan in good order, instead of the confusion and depression of a repulse from which they could not recover.

We have entered into more detail upon this part of the operations than is consistent with our general plan, not from its intrinsic importance, but from its effect upon the arrangements and defence of Morgan. It will be recollected by those who were familiar with the events of this period, that much obloquy was thrown upon the Kentucky militia, who, under Davis, advanced and fell back, as we have described, both for their conduct before the enemy, and for their subsequent behaviour when incorporated with Morgan's force, and aiding in the defence of his position. The official report of the American General, transmitted to his government immediately after the engagement, coincided with the general impression. But General Jackson reported the facts as they were communicated to him. Subsequent investigation corrected the opinion then formed; and it is evident, in looking back upon the transaction, that the disorderly retreat, the confusion, and the

second flight, were but the natural consequences of the moral and physical circumstances, which gave to the British an ascendency. Most assuredly, the event, however untoward, furnished no just cause for state excitement or state reproach.

The British were now before Morgan's lines. These consisted of a breast work, flanked on the river by a battery under the direction of Commodore Patterson, and extending about two hundred yards into the plain. From this point to the woods, being nearly two thousand yards, there was no entrenchment, and the only protection was the mill race, which might be any where crossed. Morgan's right flank was therefore liable to be turned, almost without obstruction.

The whole extent of the breast work was occupied by Morgan's troops, and as the detachment under Davis arrived, it was formed upon the open plain. From the extent of space intervening between the breast work and the woods, the troops were formed in very open order, and there were two intervals of not less than two hundred yards, each left unoccupied in the lines. The whole disposition betrayed the haste and confusion in which it was made.

The first attack of the British was directed against the American left and centre, but a vigorous discharge from the artillery compelled the column in the road to incline towards its left. The other column advanced, and taking advantage of the false position, passed through the interval so unaccountably left, and having attained the rear of the entrenchment, pushed on towards the river. The confusion was almost instantaneous and irremediable. General Morgan exerted himself to restore order, but in vain. The flight became general, and Commodore Patterson having, with his characteristic judgment and coolness, spiked his cannon and destroyed the ammunition, almost in contact with the enemy, retired on board the Louisiana. Morgan was unable to rally his troops till they had fled about two miles, when they halted and took up a position behind a canal. His loss was one killed and five wounded. That of the enemy is stated by La Tour to have been one hundred and twenty killed and wounded.

As soon as these disasters were made known to General Jackson, he prepared to throw reinforcements over the river in order to dislodge Thornton. This was rendered unnecessary by the retreat of that officer. The defence on the left bank of the river cost the Americans thirteen in killed and wounded, and the British, in killed, wounded and prisoners, two thousand and seventy by the official report of General Lambert, made immediately after the action, when accuracy was not to be expected; two thousand six hundred by the statement of the American Inspector General, founded on the numbers captured, on the casualties actually counted, and on other information; but in all probability at least three thousand, as subsequent accounts have led to the belief.

Whence this disparity? The British troops were highly disciplined, well provided, confident in themselves, and led by experienced and accomplished officers. The Americans, as we have seen, were principally militia and altogether inexperienced. Their defences, in a professional view, were unworthy of the name. A rude dike, thrown up across the plain, constituted their rampart and parapet and bastions, and whatever else military science has found most effectual in repelling those tremendous assaults, which stand out in all their horrible relief upon the canvass of modern warfare.

Whence, then, this disparity? How happened it, that the same bold forward movement, which surmounted the iron crowned ramparts of the great fortifications of Europe, could not cross this dike, thus rudely and hastily constructed? In the answer will be found the secret of the repulse at Sandusky and Fort Erie, the great slaughter at Bunker's Hill, and the success which has usually attended our defence of positions that have been strengthened by entrenchments, or even masked by substitutes for them—and that is, *the murderous precision of American marksmen.* The inhabitants of this country are accustomed to the use of fire arms from their infancy. Rarely, indeed, is a person found who does not, at times, seek the amusement of hunting. In the West, it is the business of many, and the passion of almost all—more particularly upon the still extending frontier, where the large animals furnish to the new settler the means of subsistence, and where the vicinity and the habits of the Indians teach him to rely for security upon his own courage and preparation. His rifle is his friend, the object of his pride, as well as the instrument for the support and defence of his family. Few indeed are the log cabins, those first evidences of improvement, which *dot* the prairie and the forest in the western regions, where the movement is still onward, in which the traveller will not see the cherished rifle hanging upon its appropriate wooden hooks, driven into a rude beam in front of the large open fire place, itself made of wood, but lined with a few stones rudely thrown against the back and sides. Here it is safe from harm, and yet within instant reach. In front of this fire, and in the evening, after the labours of the day, whether in the field or the chase, are over, the family is assembled to hear and recount all that has happened. And then the rifle is prepared for another excursion. The bullets are cast and moulded, and the patches cut and deposited in their proper receptacle in the breech of the piece.

Men of this character, without discipline and subordination, cannot be expected to oppose, on equal terms, in the open field, troops whose business is war, and whose habits of obedience and of action have been acquired in severe and practical schools. The higher duties of the military profession are a science, the lower

an art. The former require the most powerful efforts of the human intellect, while much of the latter is mechanical. A brave man, unaccustomed to tactical combinations, and ignorant of their effects, may lose all confidence in passing arrangements; while a timid one, taught a lesson of obedience, and having learned by experience that he is a portion of a machine directed in its operations by others, and which provides for the safety of all by the exertions of all, feels that his own personal safety is best promoted by the execution of his duty. But undisciplined men, with even slight defences, acquire confidence, and their duty is discharged with courage and alacrity.

Indeed there is no more severe trial for any troops than to be drawn out in array, and to await in the open field, silently and motionless, the approach of an enemy. To see the glances of their arms and armour, and then the heavy columns marching up and deploying into line. To watch the long array moving in all the pride of military equipment. And then to hear the booming of the cannon—sending their balls across the plain or valley—at first ineffectually—then ploughing the ground nearer and nearer, till a shriek is heard, and a cherished companion is called to his account. Soon the advancing battle presses on with all its horrors, and while this is doing, the line is still, anxious, inactive. Troops who can maintain this position have nothing further to learn.

We have already turned aside from the main story to give to our readers the underplot of Captain Hallen's adventures. We have not the same space for Lieutenant Lavack, who also figures in the pages of Captain Cooke as another *soi-disant* hero, and who told in an evil hour, or possibly in an indiscreet one of *bon vivantship*, his tale of marvel. And most marvellous it is—too much so, to be passed by with entire neglect. No one can doubt but that in the hurried events of such a battle the same scenes may have been viewed in a very different light, and may have produced different impressions upon the actors and spectators. This is natural, and of every day's occurrence, and should be remembered when conflicting accounts of the same events are perused. But there are limits even to a just spirit of forbearance. These limits are passed, when a military man, becoming his own chronicler and recounting his darings and doings, relates feats inconsistent with the general course of operations. Such is the narrative told by Lieutenant Lavack, and embodied by Captain Cooke in his work.

The story goes, that Captain Wilkinson, seeing the slackening of the American fire, sprang forward, and being mortally wounded, fell into the ditch. Here he exclaimed, in the agonies of death, "*now* why do not the troops come on? *the day is our own.*" Lieutenant Lavack, the only officer who had accompanied him, "then scrambled up the earth entrenchment, and seeing the enemy flying in a disorderly mob, demanded the swords of *two American officers*

cers," which two officers, kind souls, being *surrounded*—agreeably to the well known Hibernian manœuvre by which a gallant Irishman in our service captured five of his enemies during the revolutionary war—were about to obey this behest, but recovering from their consternation and finding the British Lieutenant unsupported, told him he "ought" to surrender, and the Lieutenant, being convinced of the prudence of the measure, yielded himself a prisoner. Captain Cooke adds, Lieutenant Lavack afterwards "declared before seven of us, that the whole of the Americans on the left of their lines had run away, with the exception of the two before mentioned officers. During the ardour of battle this gallant officer sprang over the mud works; and while describing the whole proceedings to us, said, 'Now, conceive my indignation, on looking round, to find that the two leading regiments had vanished, *as if the earth had opened and swallowed them up.*'" "These," adds Captain Cooke, "were the exact expressions used by him." This *naïf* remark is not a little amusing. It is as much as to say, that *settles the whole matter*, and forever establishes the pusillanimity of these dastardly "trans-Atlantic citizens." All this is romance, sheer romance. But few men reached the edge of the ditch, and none, we speak advisedly and from the *highest authority*, when we say not one entered it except the wounded, who staggered in, and those who, in the extremity of danger, sought refuge there till the storm should pass away. These were spared and were received within the lines. And in this way, and in no other, did this Lieutenant Lavack gain the rear of the American entrenchments. As to his INDIGNATION and all that, he had time, while lying in the ditch, to recover his usual *coolness*, and to repress his emotion. The story of the abandonment of the lines by the American troops is a phantom of the imagination, only to be accounted for, with a due regard to professional honour, by the conjecture that the adventurous lieutenant, astounded by the perils around him, mistook the position of the Americans, and saw them in his mind's eye upon the wrong side of the parapet.

But the strangest manœuvre practised on that day by the shrewd Yankees, is described by the author of the "Narrative of the Campaign of the British army at Washington, Baltimore and New Orleans." He says, "It was in vain that the most obstinate courage was displayed. They fell by the hands of men whom they absolutely did not see; *for the Americans, without so much as lifting their faces above the rampart, swung their firelocks by one arm over the wall, and discharged them directly upon their heads.*" We doubt whether this motion is to be found in Dundas. It must have been original. We leave the story without comment. Nothing we can say would add to its graphic effect.

About noon of this day, General Lambert opened a communication with General Jackson, for the ostensible purpose of procur-

ing permission to bury the dead, and to bring off and relieve the wounded. Several flags passed, and the American General consented to a short truce, upon condition that no reinforcements should be sent over the river, and that either party should be at liberty to continue operations there. The British commander was probably deceived in this arrangement. He had reason to suppose, as well from the prompt answer and proposal of his adversary, as from other circumstances, that the Americans had already reinforced Morgan's command. This, however, was not so, though General Jackson was willing he should believe it. But in order to gain time to determine on his ulterior measures, either to withdraw or strengthen Thornton, General Lambert withheld his answer to General Jackson's modification of the proposal till the next morning, when he transmitted information of his acquiescence, with some idle explanation of the reason of the delay. In the meantime Thornton was withdrawn, and General Jackson was too much gratified at the recovery of the position to condemn the indecision of his opponent, whose real motives were sufficiently obvious.

At the close of the action, there were two plans of operation presented by the circumstances of his own position and that of his enemy to the American General. One was to sally out from his entrenchments, and attacking the British army, endeavour to destroy them; and the other was to maintain his attitude and continue the defensive system he had found so efficacious. Most wisely he determined upon the latter. If ever there was a case, where, as has been said, a bridge should be built for a flying enemy, this was one. General Jackson's great duty was to defend New Orleans. This he had so far signally effected. His enemy was discomfited and dispirited. His own troops confident and elated. The same course of measures, if persisted in, must be finally successful. Every day would add to his own strength and diminish that of his adversary. The great body of his force was not a hired one. They were all fathers and husbands and sons and brothers, who had left the peaceful avocations of life, and hastened to the field to repel the invaders, intending then to return to all their civil and social duties. The commander of such men has no right to sport with their lives—to sacrifice them to the phantom of military glory. He ought to have moral firmness enough even to restrain them—to refuse himself to their generous but indiscreet ardour, and lead them to combat only when his purposes cannot be otherwise effected. The great Roman captain, in his history of the civil war of his country, felt and acknowledged these obligations. "Cur, etiam secundo prœlio, aliquos ex suis amitteret? Cur vulnerari pateretur optime meritos de se milites? Cur denique fortunam periclitaretur? Præsertim quum non minùs esset imperatoris, consilio superare, quàm gladio." These sentiments are honourable to Cæsar, and deserve to be held in remembrance by all

who are intrusted with the command of armies. Independently of his ignorance of the real state of things on the right bank, and which of itself imposed upon him the duty of caution, the American General could not forget that the foe which had recoiled from his ramparts, was yet almost double in number to his whole force, experienced and disciplined; and that if he should abandon the advantage of his position and march out into the field, that foe might speedily rally and turn the fortune of the day. Some of the ardent officers of the American camp were anxious thus to sally forth, and placing the fate of the campaign upon the points of their swords, to gain all or lose all. Prudently, indeed, was this zeal restrained, and the American General preserved by his firmness what had been won by his own skill and the valour of his troops.

There is one incident connected with this battle, which demands a candid notice, and shall receive it. Immediately after its close, the impression prevailed in the American camp, and gradually spread through the country, that the watch-word of the British army, on that occasion, was BEAUTY AND BOOTY. The fact was stated as early as January 1815 in a letter from Mr. Poindexter, published in the Mississippi Republican, and generally repeated in the papers of the Union. In the life of General Jackson, by his friend and biographer, Eaton the full st conviction is expressed of the truth of this tatement and the reasons of the belief are given. The terms are too significant to leave any doubt, if they were actually employed upon this occasion, either as to the motive that suggested them, or the object they were so well suited to produce. In the absence of positive testimony, many probably doubted the fact, from the very atrocity of the sentiment. But the statement was received, as we well remember, with general indignation through the country; and from that day until recently it has passed uncontradicted, and has been continually repeated in conversation, and sent abroad in publications both evanescent and permanent.

Mr. Stewart, in his Travels in the United States a short time since, heard the story, and introduced it into his work, entitled "Three Years in America." It appears to have been before unknown or unnoticed in England. As soon as the public attention was drawn to the subject, six of the surviving officers, of the highest rank, who served with Sir Edward Packenham, including among them Generals Lambert and Keane, in a note to Mr. Stewart, which was published by that gentleman, formally contradicted this statement, and denied that the army was promised the plunder of New Orleans by their commander, or that this savage watch-word was issued.

That the British army expected to pillage that city is certain. That they would have done so, *per fas aut per nefas*, had their inroad been crowned with success, is but too probable. But that,

this lure was held out to them by their commander; that it was officially promulgated in general orders; and that it was impressed on their memory and feeling by the very pass-word, which in the excitement of the battle was to distinguish friend from foe; and above all, that it was associated with that unbridled license, which is the last and worst curse of a lawless soldiery, and the last and worst misfortune of a subjugated city, we do not believe. Such savage atrocity formed no part of the character of the English General, still less of his nation. It would have doomed him to everlasting infamy. It would have sent down his name to all after times with the Attilas and the other human monsters, who living, were the curse of mankind, and dead, are monuments of execration. There could not have been wanting, honourable men enough in the British army, who would have denounced such a leader to his own government, to Christendom, and to posterity.

But while we give just weight to the moral considerations, which tend to shield the memory of the British General from this imputation, and to the statement which his surviving coadjutors, men no doubt of high personal and professional characters, have made, we still emphatically repeat that *the British army did expect to pillage the City of New Orleans.* Nor do we understand, that this fact is at all denied in the authorized contradiction to which we have adverted. It is there said, that a promise of plunder was not made to the British army by their leader. Be it so. Whence the expectation came, we do not know, nor do we seek to know. We deal with the facts, as we find them. When we trace the previous conduct of a portion of the force composing this expedition, at Havre de Grace, at Hampton, at Alexandria, and at many other exposed points of our extensive coast, we may well believe they were prepared, by one consentaneous feeling, as we know they were by practice, to seize by the strong hand, whatever the chances of war might present to them.

Captain Cooke says, "notwithstanding all these natural drawbacks, the City of New Orleans, with its *valuable booty* of merchandise, was craved for by the British, to grasp such a prize by a *coup de main.*" In another place he remarks, "the warehouses of the city were amply stored with cotton to a vast amount, and also sugar, molasses, tobacco, and other products of this prolific soil," &c.

The author of the narrative of the campaigns of the British army, at Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans, to which we have already referred, and which first appeared, we believe, in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, confirms the statement of Captain Cooke. The ultra British character of that journal is a sure guarantee, that whatever is admitted into it, casting any reflection upon the national reputation, must at all events be founded in truth. This officer, in the first extract we subjoin, discloses

the pecuniary expectations of the army at the commencement of the expedition, and in the second, its pecuniary mortification at the result.

"And it appeared, that instead of a trifling affair, *more likely to fill our pockets* than to add to our renown, we had embarked in an undertaking which presented difficulties, not to be surmounted without patience and determination."

And again, "But our return was far from triumphant. We, who only seven weeks ago, had set out in the surest confidence of glory, *and I may add of emolument*, were brought back dispirited and dejected."

Among the letters intercepted on board the St. Lawrence, some of which we have already introduced, is one from Colonel Malcolm, dated February 11th, 1815, at Cumberland Island, and addressed to Rear Admiral Malcolm, in which the writer, after expressing his hopes, that he should soon hear of the capture of New Orleans, adds these significant words. "It will *repay* the troops for all their trouble and fatigue." Mr. Glover also, in his letter to Captain Westfall, an extract from which is given at the beginning of this article, observes,—"My forebodings will not allow me to anticipate either honour or *profit* to the expedition."

These extracts leave no doubt of the *profitable* expectations of the army—of the officers, be it observed, and therefore still more of the rank and file. That a spirit of cupidity was awakened is too certain. To what excesses it would have led, had New Orleans been reached, it were now vain to conjecture. Thanks to its defenders it was preserved from the fearful trial.

The British fleet upon the coast was not inactive during these operations. It was intended that a squadron, equipped for that purpose, should enter the Mississippi, and reducing the works at Fort St. Philip, ascend the river, and co-operate in the main attack. This fort was garrisoned by three hundred and sixty-six men under Major Overton.

General Jackson was so insulated, that the movements upon the coast were concealed from him, and the first certain intelligence he had that the enemy had entered the river, was from a cannonade which was heard in the night of the 11th, and which was soon understood to proceed from the attack and defence of this post. Every necessary precaution had, however, been previously taken, and from the state of the works, as well as from the character of the officer to whom their defence was intrusted, but little apprehension was entertained for the consequences. The result did not betray this confidence.

It appears that the British squadron entered the river on the 9th, and attained its position near Fort St. Philip on the 11th, when a fire was immediately opened upon the work. The bombardment continued with more or less activity during eight days, when the

enemy, finding they had made no serious impression, and being annoyed by the bombs thrown from a large mortar, dropped down the river and put to sea. And so ended the naval co-operation.

During some days subsequent to the 9th, the usual cannonade was continued from the American lines upon the British troops. This was exceedingly annoying, and kept them in a state of fatigue and alarm.

General Lambert states, in his despatch of January 21st to the British secretary of state, that he determined on the 9th to relinquish the hopeless enterprise. The futility of any further operations must indeed, at that time, have been sufficiently obvious. The intermediate period between then and the moment of departure, was devoted to the necessary preparations. And it became important to conceal the design from the Americans as long as possible. The forward position was therefore maintained, while in the rear the most active operations were going on. All the obstructions to a speedy movement were surmounted; and redoubts were erected to check pursuit. These arrangements could not be made so secretly as not to become known in the American camp. It was soon believed that a retreat was meditated by the enemy. At length, on the night of the 18th, they silently abandoned their lines, and pursuing the same route which had seen them advance with hope and confidence, they reached the fleet without annoyance.

ART. V.—*Treatise on the Progress of Literature, and its Effects on Society; including a Sketch of the Progress of English and Scottish Literature.* Edinburgh and London: 1834.

WE have been so well pleased with this interesting and instructive essay, that we cannot resist the temptation of enriching our pages with as much of it as we can transfer to them consistently with our limits; especially as it will be new, if we are not greatly mistaken, to nearly all of our readers, the copy before us being perhaps the only one which has reached this country.

The object of the author, as set forth by himself, is in the first place to make some remarks on the natural progress of literature, considered chiefly with reference to the extension of its influence over society; and in the second, to consider some of its effects on society, when thus generally diffused. The subject, therefore, of the work, is the principles and usual course of that system of action and reaction which is perpetually going on between literature and society. "Literature," he observes, "may be considered as

the mirror of society, which reflects, with a magnifying power, its prevailing opinions, feelings and character, and shadows forth its progress or its decline. Society affords the materials of literature, furnishes the subjects on which it is to operate, and moulds likewise the understandings and characters of literary men, by whose exertions it, in its turn, is to be influenced. We may, therefore, from knowing the prevalent character, opinions and pursuits of a country, be able to form some probable conjectures as to its literature; and, on the other hand, the state of its literature often affords a tolerable criterion of its character. But, though literature thus emanates from and receives its colour in a great measure from the character of society, it likewise reacts frequently with great power in forming or modifying that character."

Literature, in its popular and practical sense, according to our author's definition, may be said to comprehend all those works of which man is either the subject or the object; which relate to the principles of human nature, whether taken in the abstract, or as exemplified in the constituent elements, or common relations of society, and in the endless diversities of human character; or which are addressed to and intended to influence the feelings of the human heart. Science, on the other hand, in its popular sense, includes more peculiarly the relations and operations of external objects and their attributes, independently of mind, or as they are influenced solely by the physical powers of man. This explanation, however, is given more for the sake of clearness than because of its importance in reference to the view taken of the influence of literature in the essay; for as its design is to consider only the operation of literature on society, those branches are the chief subject of attention which have a direct practical influence on the ordinary principles and feelings of society. It is not meant by thus distinguishing these popular branches of literature from science in the common acceptation of the word, to hold that those branches of them which involve discussion, as for instance, practical politics, ought not to be conducted on scientific principles—the distinction does not relate to the principles on which such discussions should be conducted, but to the subject of which they treat, viz. human nature, and the human principles and feelings to which they are exclusively addressed.

Our author begins his disquisition with some observations on the general progress and character of literature in ancient times, particularly in Greece and Rome, of which we transcribe a portion.

"The expression of human feelings is the first, and reflection on the principles that direct those feelings, may almost be said to be one of the last acts which man is inclined to perform. It is therefore natural to suppose that those branches of literature which give vent to human passions, will spring first into existence, and that those which profess to analyze human motives and passions, will be much later in reaching maturity. Poetry is the art first employed to express the passions of indi-

viduals, or add new terrors to their superstition; for the mind, when highly excited either by love, or courage, or fear, is in a certain degree poetical. The achievements of valour will probably form, about the same time, a subject of poetry, and thus the first species of history will be poetical. The nature and objects of poetry are determined, in some measure, by the form of society in which it arises. Where chiefs or kings have the only ascendency, the poet will delight to celebrate their grandeur or achievements. Thus, the only poets known in the Highlands of Scotland during the prevalence of clanship, were those bards who formed constituent members of the household of every chief, and whose duty it was to magnify their master's exploits, and exalt his importance. The poetry, too, or romance, that prevailed during the vigour of the feudal aristocracy, was directed chiefly to the exploits of those redoubted barons, who formed then the most conspicuous persons in society, or were the principal patrons of poets. The poems of Pindar, who flourished at the court of Syracuse, are employed, in a great measure, to celebrate the monarch who was his patron. In the days of Homer, on the other hand, Greece was parcelled out into a number of petty states, which, while they retained the common national character, had nearly equal pretensions to individual importance. Hence arose the Iliad, which is eminently a national poem, as its great object is to celebrate a national achievement, while its details are occupied almost equally with the adventures and exploits of all those different heroes who led on the various divisions of the Grecian army.

"In what precise mode history came to be cultivated separately from narrative poetry, it is not easy to conjecture. Under arbitrary governments, the monarch would naturally be possessed with such an opinion of the importance of his own life and actions, as to wish to see them fully recorded. But a regular chronicle is manifestly incompatible with the inspirations of poetry; and, therefore, although such chronicles were probably written at first in verse, they would soon assume the form of prose narrative. Where governments were free, it would soon be deemed important to write the history of past times, in order to treasure up a store of experience for future instruction; and as truth would, in such a case, be regarded as an important quality of history, the distinction betwixt it and poetry would soon become more marked than under an arbitrary government, since it would be still less susceptible of the embellishments of fiction.

"The other branches of knowledge must have sprung up as the necessities of society called for them. Even the principles of morals, considered as a regular system, have probably been, in many instances, coeval with and dependent on the institutions of positive law. It would be absurd to maintain that the *moral feelings* of man originated in mere views of convenience or expediency. These feelings, in a greater or less degree, arise in all cases spontaneously, without reference to their ultimate consequences; but the precarious operation of such feelings on individuals is very different from the influence of a system of moral precepts, providing for all cases, and universally imperative. It is scarcely conceivable that the idea of such a system should have been formed, until the necessities of society demanded a code of positive laws to regulate those permanent relations betwixt individuals, without the adjustment of which society could not exist. The systems thus formed, with regard to private rights, were probably the first basis of those more general principles of morals, which are applicable to every possible relation betwixt individuals, whether of primary or subordinate importance to society.

"There are many circumstances which lead to this conclusion. In the first place, it is not probable that nations in a rude state could form any precise idea of the universality of moral obligations, unless they were taught such a doctrine by positive enactments. Rude nations are governed more by feeling than by principle; and, though their affections are often very warm to those with whom they are immediately connected, these affections scarcely operate at all towards strangers, and they conceive themselves absolved, with regard to them, from all moral obligations. It is well known that, in many languages, the same original word denotes a stranger and an enemy. The disposition of the Greeks to regard all foreign nations as barbarians, instead of being a proof of their own superior refinement, was probably a remnant of that hostility towards strangers which prevailed among them when they were themselves barbarians. But the avowed and unhesitating cruelty and injustice of almost all barbarous nations towards strangers, is too notorious to require illustration. It is probably on this account, in part, that the laws of almost all early na-

infused such a sudden and gigantic vigour into the human mind, and brought *man* so rapidly to perfection.

The resurrection, if we may so speak, of ancient literature in Europe, after it had long lain buried and neglected, produced effects equally rapid and prodigious. A new day then burst on society, and a love of letters was revived, which has gone on increasing and working miracles to the present moment. The absorbing devotion which was at first paid to the master-pieces of antiquity, did not tend, says our author, to fetter the free exercise of the human faculties, as it might probably have done, if the public taste and habits of thinking had been previously formed by them. The European nations brought to the study of this literature, a character, habits of thinking, and a course of history and tradition, which were quite original; and hence its introduction served not to fetter but to invigorate their powers of thought, by opening up new fields of research and illustration. The ages of learning which followed, were thus most eminently distinguished for intellectual exertion and scientific discovery. The invention of printing nearly at the same moment, was of immense efficaciousness in diffusing knowledge and inspiring literary ambition. It produced an entirely new condition of things, in which the influence of literature on society was astonishingly increased, and their mutual relations entirely altered.

Our author here devotes a section to a contrast between the general characteristics of ancient and modern literature, the whole of which is well worth transcribing.

"In physical science, although it is impossible to fix its actual boundaries, there are certain *apparent* limits which it is the first object of human exertion to reach, and, after reaching them, the mind is naturally turned from exploring the boundaries of science, to arrange and account for its details, till these details elicit new principles, which lead to unexpected discoveries, and perhaps guide the philosopher into another tract of general speculation, far beyond those limits which he had formerly fixed as the boundaries of science. Thus, since the time of those splendid discoveries which Newton made, apparently on the confines of nature, the attention of philosophers has been engaged in verifying and following out his discoveries, and more peculiarly has been directed to the details of chemistry and mineralogy, although many general principles, which have been unexpectedly elicited from the researches made in both these branches of science, give reason to believe that new general laws may yet be unfolded with regard to the operations of nature, in departments where her workings were supposed, in former times, to be wrapt in impenetrable mystery. It cannot, therefore, be properly said, that even physical science has any definite boundaries. It may be assumed, however, that during the period when philosophy is directed exclusively to the details of science, (however useful this may be in collecting materials for the use of future discoverers,) there is not room for cultivating the same vigour and comprehension of mind that are called into exercise by an investigation of the great general laws of nature. The chemists and mineralogists of modern times have not produced any philosopher worthy to be placed in the same rank with Bacon or Newton. But the case is very different with literature. The general laws of the human mind are in themselves sufficiently simple, and the great effort consists in tracing their precise operation through all the complicated relations, and manifold diversities of character, which society presents to us. In literature, which is intended, according to the definition already

the slothfulness of human nature, although fatal to public spirit and true energy of character."

Both these systems, however, neglected in a great measure to cultivate the humble virtues of common life; and we must believe, that the state of private morals among the people at large, although we have no very accurate information upon this subject, was at a very low ebb when they were thus left without the guidance of any moral system, and without that check of public opinion, so efficacious at the present day, to be swayed by the untaught and uncontrolled passions of individuals. Among the higher classes to whom literature was accessible, matters must have been even worse, for literature often took a tinge from the corrupt and selfish views of those classes among whom its teachers wished to render it popular, and thus, instead of advancing the cause of virtue, became a standing apology for vice, and the instrument for reducing it into a system. The sects of the sophists, who taught the Athenian youth, for money, to defend virtue and vice, knowledge and ignorance, with equal readiness, and of their natural successors, the sceptics, who maintained that there was actually no distinction between these things, appear to have been both prevalent and formidable.

"In our times, such opinions could not be broached without ridicule, even though they were used only as an ingenious exercise of the understanding; but in those times they had a serious practical effect. It is difficult to conceive this now, when the common principles of morality are so notorious, that it is scarcely less absurd to prove than to dispute them. But it cannot be said that nothing similar has ever occurred in modern times. For it is well known, that under the old monarchy of France, those feelings of intrigue and selfishness, which the form of government engendered among the higher classes of society, had become so universal, that one of the most acute Frenchmen of his time, Rochefoucault, maintained a theory which resolved all virtue into selfishness, and which, however erroneous when taken with reference to human nature in general, was admitted to contain a pretty faithful picture of the actual state of French society. Such corruption in modern times, among a class of persons to whose interests and habits it was congenial, may enable us to conceive how the loose morality of the sophists, the epicureans, and the sceptics, should become fashionable among those persons, even in the leading classes of the ancient republics, who wished to attain power by flattering the passions and vices of the multitude, or who were anxious to find convenient topics for defending or palliating their own vices.

"If such notions obtained favour among the higher classes, from their tendency to forward their selfish views, there was no way of unmasking the deception to the people who were intended to be its victims, except by denouncing it on the stage. The exposure, therefore, which the doctrines of the sophists received in the Clouds of Aristophanes, (notwithstanding the unjust censure bestowed in it upon Socrates,) appears to have been necessary for directing the public ridicule and indignation against their pernicious doctrines. But it is difficult for a modern reader to feel the full effect of this performance, because he is apt to think the doctrines exposed in it a great deal too preposterous even for ridicule. For the same reason, we cannot easily go along with the elaborate moral invective by which Juvenal pursues the flagrant vices that prevailed among the degenerate Romans of his times. Their vices, as well as the doctrines of the sophists, are so repugnant to those familiar maxims which have now received the stamp of public opinion, that we are apt to consider a studied exposure of them as flat and tedious. We do not reflect, that among the people to whom this exposure was addressed, there was no fixed standard

of public opinion with regard to morals; and that, therefore, those passages which we undervalue, as containing only a statement of trite maxims, conveyed to them truths that were by no means trite, and must have appeared highly important."

The systems of morals of the ancients, were thus framed in a great measure to suit the views and form the characters of the higher classes, rather than adapted to all classes of society, and to all the relations of ordinary life; and they appear, moreover, to have been infected with that love of subtlety, which so often supplanted the love of truth in ancient systems of philosophy—of which the paradoxes of the Stoics afford a striking example. Their metaphysics, instead of proceeding on the known laws and operations of the mind, diverged into mystical speculations about the nature of mind in the abstract. Their natural philosophy, taken in the mass, can be regarded only as a collection of plausible conjectures, not derived from any serious investigation of truth, but intended chiefly to exercise the mind, and to display ingenuity.

While these branches of knowledge were thus unfavourably influenced by the peculiar state of society in ancient times, and operated in a corresponding manner upon that society, the same cause produced very different effects in other branches. Dramatic poetry received the highest cultivation and improvement during the continuance of Grecian liberty, because that was almost the only kind of poetry which could reach the people at large by means of public exhibitions; but it was to eloquence that the chief attention was paid, as the grand instrument of ambition in states where no power could be obtained except through the medium of the sovereign people. Our author thinks that this supreme estimation in which eloquence was held among the Greeks, was one reason why they made so little progress in true philosophy, which was cultivated principally as an exercise for sharpening the intellects, and giving vigour to the eloquence of those ambitious young men who intended to take a lead in public affairs.

"Such men, being the chief pupils of the philosophers, the latter had the strongest temptation to make their art subservient to the views of their pupils; and hence their systems, instead of having truth for their exclusive object, were apt to become a mere collection of topics for subtle controversy or rhetorical declamation. The sophists proceeded avowedly on this plan, and nothing but the cause which has been now mentioned can account for the ascendency that they unquestionably held for some time at Athens. The Socratic mode of teaching, though formed in a great measure by a judicious observation of common life, was by no means free from the errors of the sophists. The system of Plato, though containing many sublime views of morality, is evidently composed as much with a view to rhetorical effect, as for the elucidation of truth. Whatever be the merits of the Aristotelian philosophy, as an instrument of subtle disputation, it served no other purpose, for a course of ages, than to amuse and exercise, without enlightening the human mind, and no progress was made in true knowledge until it had been comparatively neglected."

With regard to the effects of eloquence in ancient times, our author is inclined to deem them often pernicious, from the circumstances, that political discussion, taken in its present sense of a

free and enlightened investigation of the public interests, was then very little known; that there was then no *public* to whom an appeal could be made in behalf of arguments that had been borne down at the moment by the clamour of party contention—the great safeguard of the present day; and that the people were thus often led to outrage the most obvious principles of sense and justice.

The plan of writing history among the ancients is also pronounced to have been extremely defective. Our author lays it down as a general maxim, that no history will ever embrace any objects except those which the feelings or necessities of the people to whom it is addressed, have pointed out as important; the historian being guided by this principle alone in selecting from the mass of past events those which are worthy of being narrated.

"On this principle, the historians of ancient times cannot be expected to throw much light on the progress of national wealth, on the improvement or decline of national character, on the insensible changes which took place in the condition of the people, or particular classes of them, and on the practical operation of certain parts, or the whole system of government; or, in short, on almost any of those important general results relative to the condition and character of a country, which are derived from comparing its statistics at different periods. There were no satisfactory materials for such discussions, because neither had the public attention been directed to them, nor was there the same facility in accumulating materials that there is now, when the press secures the preservation of important documents on every subject. Very little light was then thrown even on the peculiarities and changes of national manners at different periods. In short, historians had not then acquired that reflective power which enables them to contemplate the general character of one period, and to compare it with the character of another period, as superinduced by different circumstances. Their attention was directed chiefly to the course of public events, or to the delineation of those characters who had figured on the theatre of public life, while they scarcely attempted as yet to form an estimate of the change which public events, coupled with many other causes, more latent, though not less powerful, were perpetually effecting on the national condition and character. Historians then professed to tell the story of the times, with such an explanation of the causes of events as was necessary to make the narrative intelligible. This explanation of causes, when made with such limited views, became naturally rather the object of ingenious conjecture than of philosophical investigation. Indeed it is only at a very recent period that the true philosophical ends and mode of writing history have been either understood or exemplified; and the views of historians on this subject have always grown more enlarged, in proportion as all the great questions of government, of public policy, of political economy, and of national character, have been opened to the fullest discussion."

Nevertheless, who can deny the assertion of our author, that with all these defects, the literature of Greece and Rome attained to astonishing excellence; or refuse to agree with him, that any person who surveys the prodigious alacrity and success with which literature of all kinds was cultivated both in Greece and Rome, especially in the former—their excellence in poetry, painting, eloquence, and all the arts that elevate or adorn life, and the number of admirable monuments in these arts, which they have transmitted through the wreck of ages and of barbarism—can never cease to wonder, that even the breath of liberty should have

infused such a sudden and gigantic vigour into the human mind, and brought *man* so rapidly to perfection.

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given, either to act upon or to unfold the principles of human nature, it is evident, that the greater the store of illustrations with regard to human character, that is either derived from past experience, or furnished by actual observation, the more ample will be the means for elucidating human character, and the more diversified will be those channels through which an influence may be produced upon human feelings. Nor is there any truth in the notion, which has been often entertained, that the accumulation of materials with regard to minute views of human character, necessarily distracts the attention from its grander features, and that literature will be engrossed, in such a state of things, with exact and faithful portraits of private society, rather than be led to a delineation of those great passions of enterprise, ambition, or vengeance, which agitate its master-spirits. This notion has arisen from supposing that society could not afford genius enough, at one and the same time, for exploring these two distinct paths of literature. But there is undoubtedly quite enough of genius to cultivate both departments, whenever there is a sufficient demand and a strong enough inducement for it; that is, whenever there are sufficient materials in society for the delineation of both the classes of characters now alluded to, and when the actual feelings of society enable them to relish such delineations.

"The course which literature has taken since the revival of letters, affords a striking illustration of many of these remarks. In ancient times, among the dominant and ambitious classes, there was a great want of materials for the interesting delineation of human character. In the first place, the originals to be met with among these classes did not present the same diversity or interest as in more modern times. Their life appears to have been much more public than ours—directed more to public objects, and agitated by public interests—and unfolded rather before the eyes of society at large, than in the bosom of private or domestic life. Hence their system of manners was formed, more than ours, on one undeviating standard, such as regulates the eccentricities, but likewise impairs the originality of individual character. There was, indeed, a certain diversity of character, because each person, according to the infinite varieties of human temper and constitution, must have been humble or ambitious, courageous or cowardly, frank or dissembling, temperate or debauched; and deviations from morals were much less effectually checked than in modern times, because there was no precise moral standard to regulate public opinion. But diversities of character were not allowed to exhibit their full effect in the freedom of ordinary society. The public signs of them were carefully suppressed, so as to model the character according to the standard recognised in society; and they were ultimately developed rather in the gradual prosecution of those public schemes which formed the great objects of attention, than in that free undisguised fashion which could render them fit objects for poetical display or dramatic exhibition. It was in the forum or the popular assemblies that the leading men of Greece and Rome developed their characters and views; and then they were too much engaged in acting a part before the world, to give way to the undisguised workings of their individual passions or propensities.

"Nor did private or domestic society afford much greater scope for the varieties of individual character. There were two striking features of distinction between the private society of ancient and of modern times, viz. the institution of slavery, and the subjection of the female sex. A Greek in his own house, was not, as in the present times, a father or husband, giving vent to all his peculiarities of character among beings to whom he is under no disguise, because he is united to them by the closest bonds of intimacy and affection. He was rather a master among slaves, or a being of a superior order, whose object it was to inspire such an awe into his relations of the other sex, as might preserve that ascendency which the laws of society had given to him. The condition of the Athenian women and slaves fully justifies these remarks. So does the condition of the Spartan slaves. The women of Sparta seem to have enjoyed more liberty and importance than in any other of the Grecian states; but their intercourse with the other sex did not seem to proceed on the refined principles of modern times. It was rather the privilege of a sex which was counted the equal of the male sex, because it was allowed to emulate them in *masculine* qualities. Those women that appear to have attracted most attention at Athens, were courtezans, who, being free from the ordinary restraints imposed on their sex, betook themselves to those arts and accomplishments which were best fitted to capti-

vate. This, as well as many other circumstances which might be mentioned, show the subordinate character in which the sex generally was regarded.

"In Rome the female character appears to have been in higher estimation, and the characters of Cornelia, Lucretia, Tullia, and Portia, must at once occur to every scholar as striking examples of female heroism and pure domestic affection. But these cases, though illustrating the improvement which must have taken place before they could have occurred, were probably exceptions from the general style of manners even at Rome.

"The Romans, in their virtuous days, appear to have treated the female sex with a severe and jealous affection, as weak and interesting creatures, who demanded every degree of kindness, but who were required, for their own sakes, to be kept in a state of perpetual pupilage. The *patria potestas*, according to the old law of Rome, was extensive, giving a father the almost unlimited disposal both of the persons and the fortunes of his children. But the inequality which then subsisted between the two sexes, is illustrated most strikingly by this circumstance, that the wife was considered as a *filia familias*, placed as absolutely at the disposal of her husband as any of her own daughters—not the equal partner of his fortune and affections, but his humble vassal, who passed under his dominion, as the old forms indicate, by a process of bargain and sale, and remained thenceforward almost entirely at his disposal. In later times, the extent of the *patria potestas* was in a great degree abridged, not so much, perhaps, from the progress of refinement, (though that must have contributed to it in some degree,) as because, through the corruption of manners, such a power was liable to be more frequently abused than it had been in older and simpler times. This relaxation of authority, coupled with the freedom of divorce, gave certainly to rich wives a great degree both of liberty and power. But they do not seem to have been prepared for it by a gradual elevation of the female character in the scale of society; for the Roman wives, in the decline of the republic, and much more after its extinction, became notorious for their avowed and shameless profligacy. Their influence in those later times arose entirely from their riches or their personal charms, and was, in no respect, founded on that pure and disinterested affection which forms, in modern times, the great source of connubial happiness. In this state of matters, as well as in more ancient times, marriage must have been rather an object of bargain betwixt parents and relations, than the result of genuine attachment. The personal influence of woman over the happiness of that relation must have been in a great measure excluded, and it would naturally be considered as weakness to give way to it.

"We can easily conceive, then, what a source of interest was cut off from all fictitious representations, if we reflect how tame and insipid our modern dramas and novels would become by omitting those parts of the plot which depend on love. Domestic society, too, must have wanted almost all the variety and charm which it has in modern times. At home, as well as in public, men associated with each other alone on equal terms; but male society wants that undisguised freedom and ease which constitute the charm of female society. Men cross each other too much in the ordinary interests of life, to throw aside all reserve even in private society; and it is, besides, difficult to get quit of the influence exerted over us by the interests and passions of the world, when we are in the society of those very persons by whose competition these passions are often excited. Nothing can charm man into a forgetfulness of this influence, but an equal unrestrained intercourse with a different sex, who have little concern with our worldly cares, except the interest which affection leads them to take, and whose fascination perpetually entices us into a world of their own, where the vulgar interests of life cease to intrude, or where they are treated with that lightness and unconcern which the maxims of true philosophy, as well as the buoyancy of female gaiety, teach us to observe towards them. It is difficult to conceive a number of men relinquishing all idea of business or discussion, and devoting themselves to society, entirely for the purpose of mutual amusement. Every thing that can be called conversation, as distinct from business or serious discussion—all those light and brilliant topics which float on the surface of the mind, and relieve it from the burden of weightier cares, by calling the judgment and fancy into gentle exercise, without engrossing us too much by their intrinsic importance—in short, almost all that we know of wit, fancy, or amusement in conversation, may be referred either directly to our desire of pleasing the other sex, or to that

taste for light conversation which habitual intercourse with them has produced. Besides, the whole class of habits and feelings arising out of domestic relations, a great deal of what is connected with that department which may be called character—in other words, what gives life and interest to one-half of our ordinary dramas and novels, arises from the influence which women exert in society, and must have been nearly, if not altogether, unknown in ancient times.

"There is another source of interest in fictitious compositions from which the ancients were in a great measure cut off. It is evident that, when literature is widely diffused, a boundless store of character is furnished to the poet and dramatist from the middle and even from the lower classes of society. Unless there is some degree of literature among these classes, the characters drawn from them cannot possess that variety or liveliness of fancy which never exist without some degree of mental activity; the only other interest connected with them must be that arising from their situation, or from the simple feelings that spring up spontaneously in uncultivated minds, both of which sources of interest are very soon exhausted. But, from the state of literature in ancient times, the lower or even the middle classes did not afford great variety of character for the poet or the dramatist. Their chief characters were drawn from the higher, who were then the only educated classes. Persons of low rank, indeed, were often introduced into the Greek comedies; but they seldom or never possessed the attributes of what we call *characters*, i. e. those peculiarities which distinguish them from all other *individuals*. They were either introduced as slaves or confidants, merely to perform certain tasks assigned to them, or as personifications of certain general qualities, which were rather prevalent in the community than peculiar to individuals, as the characters of a parasite, a glutton, a flatterer, &c. There was no Bardolph, Pistol, or Mine Host of the Garter, who stood out distinguished by the strongest marks of individuality from all other persons of the same class. The truth is, that the lower classes furnished then very few individuals who were fit subjects for poetical or dramatic representation. The general diffusion of literature in modern times has given an impulse to the understandings of all classes, which renders it possible to discover materials for amusing the fancy, even in the peculiarities of the lowest class; and, in a still more eminent degree, it has established a community of thought and feeling among all classes, which renders the lowest objects of curiosity and interest to the very highest, and leads them to delight in selecting from all classes of society illustrations of the endless varieties of human nature. In ancient times, when literature was almost unknown among the lower classes, there was not sufficient variety of character among them to give scope for much interesting delineation; and the higher classes, being then in exclusive possession of learning, must have had much less sympathy with them than we have, being separated from them by the barrier which always subsists betwixt knowledge and ignorance. The higher classes would then be apt to consider themselves as the only fit objects of dramatic or poetical, as well as of real and ordinary interest. The poet and dramatist of those times were thus cut off from a resource which, in modern times, at least, affords by far the greatest variety of original characters; since those who are below the artificial control of society and fashion, may be expected to display their native dispositions in perfect force and freedom, without being restrained by the fixed standard of manners which is often enforced among the higher classes, so as to refine away all their strength and originality of character. The ancient drama, therefore, with the slight exception which has been already noticed as applicable to some of their comedies, contains none of those amusing persons called originals, whose comic peculiarities of temper and disposition, arising from the singularity of their condition or habits, and developed without control, are often brought to bear with the most delightful effect on the incidents of our modern plays and novels. One great object of ancient dramas and poems was to carry their heroes through a certain series of adventures, during which the chief interest depended on the situation rather than the characters; whereas now the fund of character is so exuberant and various, that the principal purpose of a story often is, rather to afford scope for the development of character, than to present the spectator or reader with a skilful combination of interesting adventures.

"In the third place, the want of printing deprived the ancients altogether of those numerous memorials of private character in almost all classes of life which exist at present in so much profusion. The press brings books so easily within the reach

of all classes, that they are inundated with magazines, lives, memoirs, correspondence, travels, anecdotes, and all kinds of facts which tend to illustrate private history or character; and this kind of reading is most popular among the most numerous class, who resort to literature chiefly as an amusement for their leisure hours, without wishing to incur the labour of severe thought or continued attention. These productions, containing illustrations of characters in every class of life, afford an invaluable repository to the poet or novelist, who wishes to delineate such characters. But of such a resource the ancients were in a great measure deprived; for the enormous expense of the only kind of publication which was then known, operated as a prohibition against all such works. Little rubbish could then be admitted into literature: it was necessary to refine away the dross, and bring the ore to the greatest value and smallest bulk, before risking the expensive process of publication. Works were thus brought before the literary world of those times more perfect than at present. But no admission was allowed to those less perfect works now mentioned, which, though sometimes of small literary merit in themselves, are invaluable as affording materials for the elucidation of character. The poets, therefore, or dramatists of ancient times, had scarcely any materials for this purpose, except those which were afforded by tradition or by their own observation. Even under such disadvantages, the dramatist might afford a glimpse of the passing manners of the times, and, accordingly, the best view which we have of these is to be found in some of the Greek comedies. But it must occur to every person conversant with modern dramas or novels, that one of the most interesting fields for poetical or dramatic representation is afforded by those manners or characters which are passing, or have just passed away, and which, in that situation, enable the poet or novelist to throw the strongest mutual light on them, and upon existing manners and characters, by a comparison and contrast of both. It is in this point of view that national manners afford the most abundant food for philosophical reflection; and many of our best dramas, as well as those historical novels with which the world has been lately dazzled and delighted, give striking proofs that they likewise furnish, when viewed in this light, the most fruitful source of fictitious interest. But the ancient poet or philosopher could scarcely have recourse to such a view of national manners, either as a means of poetical interest or of general speculation. Whatever information he had with regard to national character beyond the scope of his own experience, was not derived from records taken at the time by eye-witnesses or cotemporaries, but was either drawn from tradition, or from the works of former dramatists, historians, or philosophers, who introduced the subject incidentally, with a view to some other purpose that they had in view, and were hence probably warped in their statement by the design or hypothesis to which they made it subordinate. Any materials, therefore, which the ancients possessed on the subject now in question must have been vastly inferior in authenticity, in variety, and in interest, to those immense magazines of information regarding every thing that can throw light upon cotemporary manners, whether public or domestic, with which the literary world is inundated.

"The effect of the press both in enlarging the circle of those human intellects and feelings upon which literature operates, and in augmenting prodigiously that store of human characters in all ranks of society from which literature draws its richest illustrations, appeared soon after the revival of letters, in the intimate connexion which was then established, and has been since preserved and constantly extended, betwixt the literature of each nation, and the peculiarities of the national character. At first, it seems to have been attempted, as was natural, to fashion modern literature entirely after classical models, and to divest it of almost all reference to the character or usages of the nation where it took its rise. It is not difficult, even yet, to perceive the transition from that period, when literature was merely an imitation of antiquity, to that period when the literature of each nation acquired a distinct individual character. Latin was, at first, and in some nations till no very remote period, the only literary language, and the only medium to which learned men intrusted those works that they conceived to be worthy of immortality. This custom remained longest in Germany, and it is only indeed within the last century, that the national literature of that country has sprung up into a late though gigantic and vigorous growth. France, at a very early period, nominally threw off such an intellectual subjection, although it has really continued, even till our day, in con-

junction with the peculiar condition of French society, to fetter and restrain the vigour of literature. The literature of England, though enriched, from an early period, with works truly national, did not become completely so till the reign of Elizabeth. Spanish and Portuguese literature appears to have become very soon perfectly national, although the united weight of temporal and spiritual bondage soon put a stop to its premature growth. But the country that soonest broke the trammels of the classics, and aspired after a literature in a great degree national, was Italy, the first country on which reviving literature dawned. Some of her early poets regretted the necessity of writing in their native dialect, in order to comply with national prejudices, instead of committing their works entirely to the language of ancient Rome—little thinking that their Latin works would in a few centuries be forgotten, while these vernacular works which they undervalued, would be the only enduring monuments of their fame. But Italian literature did not then confine itself to poetry, although her greatest poets have been always popular among all ranks in that country. It was there, too, that those novels or tales were first cultivated, which are fitted to attract every class of society, because they reflect the manners of all classes. This species of writing reached great perfection in Italy before literature had attained that maturity in any other country of Europe which could enable it to emulate the excellence which that country so early reached in poetry. At that time, the poetry of most countries in Europe was confined to the rude though occasionally vigorous effusions of wandering minstrels, and their metrical tales were afterwards extended into voluminous romances in prose, which reflected those notions of love, war, and chivalry, that were universally prevalent, from the existing state of society. At a later period, (though during the full vigour of the system of chivalry,) the same manners and feelings were copied more to the life from the actual frame of society, in the form of memoirs of the times, such as those of Comines and Froissart. Such annalists are by far the most instructive as well as amusing historians of those times. There appear, indeed, to have been in those times only two kinds of historians. There was the dull monkish chronicler, who compiled in his cell records of what appeared to him the principal transactions of the world he had left, but which reflected the "form and pressure" of his times far more imperfectly than the light of day was conveyed to himself through the dim and distorted reflection of his own Gothic casements. The only other historian was the warrior, or man of the world, who set down at his leisure moments the chief matters that had occurred under his own observation, and who, narrating them to the world, that thus became his confessors, with the frank and open spirit in which his own part of the narrative had been acted, conveyed to after times the more faithfully, because unconsciously, a true and lively image of the society in which he had moved. Perhaps, as mental habits, once formed, especially in characters that are not very intellectual, cannot be easily laid aside, the practice which was then universal, of disclosing the most secret thoughts and actions in auricular confession, may have given a greater habit of frankness to those confessions which the memoir writer of those times addressed to posterity, and should, therefore, afford to them an additional stamp of authenticity. Neither of these classes could be properly called historians, but the latter left much more ample and valuable materials than the former for illustrating the history of the times. In France, particularly, where the practice of writing individual memoirs first arose, it has continued from the earliest to the very latest times—has followed and truly delineated every fluctuation of manners, and every change of society—and has thus thrown a clear and steady light on the interior structure and history of French society, throughout almost the whole of its existence."

In tracing and illustrating the course of literature, as contemporaneous with the progress of society in modern times, our author, in consecutive "sections," speaks of the Italian drama; the progress and general characteristics of French literature; the connexion between poetry, history, and romance; the progress and general characteristics of romance and novel writing in early times; romances of chivalry; novel writing in France: and the literature of England, giving a sketch of it from its earliest epoch,

with an investigation of its various changes. We cannot hope to present within our narrow limits even an abstract of his observations, condensed as they are already as much as they can be to render justice to the subject; we must therefore content ourselves with stringing together, as it were, by means of a slight thread of text, as many excerpts as we can furnish, to present an unbroken idea of the work.

In Italy, the popular feelings and characters obtained an influence over the stage which prevented the *regular* drama from acquiring a proper infusion of nationality. The *comedie del arte*, which the lively genius of the people, aided by the great facility of their language, introduced, in which the author gave merely the outlines of the plot, and general sketches of the characters, leaving the details to be filled up by the talents of the actor, caused the principal efforts of genius to be devoted to this licentious and ephemeral species of dramatic performance; whilst it induced those who aimed at the production of regular dramas, to go to the other extreme of restraining themselves by classical models and rules, rather than follow the inspirations of nature. The Italian drama thus acquired a degree of stiffness and inflexibility, with which even its most recent and admirable models are somewhat infected.

With regard to French literature, it happened unfortunately for it, that before it reached any degree of refinement, that energy of national character which can alone be the source of a flourishing literature, had been well nigh extirpated by long and furious civil wars, and the establishment of an almost despotic monarchy. The people were of little or no account, and the literary taste of the nation was formed and directed by the privileged class of society, among whom all serious pursuits and lofty views were studiously discouraged, because these were a formidable barrier to any person's success in a country where power and promotion depended entirely on court favour, and were therefore to be gained chiefly by obsequiousness. The merits of the literature were thus such as might be expected in the society to which they were addressed—great correctness and refinement—frequent delicacy, and even pathos of sentiment—splendid declamation and pompous description—but little strength of passion or originality of character. Voltaire, in some of his tragedies, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Madame de Stael, are cited by our author as exceptions to the general character of French literature. The highest exertions of the latter, however, he remarks, were produced and sustained by the great changes and convulsions in French society, which happened before the composition of her most celebrated works. Of the effects produced by the revolution on French character and literature, he does not deem it advisable to speak, because, though they have been already very important, and promise to

be much more so in future, their full and ultimate consequences cannot yet be estimated.

The influence of the early tales and romances upon society, at least those of chivalry, was very great. The latter being the only efforts of genius in the illiterate age in which they were composed, were naturally occupied with the exploits and adventures of those heroes, who, whether they were real historical persons or not, may be considered as tolerably fair representations of the warlike spirit of the times. Our author draws any thing but a flattering picture of this "age of chivalry," which has been so emblazoned and extolled; and in so doing, presents one which is much nearer to the truth than the glowing portraiture that is usually exhibited. The exaggerated notions of chivalrous virtue and honour which have been so prevalent, are ascribed by him, in great measure, to the Italian poets of chivalry, who threw the bright veil of their genius over its defects, and lent to it many illusions of grace and splendour which it never in reality possessed. He observes also, that though the Italian poets depict chivalry in these brilliant colours, the Italian novelists, whose pictures may be supposed to be more faithful, give no such representations of romantic honour and untainted gallantry. One reason for deeming them more accurate he thinks to be, that many of them were borrowed from the narratives of the trouveurs or minstrels who wandered through the north of France, relating stories or reciting poems for the amusement of their entertainers, and who, it may be supposed, in order to render their fictions popular, told as they were orally to all the various classes with whom the trouveurs mingled, would contain more unrestrained and characteristic traits of existing manners, than could be detected under the veil of poetic ornament, or than were likely to be given by those prose romancers whose chief object probably was to exalt chivalry in the eyes of the feudal nobility, their readers and patrons.

But besides the bright illusions of Italian poetry, which have been mentioned as forming one source of those exaggerated notions which prevailed with regard to chivalry, it may be noticed, that the romantic notions of gallantry and female honour which have been associated with chivalry, may be traced to a later source, viz. to the notions of that kind which were prevalent at one time in France, and which were embodied in many of the French romances written during the reign of Louis XIV.

The early literature of England, like that of most of the countries of Europe during the middle ages, was marked by two kinds of compositions. The first consisted of the works of the learned men, but being confined chiefly to school logic and theology, they never extensively influenced the public mind; the second of tales and romances, in prose and verse, principally of chivalry, with some love songs and metrical satires, which being designed for

the general amusement of all classes, and being composed by persons who, from their wandering life, obtained an extensive knowledge of the dispositions and manners of society, both reflected the character of the times, and gave a decided impulse to popular literature. But they will always be considered rather as objects of antiquarian research, than as distinct branches of classical literature, from their extravagance and rudeness. Their language indeed is scarcely intelligible at the present day, as there was no fixed standard of spelling, pronunciation, or phraseology, at the period in which they were produced, Norman-French being then the language of the court, and the want of printing tending to foster various anomalies in orthography and diction. The invention of that art is nearly contemporaneous with the earliest of those authors to whom we still look back, amidst the unavoidable fluctuations of language, as to the great land-marks of English literature.

The first of these is Chaucer, of whose Canterbury Tales our author thus speaks:

"There is one circumstance that not only appears in the introduction, but runs through the poem, which is very characteristic of the times, viz. the prominent part which Mine Host of the Tabard takes in all the transactions of the pilgrims, and the footing of perfect ease and equality upon which he stands with them all, however considerable their rank. Perhaps, in those rude times, when there was little distinction made by education betwixt the highest and the lowest rank, and when the condition of an individual in life tended more than any other cause to affect his means of knowledge and his general talents, the keepers of taverns, from their promiscuous intercourse with all classes of society, were likely to possess an extent of knowledge, a fund of amusing anecdote, and an activity of mind, which rendered them agreeable acquaintances even to their superiors in rank. The innkeepers in Spain are, at present, nearly on this footing; and, even in Shakspeare, Mine Host of the Garter is represented as a very distinguished personage. Another valuable quality in Chaucer's Introduction is, that it indicates a definiteness and stability in the existing condition of society, and in the consequent peculiarities of manner and character there represented, which could not have existed, except in a country where the respective rights of the different orders were at least practicably established and secured. There is in all the characters, drawn as they are from the middling and lower classes, a spirit of frank independence, which goes far to prove the pretty general diffusion, even at that early period, of freedom and security in England."

The long and furious wars between the families of York and Lancaster, which followed soon after the times of Chaucer, appear to have discouraged the efforts of the English muse, as much as they injured the interests of civilization and regular government. In the reign of Henry the Fourth, poetry revived to a certain extent; as did also the study of classical and Italian literature, by which the most distinguished poets were led to imitate classical and Italian models. But this taste appears to have been confined to a few individuals among the higher classes, and had not time to become general, when the minds of men received a strong impulse towards other pursuits, in consequence of the struggles which attended the Reformation. That event gave the national mind a decided bias for the moment towards religious and political con-

troversy, which absorbed the public attention to the detriment of general literature. The drama was the only branch of this which was cultivated with eminent success in England for some time afterwards; and the unsettled state of society, at the period, as well as the low condition of general knowledge and literature which caused the people at large to resort to the theatre as the sole fountain of intellectual amusement, were particularly favourable to the most vigorous efforts of the dramatic muse. Shakspeare and his successors compose a galaxy of dramatic genius unparalleled in richness and variety; and their comedy, in particular, drawn as it is mostly from the manners of their times, may be deemed a fair representation of the then ordinary modes of thinking and speaking. The other departments of literature were materially injured by what our author terms "the learned distemper," then prevalent among the educated classes, to whom all other descriptions of works were addressed. An artificial and pedantic style was thus created of most pernicious influence. It is to this vicious taste that the principal faults of Spenser are doubtless to be attributed; but he seems, with all his quaintness of allegory, to have been too natural a poet for the day, since he was never much encouraged except by his patron, Sir Philip Sydney, and was allowed to die in indigence. Donne, Cowley, and many others of the class commonly called metaphysical poets, wasted great talents and fertile genius in the production of learned and unprofitable conceits. This taste prevailed with little intermission till the period of the civil wars; and it may be said to furnish a lively example of the tendency of mere literature to engender useless subtleties and conceits, when it has not yet entered, so to speak, into that familiar acquaintance with society, and attained that exquisite adaptation to its feelings and wishes, which renders it a fit instrument for human use, and for the expression or gratification of human feelings.

The change produced by the civil war upon the character of literature, was very material.

"The violence of civil broils kept away much of that pedantry and affectation which had equally infected prose and poetry. The exercise, indeed, either of dramatic or of any other kind of poetry, was almost entirely suspended, from the time when the republicans gained the ascendant, till the Restoration. Many things, however, at that time paved the way for a purer style of composition. The fury of political disputes, sharpened by religious rancour, no doubt, encumbered the language with many writings composed in the worst style of vulgar abuse. But the interests of men were too deeply concerned, and their passions too much inflamed, to leave room long for the prevalence of that conceited and artificial style, which might be fashionable for a while in a narrow circle of scholars or courtiers who wished to make parade of their learning, but which was utterly useless and ridiculous, as an instrument for guiding public opinion, during a contest that involved the most momentous interests. As neither party, too, could expect any success in the contest, which depended upon popular strength, without making the justice of their cause manifest to the great body of the people, it is evident that the sphere of political and religious discussion must, from this cause, have become much more enlarged

than it ever was before; and a large class of the community, by the habit of reading and reflecting on these the subjects most important of all others, and most calculated to invigorate the human faculties, must have thus acquired an intellectual energy and a thirst for knowledge, which would remain long after the immediate cause that produced them had ceased to act. Hence, a powerful stimulus must have been given among the people at large, not merely to the discussion of politics and religion, but to literature in general; and the style of literary compositions might therefore be expected to become soon afterwards more popular, that it might be adopted to the common taste. Accordingly, when we look at those writers whose style and habits of thought were formed during the civil war, and still more when we read those who flourished after the Restoration, we observe a great difference betwixt them and the authors of a preceding age. One fault was more or less prevalent among all the writers of this period, viz. that they are apt to present a complicated series of thought *en masse*, as it passed through their own minds, without giving that minute analysis of it into distinct parts, which is necessary to bring the whole distinctly under the view of ordinary readers. This is not to be expected so long as most works are addressed only to a peculiar class, who see with the author's own eyes, and to whom, therefore, his thoughts may be presented nearly in the same train according to which they passed through his own mind. It is not till a reading public has been formed, who possess scarcely any of the author's literary habits or modes of thinking, that he comes to consider his readers as an extensive audience, whom he cannot expect to influence, unless he breaks down his thoughts and makes his illustrations familiar, so as to render both perfectly level to their conceptions. When prose composition has assumed this popular form, it may be taken for granted that literature has begun to be pretty generally cultivated."

During the Commonwealth the proscription of the theatre and of all other liberal amusements, enforced by the rigid spirit of the times, must have been, in some respects, very prejudicial to literature; but, says our author, it is probable that this very circumstance of the exclusion of the people from public amusements, after a literary taste had been once created, would lead them to gratify this taste more than formerly, by reading and discussion, and combined with the reasoning spirit, which, amidst much extravagance, must have been engendered by the religious and political disputes of the day, would tend to increase very considerably the reading class. "We cannot fairly consider that age as a mere blank in literature, which produced many of Milton's prose writings, and the Memoirs of Ludlow and Hutchinson, and which, in theology, then the favourite subject of attention, gave rise to such men as Owen and Baxter, whose works, though unpopular from their style, are admitted by those who have studied this subject the most, to be able and judicious."

The effects of the Restoration upon literature are thus admirably developed by our author:—

"Immediately on the Restoration, the nation passing, as is natural, from one extreme to another, suddenly exchanged the strictness of puritanism for an uncommon degree of licentiousness. The theatres were immediately opened, and the favourite plays begun to exhibit an indecency, greater even than most of the dramas of the preceding reign. The tone of theatrical morals was given by the monarch and his courtiers, who probably dictated, on this point, with the less restraint, because the Puritans, who formed then a considerable part of the nation, could not be expected to interfere, even in the regulation of an amusement, which their principles led them to consider as altogether impious and immoral. The precarious life which Charles and his courtiers had led, and the uncertainty of their fortunes during the king's

exile, must have tended, at once, to give them a more thorough conviction than usual of the selfishness of those foreign courts with which they associated, and to nourish, as such a life often does, habits of reckless dissipation, and a tendency to consider personal gratification and ease as the only true objects of existence. Hence arose that sect of practical Epicureans, of which the King and his favourites were the principal adherents, unsettled in their principles, inconstant in all their pursuits, and heartless in their friendships, complete masters of the practical art of making the most of the uncertainty of life, by employing love, friendship, pleasure, or literature, as the occasion required, to soothe its cares or heighten its enjoyments,—but utterly incapable of carrying their minds beyond this light-hearted philosophy to any serious or lofty pursuits,—the best of them, in short, nothing better than accomplished profligates. The drama reflected pretty faithfully the feelings and opinions of this class of men, who directed, at that time, the fashion and literature of England. Accordingly, one striking feature of the dramatic performances of that age, is their heartlessness. The favourite characters of the early dramatists are creatures of a noble race, of great stature, elegant proportions, strong characters, and high aims, whose passions too often lay society waste, but who generally give us a strong impression of the heartiness and manliness of their proceedings, and the greatness of their capacities. They are often capricious, headstrong, cruel, or tyrannical, according to their respective stations and opportunities of acting; but these and the other vices portrayed by the dramatist flow generally from ungovernable passion, which carries ourselves away, for the time, and compels our momentary sympathy, though its effects may excite our strongest abhorrence. On the other hand, the ordinary, every-day characters of the dramas of Charles II., are heartless sensualists, whose only purpose is animal gratification, and who, therefore, with whatever seeming gaiety and light-heartedness their vices may be relieved, give us a disgusting impression of their habitual and incurable depravity. Nor do the tragic characters of that age form in reality, though in appearance they certainly do form, material exceptions to this rule. The earlier tragedies of Charles II., commonly called the heroic tragedies, abound in those gigantic representations of love, honour, and bravery, which lose all hold of human sympathy, because they are far beyond the standard of human nature, and which are apt to be the favourites of a class of people who indulge, without control, in such extravagant visions, because their own feelings and experience do not afford any practical standard for reducing them to the limits of truth and nature. The fact is, that these heroic plays originated in France, and were transplanted to England, at a time when the party that prevailed, both at court and in society, had the lowest possible pretensions to heroism or magnanimity. It is a sure sign of the prevalence of these great qualities, when the heroic virtues of high dramatic characters are intermingled, as in the dramatists of the preceding age, with the gracefulness and comic ease of ordinary life. This indicates that such characters are common in actual society, whereas the exaggerated characters of the heroic plays demonstrate, that those great qualities which the writers meant to exhibit are foreign to their habits of thought, and to the character of the times. Dryden, who was the most popular poet of his age, and whose variations of taste, therefore, as has been well remarked by his biographer, may be considered as indicative of corresponding variations in the public taste, came, in his later days, to abandon his heroic tragedies, and to imitate, as far as possible, the nature and variety of the old English drama.

"Comedy, on the other hand, appears to have been distinguished, during the whole of Charles's reign, by the intricate plots and bustling action of the Spanish stage, while the characters seem to have been a pretty faithful copy of what we may suppose to have been then the fashionable manners in England. But, both in all the comedies of that age, and in their tragedies, even after they descended from the bombast of the heroic drama, and attempted to imitate nature, there is an evident predominance of the sensual and animal over the intellectual character, and a want of that heartiness, which often reconciles us to very faulty characters, when their aberrations are accompanied with an impression, however delusive, that their passions have been enlisted on the side of heroism and virtue. This illusion is wanting in most even of the tragedies of that age: the leading characters, from their haughtiness, turbulence, bravery, intellect, or ambition, are often highly dramatic; but their passions are generally selfish, and sometimes entirely sensual. One

of Dryden's best tragedies, the Spanish Friar, affords a striking example of this; and even his Don Sebastian has a strong taint of sensuality—not merely that which arises from the nature of the subject, but what is engendered by the vitiated taste of the author. Otway's Orphan, though full of heart-rending pathos, is infected throughout with the same fault; and even his Venice Preserved is not entirely free from it. The tenderness of these plays is in many respects inimitable; but one cannot often avoid thinking, that it is not so much the warmth of manly and disinterested affection, as the doating fondness of effeminate sensuality. Nor do even his conspirators, in Venice Preserved, exhibit true energy of character. Pierre's eloquence is rather the raving of a baffled ruffian, who thinks it graceful to die as a martyr, than the heroism of a true patriot. But, with all the faults of these two great dramatists, which arose from their subserviency to the vitiated morals of the times, it is impossible to avoid admiring the soft melody of Otway's numbers, and his never-failing tenderness; or to praise, in adequate terms, the richness, strength, and energy of Dryden's versification, the frequent grandeur of thought which abounds in all his tragedies, and the fund of natural character which is to be found in most of his comedies, and in his two tragedies that have just been mentioned. It was the vitiated taste and morals of the party then predominant in society which diverted his great talents from the cultivation of the old English drama, and of nature, to the imitation of foreign and artificial models.

"In the meantime, the ordinary style both of prose and poetry, in so far as regarded language and composition, underwent a remarkable improvement. The courtiers of Charles II., who then led the fashion, were fitted to be of eminent service in this particular. Most of them were scholars as well as courtiers and men of the world; and, while they often made literature minister to their depraved imaginations, they also frequently employed it with success to lend variety and grace to the common intercourse of society. Literature and society both reap great advantages from such a familiar and easy communication with each other. Conversation thus gains a wide range of topics, which supply a perpetual fund of amusement, distinct from satire or scandal; the mind is kept in that gentle excitement which is probably its most healthful state, (though such excitement is often checked by the stagnation of private life); and the moral feelings are much improved, by being habitually withdrawn from the sordid cares, low pleasures, or petty intrigues, which often infest private society, to pursuits which do not harass the mind, while they never fail to soften and elevate it. On the other hand, literature is improved by appearing in undress, without the parade of publication, in those various modes that may suit the never-ending caprices of a society which is formed for amusement. Literary men, too, acquire a knowledge of society, and imbibe its spirit, and are thus enabled to fall in so far with the public taste, as not to publish anything strikingly unpopular, without quitting that predominance of intellect which should qualify them to be, in all material points, its directors. Literature thus becomes more imbued with the spirit, and better adapted to the use of the world at large, instead of being addressed by authors exclusively to their own class, and being made, as it often is in such cases, a mere barren exercise of ingenuity. Literary men among themselves are strongly tempted to display those powers or attainments merely which are rare or difficult, and are thus often led, when their compeers are their only judges, to produce works which serve almost no other purpose. But, when the public voice is consulted, literature is then compelled to embody in its productions the actual spirit of society, and to address itself to the hearts of mankind, by works which strongly interest human passions, or are of evident public benefit.

"The pedantry of style and quaintness of allusion which prevailed among literary men, and even among courtiers who wished to be thought literary, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, afford a lively example of the tendency of mere literature to engender useless subtleties and conceits, when it has not yet entered (so to speak) into that familiar acquaintance with society, and attained that exquisite adaptation to its feelings and wishes, which renders it a fit instrument for human use, and for the expression or gratification of human feelings. In Charles the Second's reign, when fashionable men were literary, the character of literature became fashionable; and prose authors, forsaking the obscure and laborious pedantry of former times, imitated in their writings the ease and liveliness of polite conver-

sation. They were thus led to aim at being clear and striking, instead of being merely recondite in their illustrations; and appositeness of expression became the chief object of diction and style, instead of phrases or allusions that tended to display learning at the expense of perspicuity. The foreign taste, indeed, of Charles and his courtiers, tended, in some respects, to improve the purity of our style; for the French literature, though much inferior to English literature in vigour, was then considerably advanced before it in refinement; and there can be little doubt that the frequent use which was made at that time of French literature, had a great effect in bringing our prose style especially to the ease and purity of diction necessary for the common uses of society. Dryden's prose style (for his name is connected with almost every branch of literature) is, even at this day, a model of ease, vigour, rapidity, and gracefulness, and forms an advantageous contrast, not only to the quaint and artificial pedantry that prevailed in the time of Elizabeth and James, but even to the simple, though somewhat ponderous energy of Clarendon or Milton. This increasing ease and popularity in the style of prose writings at this time, forms the strongest proof that literary pursuits were no longer confined to a learned few, but were beginning to form an amusement, and a topic of conversation, to those who could not make them their ordinary study. In fact, literary subjects began then to excite general interest,—literary parties were formed to support or oppose the prevailing style of tragedy,—dramatic works were freely criticised,—and the success or downfal of the reigning poets was a subject of keen contention and of general interest in the capital. There is one circumstance, however, which proves that reading was yet by no means general, viz. that every poet directed his chief attention, and rested his principal hopes of literary success, on the theatre. This affords a strong proof that the number of people who went to see plays was much greater than that of the reading public. Indeed, it may be presumed that there would be a far greater eagerness to frequent the theatre at that time than at present, because, when reading was not general, the stage formed almost the only channel for conveying literary amusement or instruction. Accordingly, we are informed in the Life of Dryden, that the number of London theatres in his time was much greater than it is at present, though the population of the capital has been since so prodigiously increased.

"It is a striking proof of the vocation of all poets about that period to the drama, that Milton, belonging, as he did, to a party which proscribed the theatre, not only wrote Comus and Samson Agonistes, but actually intended, at one time, to have made Paradise Lost the subject of a drama, and that Dryden afterwards did dramatise it, under the name of the State of Innocence.

"But general poetry, too, began at this time to be a good deal cultivated. In this walk of literature, the name of Dryden meets us as the most distinguished of his times. His general poems, which are chiefly satirical, are exactly such as might be expected to command the admiration of literary men living in polished society. With astonishing richness and energy of language, and as much smoothness and command of style in rhyme as in prose, adapting his verse with equal success to plain narrative, close reasoning, copious description, or indignant invective; with admirable skill in delineating, or rather painting characters, (for his descriptions are pictures,) and with wonderful grace and felicity in pointing sarcasms, his personal or party poems, even after they have lost all the zest of individual allusion, still delight us equally as powerful general satires, and as lively memorials of contemporary manners and characters. It is a remarkable fact, however, that not only Dryden and Butler, the two most eminent poets of that period, but also those numerous minor poets who succeeded in attracting temporary notice, (unless it is necessary to except Blackmore, who scarcely appears to have had even that good fortune,) confined their general poems to some subject of political or popular interest. This is altogether the case with Butler, who plays the artillery of his wit entirely against the Presbyterians and other dissenters; and a similar principle dictated almost all Dryden's general poems, although the vigorous and philosophical spirit of the man is perpetually breaking out from the passions of the party satirist. Even Dryden's genius, too, though great as an observer and skilful painter of human nature, does not appear to have been equally alive to the beauties of external nature: he is chiefly a town poet: his success is great in detecting the faults, vices and crimes of those characters that appear in an artificial society, but he seems to have

little relish for, or acquaintance with, those great and beautiful scenes which delight the senses and the fancy of every true worshipper of nature. He appears to have looked at nature through the spectacles of books, rather than to have seen her with his own eyes.

"If such was the poetical bent even of one of the first poets of his age, whose genius has set the seal of immortality to those works, which he perhaps designed, at the time, merely to serve a party or to gratify personal resentment, we may well venture to doubt whether the public taste which trammeled his genius was fit to relish any thing greater. The artificial, though, in some respects, elegant taste of those who directed literary opinion in his days, would probably have led them to adopt a standard of writing even less natural and vigorous than his, if the party views which his poetry was so eminently fitted to promote had not extorted their admiration. We cannot wonder much, in this state of things, that Milton should have been compelled to sell the copy-right of his Paradise Lost for sixteen pounds. Dryden himself, though imbued with strong prejudices against Milton, was probably the most sincere and enlightened admirer of his genius that existed in that age. Milton's ill success does not seem to have arisen more from the prejudices of the ruling party, than from incompatibility betwixt his lofty and aspiring genius, formed by a contemplation of the great masters of antiquity, and by the study of the earlier English poets, and the artificial taste which then prevailed. When to these causes we add the drawbacks which arose, as already described, from the nature of his subject, and from the general conception of his great poem, as well as from many of its smaller blemishes, there can be no difficulty in accounting for his want of success. Indeed, even in the present age, when his excellencies have been the subject of frequent commentaries, there is reason to doubt whether he has yet 'gathered all his fame,' and whether he is not still one of those authors who are more admired than read."

During the period between the Restoration and the Revolution, the sciences of metaphysics and moral philosophy began to make considerable progress. Cudworth, Hobbes and Locke, all lived during this period; and most of the great divines of the time, as Clarke, Barrow and Tillotson, were distinguished metaphysicians. Great benefit to the cause of general literature is ascribed by our author to the influence of those studies, at the epoch of the Revolution, as well as to the operation of that political independence which was then established. The English character, even from an early period, afforded a rich field for delineation, owing to the freedom and independence which were enjoyed to a great extent by the middling and even the lower classes. Those privileges, however, were held by a rather precarious tenure, and with frequent interruptions, arising as well from the encroachments of power as from the unsettled spirit of the times. But the Revolution gave perfect security, accompanied with a considerable share of power and independence, to all classes of the community. Every individual, in whatever condition, had perfect liberty to indulge, and consequently unfold, his own peculiar humours and character. As every class of the community, too, depended in some measure upon the other, since they had all a certain share in the government of the state, the mutual interests of all classes led them to maintain that habitual intercourse together, which produced a full sympathy with, and a thorough understanding of each other's characters. This state of things must necessarily have had a great effect, not only in inducing all classes to give

way, without restraint, to the impulse of their respective situations, and thus to develop characters highly various and original, but also in exciting a general curiosity in every particular class to learn the character of the others, and thus rendering the characters and habits of almost every class of society a field on which the poet or the novelist might expatiate, with the certainty of awakening interest and gaining applause from a very wide circle of readers.

A long period, however, elapsed before literature thus became, to any considerable extent, a mirror for reflecting the characters and opinions of the different classes of society. In the period immediately subsequent to the Revolution, although literature was becoming daily an object of more general interest, it was by no means so distinguished as it has since become, for nature or variety. The same artificial taste, which was introduced from the continent into England at the Restoration, still continued to fetter the energies of its literature.—Copious as already have been our extracts, we must be allowed to transcribe our author's observations on the literary school of the reign of Queen Anne.

"All the wits of Queen Anne's reign were in some degree disciples of the artificial school. Congreve, Pope, Swift, Prior, Addison, Gay, all directed their exertions, more or less, to the establishment of a species of polite literature, which might find both its principal materials and its chief admirers in the society of the capital. Such a result, indeed, was to be expected in that stage of the progress of literature. Authors who had, in former times, written chiefly for the drama, wrote now, both in prose and poetry, for the reading public. But this public was not, as it is now, spread indiscriminately over the whole face of the country. It consisted chiefly of good society in the capital; and this society, being the principal circle to which an author addressed his productions, or on whose praise he depended for success, gave law, in literature as well as in fashion, to the rest of the kingdom. The limited amount of the reading public at that time is apparent from this circumstance, that authors, more especially in poetry, did not trust exclusively, as they do now, to the encouragement arising from the natural sale of their works, but relied then, and for a long time afterwards, on the protection, and often the pecuniary support, of some literary patron, whom it was a common compliment to address in a style of the most fulsome panegyric, without regarding whether he deserved it or not. Even the distinguished literary men who have been named a little ago were not altogether above this kind of patronage. Their celebrity, indeed, raised them so high, that their patrons were induced, through vanity, to court their society; and the parties were thus brought to a sort of mutual equality, in which the author set off the brilliancy of his talents against the lustre reflected upon him from the intimacy of men of rank and wealth, (whom he would not probably have chosen as companions but for these adventitious circumstances,) and still more perhaps against the literary benefit which he derived from their influence in society. If these were the terms on which the greatest literary men of the day associated with persons of rank, it is easy to conceive how dearly authors of inferior merit or less celebrity must have paid for the protection of such literary patrons, which is always most grudgingly bestowed when it is most needed. Even so late as the time of Johnson, who succeeded ultimately in raising an independent fame on the basis of public opinion, we see many instances of the insolence and neglect to which those authors were expected to submit, who were endeavouring to emerge, by means of high patronage, into literary eminence.

"It was natural, then, for the authors of that age, who saw that the influence of polished society was their best passport to fame, to direct their efforts chiefly to those topics which were likely to be favourites with such a society, and thus to make

the manners of the court and the town the principal subject of their delineation. For, from the time of the Restoration, there seems to have been much less of genuine English character than there was before. The party who led the fashion were devoted almost exclusively to the pleasures of a town life; and their literature, formed on the model of that of France, was such as might be expected to spring up in the bosom of a clever and dissipated society, whose chief pursuit is amusement. This sort of literature began at the Restoration, and it nearly reached its perfection, as well as its natural limits, in the reign of Queen Anne. It was formed to suit the taste of town readers, and, therefore, town manners were its groundwork. Its poetry was such as a man of genius might be expected to indite, when his enthusiasm is dissipated by the intercourse of a refined promiscuous society. It abounded in wit, in glittering allusions, and in polished sarcasm, but was deficient in feeling, except when vice provoked invective,—not apt to praise, unless in order to show a talent for dexterous flattery, but prone enough to satire, though not so much from an abhorrence of vice, as from the abundance of materials for satire, and from that habit of mind which is the besetting sin of such a society, viz. a heartless thirst for indiscriminate attraction. The reflections of such a poet on human nature might be expected to be subtle and profound, but not sufficiently favourable or indulgent, in consequence of the vicious models from which they were drawn; and his descriptions of external nature were wanting in reality, being only exaggerated imitations of copies, by an artist who had never familiarised himself with the original, but had merely glanced at the beauties of the country with that affected enthusiasm, which a town-bred philosopher thinks himself bound to assume as a disguise for real indifference. The character of their poetry and their prose is in this respect wonderfully alike: their familiar letters or light essays display, in a negligent undress, the same spirit of brilliant wit, gay ridicule, and heartless sarcasm, which, in their poetry, is concentrated into a purer essence, acquires a keener edge, and sparkles with brighter flashes of genius. It is surprising what a likeness we can trace between the English familiar letters of that era and those of the French, from whom this style of writing was derived. The Letters of Horace Walpole, who was trained in the school of Pope, might be almost mistaken, if they had been in French, for those of his friend Mad. du Deffand; and Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters, with more genuine wit and gaiety, perhaps, and more cleverness, are evidently formed on the same model, and liable to the same moral objections.

"We do not mean, however, to say that these were the only qualities of the great writers in Queen Anne's reign. Addison has been long celebrated for purity and simplicity of style, and displays, both in his prose writings and in his tragedy of Cato, much pathos and sublimity. Swift's indignant invective often rises into eloquence or poetical inspiration; and Pope, both in his Epistles of Eloisa and Abelard, and in many of his smaller poems, as well as in his translation of Homer, shows that he was endowed with great tenderness and enthusiasm. But the other qualities which have been previously described were instilled into these writers by their own habits, and by the prevalent feelings and notions of those who led the public taste; and the same causes repressed the inclination, which they might otherwise have had, to yield freely to the impulse of their own genius. Even Pope's Essay on Man, though it contains many sublime passages, is less distinguished for comprehension of thought, or for poetical genius, than for a certain epigrammatic point, which gives his thoughts an appearance of force that they do not always really possess, and which he often employs as a substitute for reasoning. Prior's Solomon, and even his Henry and Emma, which is greatly inferior to the original in simplicity and pathos, show how much less he was in his element when writing on serious subjects, than in the gay and witty colloquial poetry, which formed his chief excellence: and both these poems afford many proofs of his aptness to mistake solemn formality and pomp of language for poetical grandeur. This, indeed, is the perpetual fault of those whose minds are not imbued with deep poetical feeling, that, in endeavouring to reach it, they become pompous and turgid. Addison's poetry is more liable to the charge of flatness and heaviness than of turgidity. Even his Cato, though it has kept the stage, both from its classical character, and from the more than human dignity that was given to its hero by the talents of a late distinguished actor, is not, as a whole, either impassioned or highly poetical. In short, Addison was evidently more in his element, when shining in the society of wits and literary

men, or inditing gay portraits of living manners or elegant speculations for the Spectator, than when he essayed the higher flights of poetry.

"The drama was at that time exactly in such a state as might have been expected from the existing state of literature. It produced no tragedy of any value excepting Cato, and, indeed, it was not probable that it should. But the witty and highly dramatic style of comedy, which was introduced at the Restoration, appears to have nearly reached its perfection about this time, in the works of Congreve, Farquhar and Vanburgh, which, with pretty much the same licentiousness as the comedies of Charles the Second's reign, exhibit more liveliness and wit, and much greater refinement of taste. Their comedies, indeed, appear to possess almost every excellence admissible into dramas of this kind, which profess to represent the manners of a lively, accomplished and dissipated society, whose chief end is amusement, and who devote to that purpose exclusively the whole brilliancy of their wit and talents.

"It has been already mentioned that this species of literature nearly reached its natural limits in the reign of Queen Anne. This was to be expected; for a literature which was either formed upon foreign models and by artificial rules, or which professed only to reflect the manners of polished society, must soon have become exhausted. In the society which it professed to represent, there is always a want of original character and striking incident. The most accomplished members of it struggle to appear lively and interested about trifles, in order to disguise an oppressive feeling of dulness and monotony; and, therefore, the writers who draw their materials from such a society, (supposing them to be even its most accomplished members,) must ultimately feel a scarcity of materials for their works. The narrow field of characters which society furnishes being exhausted, they must be obliged to imitate or caricature their own former portraits. Their wit will degenerate into glitter and antithesis, and their satire will become prosing and pointless. Such is the natural death of this school of literature, when there is no encouragement to the growth of one more conformable to nature. But it has not been so in England. The particular style of writing, indeed, which has been now described, began to decay, even in the time of those writers who had carried it to perfection; and, accordingly, Pope and his cotemporaries complained, with reason, (and not with so much affectation as has been generally ascribed to them,) of the decline of literary talent. For, even their own genius must have been cramped in its exertions, and at last worn out from the want of materials, in the narrow field to which they were confined. Much more, therefore, must the evil have been felt by their inferiors, or by those who attempted to gather the gleanings which they had left. In the peculiar style of writing to which they owed their celebrity in their own age, they had neither rivals nor successors.

"Poetry remained almost dormant for some time after Pope. His example, coupled with that of some of the ancient poets, as well as the taste of the times, which led men rather to delineate characters in high life, or to translate moral reflections into poetry, than to copy boldly from nature in whatever form she appeared, seems to have brought satirical and didactic poetry into fashion. Young imitates him in satire; but he contrives to lose nearly all his liveliness, wit and elegance, and to preserve only his antithesis, which makes his own laborious attempts at gaiety appear the more forced and unnatural. Churchill's Satires are endowed with an energy that would entitle him to the name of the British Juvenal, if their coarse personality and frequent injustice did not almost degrade him from the rank of an English classic. The rage, too, for didactic poetry, which arose about this time, appears to have been very much misdirected; for, while this taste prevailed, moral discourses and scientific or metaphysical discussions were often thrown into verse, with the effect only of restraining the freedom and injuring the completeness of the reasoning, while the reader was disappointed, instead of being gratified, by the unsuccessful attempt that was made to give the subject a poetical interest of which it was not susceptible. This remark applies peculiarly to Young's Night Thoughts, and, indeed, to all his poetico-theological works. It even applies, though in a much smaller degree, to Armstrong's Art of Preserving Health and Akenside's Pleasures of Imagination. The digressions in these two last authors are invariably their finest passages, and we are therefore apt to consider those parts only of their poems as truly poetical, in which they lose sight of their main subject. There could not well be a stronger proof of the unfitness of the subject for poetry. But these and several

other poets exhibited symptoms of the dawning of a vigorous and natural style of poetry, into the origin of which it may now be proper to make a more particular inquiry."

We regret we cannot follow our author in this inquiry, but must content ourselves with indicating the causes of this change, which he investigates. The first he deems to be the discontinuance of the employment of ancient mythology, a ridiculous and cumbersome practice in modern poetry, which prevented poets from looking with their own eyes at nature in her real garb—the second, the progress of novel writing, which familiarised the public with the varieties of human character in every different condition of life, and thus both diffused through all ranks of society a mutual acquaintance and sympathy with each other's characters, and extended the sphere of poetry, by opening a much wider field of materials for poetical delineations—the third, the diffusion of political knowledge and general information among the people, which has not only given a more elevated tone to poetry, but has raised the human character generally, and lent a new and more vigorous impulse to the human mind, in every department of science and literature—the fourth, the influence of Scottish literature, which formed a powerful auxiliary in widening the range and elevating the character of political discussion, a propensity for the study of metaphysics and practical politics being a strong characteristic of the Scottish mind—the fifth, the effects of the American and French revolutions, which familiarised the public mind to a vehement and habitual discussion of the most abstract principles of government, and their application to all the details of practical politics. From these causes, a prodigious influence has been given to literature. "Sentiments with relation to government, society, and morals, which were formerly matters of discussion, are now so deeply and universally imprinted on the public mind, as to become fit subjects for a direct appeal to the imagination and the feelings, and hence the vein of poetical sentiment has grown more profound, intellectual, and vigorous. The public at large has been led to contemplate, and poets and novelists to delineate, with far greater freedom and boldness than were ever known before, all the various forms and fluctuations of social life, without being confined, as the train of thought both of readers and writers often were formerly, to the actual society of our own age and country. Never did poetry or novel writing draw with greater profusion, than they have done in the present age, on history, past and present, on the anticipations of the future, or even on the mere dreams of the imagination. There is also, in these times, an incessant demand for the *facts* which history or travelling disclose to us, with regard to past ages and distant nations, as affording the only sure foundation of political or philosophical reasoning." As to the alleged decline of the drama, our author ascribes it, in great mea-

sure, to the circumstance, that neither the genius of poets, nor the interest of the public at large, is now devoted so exclusively to the drama as it was in the days of the early dramatists.

Having thus illustrated the influence which literature and society exert on each other, by exhibiting some of the most interesting situations by which their mutual action has been hitherto called forth, our author proceeds to make some brief remarks with regard to the effect of literature, when it has thus been generally diffused, upon society at large. He first considers the indirect influence of literary pursuits in restraining evil habits among both the higher and lower classes; and then examines the direct influence of the general diffusion of moral and political truths, in the removal of prejudices and corrupt interests with reference to the principles and great ends of society and government, in the increased security of social rights, and in the discouragement of war, the evils of which he goes into an argument to prove, in opposition to those who have expatiated, with great plausibility, on its advantages in rousing the energy and calling out the generous passions of human nature. His "Conclusion" is expressed in the following cheering strain.

"It is probable that the steps which society will take, at no distant period, in its progress towards general liberty and happiness, will be rapid and simultaneous. Even at present, there is evidently a stirring of men's minds on the continent of Europe, which shows that efforts will soon be made to throw off the restraints of those vicious and tyrannical institutions which have hitherto fettered their energies. This, indeed, seems to be one great feature in the progress of society, that the human mind silently advances, under all the disadvantages of political restraint, till it acquires at last such a strength and impetus as at once render it intolerable to live longer in bondage, and enable it, by a violent effort, to break its bonds asunder. When the institutions of a country are out-grown by the intelligence of its inhabitants, the breach between them becomes every day wider and more incurable, from the progress that takes place on the one side, and from increase of degeneracy on the other, till at last the government, being stript gradually of every support, excepting that feeble and precarious degree of it which it derives from those who are in its immediate employment, perishes almost without a struggle. When the yoke is thus thrown off in one instance, a stimulus is given to all other countries who are still subject to it; and a practical example is held out to them, that may at once direct their exertions, and warn them to avoid the dangers encountered by those who have been the first to declare war against tyranny. It is therefore probable that no future revolution of this kind will be attended with the same violent convulsion, or will produce the same calamities which were produced by the first. The minds of men are now far more deeply impregnated with rational views of liberty than they were at the time of the French Revolution, and they are therefore the less likely to give way to extravagance or disorder. But, when the worst obstacles to public happiness shall have been removed, by the establishment of liberal and enlightened institutions in all those countries where the advanced state of society calls for it, the human mind will acquire a wonderful *impetus* towards liberty and happiness by its mere emancipation from former restraints. The more completely, too, that political institutions are adapted to the actual state of society, the greater will be the ascendency of liberal principles, and the firmer will be our security against future retrogression. If society is ever brought to this state, it is not probable that there will be afterwards any great changes or violent convulsions. But its subsequent progress, though quiet and unobtrusive, will be prodigiously accelerated by the harmony that will then exist between the feelings and attainments of the people and the structure

of their institutions, as well as by the mutual aid which they will contribute in developing each other. What degree of progress may then be made, in all those acquirements which exalt the intellectual and moral dignity of man, or increase his capacity of happiness, it exceeds our powers of imagination to conjecture, since the limited experience which we have as yet of political virtue and felicity supplies us with few materials for speculating on the subject. But it is consolatory to think, that, so far as we can foresee, the great obstacles which have been raised by the ambition and selfishness of man himself against his progress in society, will in time be removed, and that mankind, however far they must always come short of perfection, will then proceed in an uninterrupted, and to us inconceivably rapid career of improvement."

Art. VI.—TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA.

1.—*The Rambler in North America:* 1832–33. By Charles Joseph Latrobe, *Author of the Alpenstock, &c.* 2 vols. London: 1835.

2.—*Narrative of a Tour in North America; comprising Mexico, the Mines of Real del Monte, the United States, and the British Colonies: with an excursion to the Island of Cuba. In a Series of Letters, written in the years* 1831–2. By Henry Tudor, Esq. *Barrister at Law.* 2 vols. London: 1834.

In preference to any original "blowing up," *secundum artem*, of the English travellers who have made this country the theme of their vituperation, which would seem almost to be an indispensable preface to every review of a work respecting us by an English pen, we will transcribe what is said of them by "The Rambler in North America."

"With regard to English travellers in the United States, do not imagine that I am without a list of them also, which I shall forthwith find and lay before you, leaving you to detect that to which I may be supposed to belong. Though our countrymen are found by swarms upon the teeming roads of France, Switzerland and Italy; here, their appearance is rarer and therefore more marked. I mention first, the Porcine English Traveller, as personifying in the eyes of Brother Jonathan the identical John Bull. A few of this class are met with on the steam-boats and rail-roads, and a straggler or two in the interior of the country, marching onward to the music of their own dissatisfied grumbling, like a bear with a sore head. They are seldom long visitants. They arrive from England on a hurried tour, sometimes accompanied by a companion in training, one of those who travel over the world with their eyes shut and mouths open. They are sure to be disgusted with the United States—where they have neither room nor time to do anything. They complain of crowded steam-boats—crowded hotels and boarding-houses—crowded carriages—of the sharpness of people's elbows—the quickly satisfied appetites and the unrestrained gaze of all—the impertinent inquiries of a few. They see nothing but want of polish, want of taste, and want of politeness. They ask how many of the States are included in the term Christendom. They rush from New York to Saratoga—from Saratoga to Niagara—thence to Detroit; and then, in utter disgust, determine to quit the land of equality, and in a paroxysm of loyalty and rekindled Toryism, get themselves set ashore in Upper Canada; little dreaming, that the back woods, whether of Canada or the United States, are alike devoid of

convenience; and that every new country, whether under democratic or monarchical rule, presents pretty much the same phases of society and the same natural features. We met with such an one;—a decent gentleman, but in a paroxysm of despair, not knowing how to extricate himself from a position into which a crudely-conceived desire of travel had beguiled him. We had advantages over him in every way as old travellers—laughing at a certain degree of privation—and our commiseration was, I own, mingled with a good deal of amusement, the more as his case was in no way a desperate one: but his complaints of the people, and the roads, and the fare, and the morals, were unceasing. After having been squeezed in a narrow wagon with others during a whole day's journey, and hardly allowed time to eat the unwonted food set before him—he had been compelled to sleep, as all must in such a country, in a cluster of log-huts, half open to the air. He had, from his description, out of compliment, (I never had such a piece of good fortune), been permitted to occupy a small compartment by himself; and after describing the bad accommodations, he went on to say, with a very slow mysterious intonation, as though communicating a horrible incident: 'and sir, will you believe it, I found that in the end I had to sleep with two ladies inside of me!' Now, stout as the gentleman was, by this he meant nothing, but that two ladies, travellers like himself, had had to retire to a compartment beyond his own. This, however, was to him the acmé of barbarism. What good can be the result of such a traveller's lucubrations?

"But to go on with my list. You see here the Speculator, the Theorist, and the Utilitarian; often men, who, unable to take care of their own individual affairs, begin to feel great anxiety for those of mankind in general,—as you may have seen in days gone by, a tipsy gentleman, when just upon the point of losing his reason, begin to hold forth in a strain of maudlin philanthropy about his neighbours, and sigh deeply for the welfare of the whole human race; crowning his folly, by offering his services to conduct an equally tipsy companion home. Such men frequently make their appearance in America; disappointed and indigent; having lost character in their own country, and full of a new-born fervour in favour of a land and a people of which they know nothing. Their indignation at having divulged their theories in the former to deaf ears, will only be equalled by their surprise in finding, that of all countries in the world, the United States contains the greatest number of matter-of-fact men; and that neither admiration nor support will be granted to crude and untried notions. And, like the demagogue, the free-thinker in politics and religion, and many a one who leaves his country in high dudgeon, after long tampering with petty treason,—men of this class frequently alter their opinions and language after their arrival here, as they find a sobriety of demeanour and sentiment in the people, which ill accords with their views; and then they abuse the country with just as much reason as they lauded it before. But what good is to be expected from these, or their reports, on either side of the Atlantic?

"Next comes the hasty traveller,—the young officer on furlough,—the young gentleman on his return home from the West India Islands, who lands at New York, determines to take advantage of the packet to Liverpool on the first of the succeeding month, say a fortnight hence,—and in the meantime to visit the most interesting points of the United States and Canada. He flies to Niagara by the canal or the road; then takes the line of Ontario steam-boats, descends the Saint Lawrence to Montreal, perhaps visits Quebec, returns panting by way of Champlain and Lake George, to the Hudson, and thus to his port in the very nick of time. Something he has seen, but can carry away no very definite notion of the people, or the state of the country.

"Another class—the prejudiced and pompous traveller, travelling as he says, for information, but seeing every thing through a bilious medium, and neither pleasing himself nor others. In the cities he will grumble at the hotels; he will say that Bunker's and the City Hotel in New York are odious; that Gadsby's at Washington is a bear-garden,—in which by the way he will not be far from the truth, particularly during the meeting of Congress,—and that of all the sojourning places for the traveller in the Union, the Tremont at Boston is the only one that is not offensive to a degree. In the country he will be horrified by the number of badly-made coats he may see, forgetful that at least he meets with no beggars, and sees no marks of penury and want. With a mind morbidly inquisitive, he will wish to persuade himself that he understands the true colours of everything, at the same

time he looks at all through a piece of smoked glass. In his observations upon the politics and government of the country, he is totally at fault, not having taken care to draw the distinction between the operations of the General Government, and those of the separate State Governments: and in his observations upon society, he will be equally far from just, because he makes his own education, breeding, and feelings, the standard of comparison, and what he does not or cannot understand, must be wrong. The very absence of beggars will be to him a proof of a low degree of civilization. He will condemn the Americans for not every where showing that cultivation to which he may have supposed we have attained, being perhaps of too lofty a temper to reflect, that some of the points appertaining to the decencies or elegancies of life, upon which he dilates with the most cutting and supercilious sarcasm, are precisely those, to an acquaintance with which, we ourselves, as a nation, have been but very recently introduced, and whose general adoption dates from a yet later period. An Englishman of this cast will be thunderstruck, nay, petrified, at hearing the oft-reiterated assertion, that English is spoken better in America than in the mother country, and with some reason, as nothing but his own observation and reflection will show him what foundation can possibly exist for such an assumption.

"If he stays long enough in the country, and travels sufficiently, he will grant that throughout America, he will generally hear English pronounced, he may readily understand. Further, that the dialects which prevail in many of our counties do not exist, though in some parts of the Eastern states, a language very much approaching to a dialect is spoken;—for the rest, he will find that though as far as the general pronunciation of the language goes, all may be at least intelligible, there will be a great deal which an Englishman can hardly be expected to understand: that slang, quite as incomprehensible to him as the gipsy lingo of our own hedge-sides, forms the common mode of communication in some parts of the country; and that, generally speaking, there are few ranks of society in which a certain degree of this base coin is not current. He will find from the style of conversation of Americans of literary turn, that out of the main cities and in remote parts of the country, it is evident that the difference between written and conversational language is scarcely understood,—which may arise from the speakers having to draw their language more from books than from the interchange of ideas with men of their own stamp; and that consequently the use of big and pompous words, such as load the newspaper paragraphs, is much more common than good taste would admit. But enough of the pompous traveller. He may do very little harm, but he will do no great good.

"You may further meet here with the sentimental traveller, who having read Rousseau and Chateaubriand, and become enamoured of the image of man in a state of nature, unsophisticated and unspoiled by civilization, or of some sweet picture of savage life, dives his way through the forests to the Indian settlements, to find an amiable '*Chactas*,' or still more amiable '*Atala*.' 'Tis a bootless errand! The bland traveller also, good-natured to excess, losing half his time in asking questions of those who cannot answer them, and running right and left to see common places;—the book-maker, he who comes with the purpose of writing a book which shall contradict one in the market:—the inquisitive gentleman, a bore, and bored in turn. Then one or two travellers who having long and hotly advocated some change in our political or ecclesiastical government, come here at last, to do what should have been done first—namely, to see how it works. What can you expect but ex-parte statements from such people? They are like geological theorists, who having concocted their system in their library chair, come forth and make a tour, in which they would refer all the phenomena which come in their way to the test of their own petty conception.

"And now I fancy I hear you ask, and to what order of English travellers in America did you belong? The Porcine? No. The speculator, theorist, or demagogue? Neither the one nor the other. The hasty traveller? Not altogether. The prejudiced and pompous? I trust not. The sentimental? Decidedly not.

"Then you travelled as a Cosmopolitan?—No. I dislike the word. I love, and prefer, and uphold the political, social, moral, and religious superiority of my own native country too sincerely, to claim the title of 'a citizen of the world,' if by that term you mean one who is equally at home and without preferences wherever he

wanders over its broad surface; but if by it you would designate one, who reconciles himself easily for a time to change of place and scene;—one whose impulse is rather to sing with the native of a foreign land, than to quarrel with him; to see good every where rather than evil;—one with a disposition to form ties with the natives of every clime, and enter into their usages and feelings not only with charity but with pleasure, so long as they are not forbidden by his Bible, and by the sense of right and wrong which sound education and good examples may have given him —so far I am a Cosmopolitan, and as such I visited America."

In this enumeration Mr. Latrobe is guilty of a great want of gallantry, as he has forgotten to indicate the classes which are represented by the lady-tourists who have honoured the United States with their tattle; but there is no particular use, either for the sake of chivalry or justice, that we should pay our respects to them here, further than to intimate to them the consolatory fact, that they are not consigned altogether as yet to the vale of oblivion.

To whatever class the Rambler may belong, we can assure him it is one of which we sincerely wish that more specimens had favoured us with a visit. It is decidedly the very best class of any that we have encountered; but alas! true to the general order of things, it seems to be also the rarest. What a world of nonsense, and virulence, and anger would have been spared, if England and America had only known each other through the medium of such individuals! As, however, we have irrefragable authority for believing that there is "good in every thing," and that "whatever is, is right," we must e'en content ourselves with the belief, however opposite to appearances, that benefit has resulted, or will result, from the peregrinations of your Halls, and your Hamiltons, *et id genus omne*, through this happy land of liberty and independence. That, indeed, there should be a predominance of such inditers of tours as these, over such as may resemble Mr. Latrobe, is by no means a matter of surprise, when we consider, not only the propensity of human nature to do evil rather than good, but the premium which has been held out to the former both in this country and their own. In both alike, it seems to have been so much labour lost, to publish an account of us which was not filled with all the most biting ingredients of the vials of ridicule and slander; while such productions as were so seasoned, have been swallowed with the greediest eagerness—in England, because they were adapted to the national taste of the reading public—in America, in consequence of a morbid appetite, engendered by inordinate sensitiveness, and, we must confess it, overweening vanity. In this respect we have evinced a disposition similar to that which Lord Byron records as having influenced so unhappily his existence—far keener susceptibility to the censure of the meanest individual than to the praise of the highest.

The quantity of books written about us—greater than about any other people—might well induce us to lay the flattering unc-

tion to our souls, that we are of paramount importance in the estimation of our trans-Atlantic brethren, were it not that the newness of a theme is a much greater recommendation than its importance, in this age of multitudinous and multifarious scribbling, when the heavens above, and the earth beneath, and the waters below the earth, and even the infernal regions—from which the well-bred French are particularly fond of drawing the materials of their dramas—have been ransacked for subjects. It is only of late years, comparatively speaking, that America has been laid under contribution for the benefit of authors and booksellers, and the freshness of the field, more than its richness, has caused it to be worked to such an excess. But, doubtless, as this is the only country in which a political experiment is in a course of solution, it is natural that the curiosity of mankind should be excited in regard to it, more than to lands whose governments have a fixed and ascertained character. Yet many as have been the labourers in this field, no one hitherto has succeeded in obtaining the full harvest which may be gathered; and we do wish, if it were only to put a stop to this incessant influx of pretended literary and political agriculturists, who have harassed the soil only to bring forth "weeds of rank luxuriance, tares of haste," that some one perfectly competent would accomplish the task of its proper cultivation. We are tired of this perennial issue from the British press, of vulgar assumption, ignorant decision, contumelious comment, and pointless narrative, which nothing can arrest save a first-rate production of a first-rate mind, rendering all further attempts upon the same subject useless, both as to profit and fame.

Neither of the works whose titles we have placed at the head of our article, answer altogether to this description, though they are still less of the first-mentioned order. In none of them, at all events, is there aught which could cause us to hesitate about bestowing upon their authors the epithet of *gentlemen;* the spirit and tone in which they are written being very, very different from those characterizing the most *notorious* of their predecessors. It it evident, indeed, that these works have caused a reaction in England in our favour; for even our bitter contemporaries of the London Quarterly, in their last number, have made something like an *amende honorable.* They say—after having quoted a remark of Mr. Latrobe, that a stranger in a strange land sees with strange and partial eyes, and that the difficulty of forming a correct judgment, even with close observation, and without any disposition to distort facts, is far greater than might be supposed,—"We sincerely hope this lesson will be held in mind by all future travellers in the United States: for ourselves, we are obliged to confess, that we much wish we had kept it steadily before us when reviewing the recent work of Mrs. Trollope, and we may even add of Captain Basil Hall. We have no suspicion that either of these able

writers designed to give a false impression of the state of society in America, (what an unsuspicious personage!) but we are constrained to acknowledge, that we think if Washington Irving had undertaken a tour among our own provincial towns, he might have found materials for lively and amusing sketches of British manners, not a bit better than those represented as *characteristic* of the Americans: indeed we strongly suspect that he might have found almost the same identical things and fashions. And how, after all, should this be otherwise? What were all those American towns sixty years ago but provincial British towns? Why should we be so ready to believe that manners and customs had changed so much within the life-time of one generation, while blood and language remained the same?"

Mr. Latrobe's work, though not entirely, as we have intimated, such a one as could and should be made, is yet, we think, decidedly the best, on the whole, that has appeared. He is evidently a man in whose statements implicit faith is to be placed, as far at least as his own conviction of them is concerned; and whose general character, combined with the experience of a practised traveller, as he informs us he is, must prevent him from hazarding these confident assertions upon insufficient grounds, which render the volumes of most of our tourists so many sources of false impressions, and crude, if not injurious ideas. The object he has had in view is not to pander to a vicious appetite, nor to uphold prepossessions at whatever cost, nor to make money by so many pages, no matter what they contain, nor to show his wit, and amuse his correspondent and the public by twisting every thing to the purposes of ridicule—and what is there that cannot be so twisted? Neither has he verified the remark of La Bruyère, that "le plaisir de la critique ote celui d'etre vivement touché de belles choses;" but he seems to have written for the purpose of recording the impressions of a mind and heart anxious to see good in every thing which Providence has dispensed, whatever his own peculiar predilections may be—of one whose spirit of tolerance in religious matters would prompt him to exclaim with the sweet poetess whose loss is even now deplored:

> "Peace be to all, whate'er their varying creeds,
> To all who send up holy thoughts on high!"

and would enable him, amid all the clashing diversity of human opinion and action, to forego the strong temptation of judging every thing by his own standard of fitness. It is only necessary to contrast some of his descriptions and reflections with those of previous tourists in America, upon the same subjects, to feel the full force of our remark. He journeyed along with those "willing eyes" to which "new objects every instant rise," and when he does find fault, it is in such a way as completely to disarm the

most pugnacious disposition. There being thus no feeling of irritation aroused by his animadversions, they are calculated, when just, to do good, nothing being more beneficial than to have our faults pointed out in such a way as to render us sensible of their existence. This could never be effected by such commentators as Hall and Hamilton, as all their strictures, whether correct or not, were naturally ascribed to the malice prepense by which they were evidently dictated.

In a literary point of view, Mr. Latrobe's volumes are entitled to high praise. His style is lively, vigorous, unaffected, and sufficiently polished to indicate a well cultivated mind. His descriptions are for the most part graphic and spirited; his narrative always interesting and animated; and his reflections, if not invariably profound and unquestionable, on the whole, manly, sensible, and generous. In short, the work is one of that rare order, which gives an equally favourable impression of the author and the man; so that when the reader begins to praise it, he may easily be tempted to indulge in a strain of encomium warmer perhaps than is altogether justifiable.

There is very little *incident* in these volumes of the kind with which we have been plentifully favoured by preceding tourists—stage-coach, steam-boat, and tap-room colloquies with Captain This or Judge That—anecdotes abounding in slang, and stories at second hand—or sly peeps into the interior of families who may have exercised the rites of hospitality towards the stranger. We could wish indeed that he had been rather more liberal than he is in the record of his adventures in the Atlantic portion of the Union, which he might have been without in the least infringing the laws of good feeling and good taste. It is only when he gets beyond the pale of civilization, in the wilderness of forest and prairie in the West, that he furnishes us with a full and regular narrative of what he saw, and heard, and encountered. He also disclaims the idea of giving elaborate sketches and dissertations on our politics, remarking, too truly, as the reason of his want of satisfactory information on that head, that "virulence of party, with all its concomitants of misrepresentation, falsification, and personality, is found within the United States in as great a degree as within the bounds of Great Britain; and leaves little for a stranger to do, after attempting to pry into the state of politics in America, whether by means of the public prints, or of private inquiry, than to turn away with mingled disgust and despair."

Mr. Tudor's volumes are the production of a well-informed, intelligent, good tempered gentleman, disposed to take the goods the gods provide him, whatever they may be, and wherever he is. They are much more of a regular diary of the author's tour than the work of Mr. Latrobe, and contain a great deal of useful and well-digested information, which Americans themselves

may consult with no inconsiderable advantage. They manifest a commendable diligence on the part of Mr. Tudor in making himself adequately acquainted with the matters that fell under his notice, as well as enviable activity both of body and mind. The good feeling displayed throughout his book indicates a liberal spirit, which every one must wish to applaud. At times, perhaps, it leads him to employ a softening tone, when the application of harsher language would be more proper and beneficial. The motive, he informs us, which induced him to submit his work to the public, was that of "endeavouring to do justice to a much-abused and slandered people, whose fate it has hitherto been to be misrepresented by those who ought to have cherished the very opposite feeling." His object in coming here was to re-establish his health, as also to visit "the only quarter of the globe which he had not seen"—from which it may be inferred that he was well provided with standards of comparison for judging of what he observed, and well prepared, by long seasoning, to "rough it," even in a Kentucky stage, over a corduroy road, or worse yet, in a western bed with a full complement of half-horse, half-alligator gentlemen for companions, besides the usual though inferior delights of vermin of all descriptions buzzing about his ears, stinging his cheeks, and nibbling at his toes. His predominant motive, however, was "to behold, among the wonders of the new world, the magnificent cataract of Niagara"—a more justifiable reason, certainly, for a journey, than that which we saw inscribed upon the traveller's book of a hotel near the frontier of Italy, by M. Boildieu, the famous French musical composer, as the reason of his going to Venice—"pour voir ce que c'est qu'une gondole."

Mr. Tudor indulges sparingly in speculations about politics or any thing else. What his own political tenets may be he furnishes us with very little clue for discovering; but from some occasional hints, we should judge him to be, as in duty bound, a loyal subject of His Majesty, and by no means smitten with an extravagant admiration of republicanism as universally applicable to all the different portions of this diversified globe. He seems very justly to opine, that "one man's meat is another man's poison," and that because democracy may be well calculated to promote the welfare of the United States, that is no reason why it should be deemed fitted to increase the prosperity of England, where its operation would be so differently affected by various circumstances beyond all human control. His remarks are generally apposite and judicious, and his narrative is not unfrequently enlivened by a spicy anecdote, or a ludicrous account of some of the unavoidable mishaps of a traveller, which are so provoking at the moment, and so pleasant to remember. It would be hard, indeed, to decide whether the undeniable assertion of Dante:

"Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarse del tempo felice
Nella miseria,"

be more true than its converse, that there is no greater pleasure than to recollect the period of misery in times of happiness.

We transcribe the closing pages of Mr. Tudor's first volume, as a fair specimen of the work.

"I was now to take leave of the party whom I had accompanied thus far from New York, and whose society I had, at the commencement of our tour, proposed to enjoy as far as New Orleans. But I perceived, and not for the first time, that pleasure and business are but ill-assorted elements for accomplishing two opposite purposes. They are a species of Whig and Tory—a Clay's man and Jackson's man—tariff and anti-tariff—attempting an impossible coalition, yet ever pulling in a contrary direction, and which the first short cut in the road on the one hand, or a beauty or phenomenon of nature on the other, will on the instant dissolve. The gentleman and his family with whom I had been travelling, and who were persons of amiable dispositions, were proceeding to the capital of Louisiana, on affairs of the latter description; while *la belle Nature* was the object of my search, and the pursuit of which had alone called into action, on the present occasion, my powers of locomotion.

"The two splendid curiosities of the 'Natural Bridge' and the 'Weyer's Cave,' unseen by any of us—the former diverging but little from the direct route of our journey—offered attractions to myself not to be resisted; and as my fellow-travellers were content to sacrifice these Virginian 'lions,' for the sake of gaining a couple of days, we parted at Staunton. And here I must remark—and I am sure I do it without the smallest feeling of unkindness—that, judging from the present, as from other instances which had occurred to me elsewhere, it forcibly struck me that the Americans are, generally speaking, by no means such lovers of nature as are the English. In this respect I must certainly coincide with Captain Hall, who, in some part of his work on North America, expresses an opinion in affirmation of the fact. At the same time, while I state what appears to me to be the truth, I think I can also perceive the cause which lies at the foundation of much of that diversity existing between us, with regard to taste and other moral endowments of the mind. The reason, I have no doubt, arises from the constant and universal occupation of the citizens in business, and from the possession of little of that aristocratic leisure so amply enjoyed in England, and which, to a greater or less extent, is essential to the cultivation of a refined taste, either for the 'sublime and beautiful' in nature, or for the fine arts. This is a cause, too, which every successive year will gradually tend to remove; and I am quite convinced,—to prove that I have no bias except that of justice, not to say partiality, towards them—any thing, in short, but a feeling of prejudice or antipathy,—that if the Anglo-American people can only hold firmly together, in the continued union of their confederated states, in the course of a hundred or two hundred years they will become as powerful a nation, and, what is still better, as intelligent and moral, as any that either ancient or modern times has exhibited to the world.

"I was now to enact a *pas seul*, instead of assisting in a *pas de quatre*. Mounting, therefore, a stout little Virginian pony, I cantered off to the Weyer's Cave, distant about twenty miles from Staunton, leaving the town in one direction just as my late companions were hastening off in the opposite one. The morning was fine and warm, though now the middle of November. My road lay for seven miles through the depths of an extensive forest, where the majesty of the trees, the ever-changing objects of the continually meandering path, and, in addition, the deep solitude, unbroken by the song of a single bird, or the appearance of a single human being or human habitation, conspired to raise an interesting excitement of mind. Every thing was silent as the grave—a desert wilderness reigned around, with a hushed and mysterious solemnity. And yet the same Spirit, I could not help ejaculating to myself, that 'moved on the face of the waters,' breathes o'er the pines of this forest, and rustles through its falling leaves—

'Since God is ever present, ever felt—
In the void waste as in the city full—
And where He vital breathes there must be joy.'

"Emerging thence, I came in sight of a long and waving line of the mountain-ridge which I had so lately passed, and that forms such a prominent and untiring object in the landscape. The features of the country were altogether changed from what I had hitherto observed. I was now in what is called the Valley of Virginia, and found the land to be as fertile and well cultivated as it had previously been the reverse. Rich and smiling farms were scattered about on all sides, displaying at once the bounty of nature and the diligent care of the provident husbandman. This luxuriant tract continues, with but few intervals of inferior soil, throughout the entire length of the valley, extending a considerable number of miles, as far as the romantic junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac, at Harper's Ferry.

"The Weyer's Cave presents the most extraordinary, splendid, and beautiful subterranean exhibition that is perhaps to be seen in any part of the world. The countless myriads of stalactites and petrifactions, of every size, form, and colour, from the purest white to the darkest green and brightest vermilion, and from the dimensions of an organ to those of an icicle, exceed all that can be imagined. Many of the numberless chambers contained in it, of which one or two appear nearly as spacious as Westminster Hall, are literally hung round with these glittering spars, presenting, in various places, the most picturesque and fanciful drapery of petrified and transparent substances, and reminding me, from their gorgeous appearance, and the situation in which they were beheld, of the magical halls of an Arabian enchanter.

"Having procured a guide, and a number of boys to carry torches, I entered this fairy palace just as the moon was softly brightening over the blue mountains, which might now have well changed their denomination from blue to silver, as the former was absorbed altogether in the flood of radiant light that was poured down upon them. The entrance to this laboratory of Nature, where she works in silence and secrecy, producing the most enchanting forms and devices, lies on the precipitous side of a hill. It is excavated by an unknown and inartificial process into a thousand chambers and galleries, extending to a length of upwards of half a mile, and of very considerable breadth. Indeed, many of its caverns and recesses have never yet been explored; and those which are known require a conducting thread to guide the adventurer, as much as did the celebrated Cretan labyrinth of ancient story.

"The chamber which is first entered is called the 'vestibule,'—being bound, as a faithful narrator, to attend to the classical nomenclature of the place,—and whence you proceed, through a rock of petrifaction, to the 'Dragon's Room.' Here are perceived numberless and varied formations of stalactites, and a huge, outlandish figure of the same material, emblematical of the poetical personage that gives to the apartment its designation. Winding along a narrow gallery, the exploring visiter descends, by a steep ladder at its extremity, into what is denominated 'Solomon's Temple,' where is beheld a sublime and extraordinary sight, worthy of the illustrious title by which it is named. On one side is exhibited an immense, wave-like incrustation of the most beautifully white and transparent petrifaction, extending from the ceiling to the floor, representing a cascade falling over a precipice, and appearing to have conglaciated in the very act of descent. This is fancifully termed the 'Falls of Niagara;' and, associated as it is with the hidden depths of the subterranean world, and lighted up alone by the flickering and lurid glare of torches, impresses the imagination with a sentiment of wonder and superstitious awe. The effect was truly magical and full of interest. Turning to another side of this marvellous cavern, is seen 'Solomon's Throne,' elevated to a height, and thrown into a shape, well becoming the imaginary chair of state of a sovereign prince, and forming one entire mass of glittering crystals. Near to it stands 'Solomon's Pillar;' while in an apartment adjoining are beheld ten thousand stalactites suspended from the roof, of various spiral forms, and of a perfectly white colour, called by the anti-poetical name of the 'Radish Room.'

"Proceeding onward, through a long and winding passage, you ascend, by another ladder, to what has received the name of the 'Tambourine, or Drum Room;'

decorated with a splendid drapery of crystal workmanship, and semipellucid curtains of different hues, spread over the walls like the embellishments of a lady's drawing-room. These were truly admirable; some of them forming, in the loveliest white spar, the appearance of canopies, and others falling in ample sweep from the ceiling to the floor, and exhibiting as graceful and softly flowing shapes as so many folds of silk. Here are displayed immense sheets of congelations, called the 'drums,' which, on being struck, emit a sound resembling that of a gong. On leaving these instruments of unearthly melody, threading other galleries, and surmounting 'Jacob's Ladder,' you pass through the 'Senate Chamber,' and the 'Music Gallery'—each presenting a diversified array of gorgeous gems of superhuman fabric—into 'Washington's Hall,' the most splendid and extensive chamber of the cave. The dimensions of it are very considerable, being ninety yards in length, twenty wide, and fifty in height. The spars and crystal formations of this room, if so it may be called, are particularly brilliant, the roof being apparently supported by musical columns ranged along its sides, and which, by passing a stick rapidly over their surface, produce a profusion of singular intonations like a ring of bells. 'The Father of his country, is here mounted on a superb pedestal of the same transparent mineral, exceeding in brightness the lustre of Parian marble, and might be supposed a second Rhadamanthus, descended to the shades below, to administer the impartial justice which he taught and executed in the world above. It struck me that these hints of popular feeling, addressed to the memory of the great hero of the Revolution, might act as a gentle reminiscence to the senators of a country that he formed, and over which he presided with such devoted patriotism, that the vote which was passed in congress two years ago, to raise a monument at Washington in honour of its first and most illustrious president, remains to this day a dead letter on the journals of their proceedings.

"I should be told, perhaps, in answer, that the patriot is embalmed in the grateful recollections of his countrymen, and that he lives in the bright records of his nation's history. All this I grant; and yet I cannot but think that these recollections must be rather cold, and to a stranger appear somewhat doubtful, when they do not evidence the internal workings of the heart by something of an external and visible form; which, while it might ornament the capital of a rising empire, would arrest the eye and fix the attention of the young aspirant for future fame. Whatever may be said of the generation coeval with the exploits of a chief who has deserved so well of his country, still posterity demands, and the foreigner travelling through the land looks for, some durable and recording memorial of a hero who has at once ennobled and adorned human nature.

"If the conqueror in the Olympic games was crowned with laurel, and had temples and statues erected to his honour, the veteran chief who has laid the foundations of his country's independence and glory, merits at least an equal distinction with the contenders in a chariot race, with boxers, wrestlers, poets, and orators.

"Out of respect to the late President's wife, I must not omit to mention what is called '*Lady* Washington's Drawing-room,' in which is displayed a variety of the most fantastical and beautiful drapery, of a bright green colour, edged with white, and hanging in the form of curtains. At a short distance from this, with very appropriate coincidence, lies the 'Diamond Room,' well deserving its title from the extreme brilliancy of its spars, and their close resemblance to those costly ornaments. Continuing my researches, I now passed successively the 'Pyramids,' 'Pompey's Pillar,' and the 'Falls of the Ganges;' and came, at length, to one of the most gorgeous specimens of petrifaction in the whole cave, standing in 'Jefferson's Hall.' It is formed of a massive body of spar that would probably weigh many hundred tons, and is decorated with the most graceful and regular flutings, covering its entire surface. This is denominated the 'Tower of Babel,' and is, without the slightest exaggeration, a truly magnificent piece of natural crystal workmanship.

"Passing a very fine incrustation of a silvery brightness, resembling the new moon,—being elevated towards the ceiling, and producing an optical delusion highly interesting,—I now scaled the rugged and slippery rocks of the 'Giant's Causeway.' The object that I proposed to myself, as the reward of my toil, was to see the 'Statue of Buonaparte,' beheld by very few in consequence of its difficult access. This circumstance has operated greatly in its favour, since, by being seldom touched, or tarnished by the smoke of torches, it preserves all its original splendour of colour,

and presents a snowy whiteness and brilliancy of spar exceeding all the rest. In this respect, it was a matchless specimen of the purest and most beautiful crystallization.

"But it is high time to pause in my description, though I have not given you more than a tithe of the wonders of this gorgeous cave, and which infinitely surpasses every thing of a similar nature that I have ever seen elsewhere. In point of interest, though not similarity, it forcibly recalls to my remembrance the superb caves of Ellora, on the plains of Hindostan, in which India's ten thousand gods are enshrined in colossal stature. You may imagine the absorbing delight that I took in this subterranean research when I inform you, that I remained gazing and exploring for five hours, to the no small surprise of my guide, who told me that few remained so long or penetrated so far. I entered the cave about seven in the evening, after riding twenty miles, just as the lovely moon was throwing her 'silver mantle' over the sombre screen of the blue mountains; and when I came out, her glittering orb had passed the zenith and was fast declining to the western hills. The only apprehension I entertained, during my visit to these darksome regions, was the fear of our lights going out; a circumstance that was nearly occurring two or three times, when it would have been, I think, physically impossible to have extricated ourselves from the endless galleries, traversing each other, in which we were involved—more intricate, I should imagine, than even the celebrated labyrinth of Dædalus. If capable, however, of being effected, my excellent guide, James Raynes, would have accomplished it; for I never met a more attentive or intelligent conductor, or a person possessing a more *con amore* spirit of adventure than himself, and which would have led him to remain till midnight of the following day had I been so inclined. Therefore, should you ever visit this country, I strongly recommend him to you as an indefatigable cicerone.

"On rising the following morning, in the little miserable cabaret where I slept, I had a downright specimen of ultra-democratic manners, and indeed insolence, in the person of my despotic host Benjamin Bryans. Discovering that I had no water in my room, though perceiving the requisite apparatus for washing, I requested the servant of the house to bring me some, when I was given to understand, that the hospitable landlord refused permission to have it brought up. Fancying there must be some mistake, I descended the stairs, and civilly renewed my request, on which I was informed by the mob-monarch himself, (representing no doubt, as he thought, in his own person, the majesty of the people of all the twenty-four states of the Union), that it was the custom of his house that all the guests should wash *in the yard*. On remonstrating against this outlandish regulation, and begging, at all events, as I had never been accustomed to perform my ablutions in public, that, for courtesy's sake to a stranger, he would relax the singularity of his rule in my favour, he sternly replied, 'that I was no better than any body else, and that if I did not choose, like the rest of mankind, to perform the operation down stairs, I might defer it till the following morning, when I might be gratified in my taste elsewhere.' I was, as you may suppose, absolutely astounded at the publican's impudence, and want of even Hottentot politeness. Finding, however, that resistance was vain, and further remonstrance useless, there being no other house of accommodation in the place, I was fain to submit to the sovereign fiat of this autocrat of Virginia. After ruminating in my chamber for a few minutes on my singular position, and whether it might not be as well to adjourn my toilet altogether to the banks of the river which I was about to pass, in returning to Staunton, I at last walked down stairs into the yard like a whipped schoolboy, and, *in front of the inn and the houses of the village*, went through the manual operations with as much patience and decorum as I could.

"After this evolution I was not long in hastening my departure; and, re-mounting my excellent Virginian pony, I wended my way back to Staunton, as much astonished with Mr. Benjamin Bryans' barbarism as I had been surprised and delighted with the Weyer's Cave. In justice, however, to the Republic, I must say, that the conduct above alluded to is quite an exception to the general rule—a piece of savage life isolated from the rest of mankind, and standing apart by itself—since I have never hitherto experienced any thing but attention and kindness."

The following is Mr. Latrobe's *coup d'œil* of four of our princi-

pal cities, which he visited immediately upon his arrival in America.

"The month of June was employed in visiting Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, previous to the assumption of our more extended projects for the summer.

"The arrangements for public convenience in travelling by steam-boat and rail-road, along the whole line of interior communication, from Rhode Island into the very heart of Virginia, demand the admiration of every stranger, and that of an Englishman more than any other, he being of all travellers, the most impatient and unable to endure the loss of precious time with equanimity. Each of the cities named, though resembling each other in many points, has its own distinctive marks. New York is the most bustling; Philadelphia the most symmetrical; Baltimore the most picturesque; and Washington the most bewildering.

"At New York you pass hours with delight under the trees on that beautiful breezy promenade, which the good taste of the citizens has preserved at the extreme point of their island. You follow the example of more illustrious travellers in doing justice to the ample tables of your hotel or friends, not forgetting to pass judgment on rock fish, American oysters, and above all, on shad-fish, if in season. You enjoy many a stroll along the gay and cheerful pavement of Broadway, the principal street, running for miles through the heart of the city, with its handsome edifices, shops, and public buildings. You admire the commodious disposition of the interior of family mansions, with their folding-doors, clean, cool, Indian-matted floors, and the groups of pretty faces by which they are adorned. You marvel at the incessant bustle and proofs of flourishing commerce visible in all the narrower streets devoted to business, diverging right and left towards the North and East rivers; and on the crowded slips and wharves. You step into a steam-boat, and cross over to Brooklyn, or to the Jersey shore, where you may immediately bury yourself in the delicious walks of Hoboken, where the squirrel climbs as free, and apparently as undisturbed among the grape-vines, as in the depths of the forest. You glance up the Hudson, which laves the grassy margin of the promenade, and see him walled in by the perpendicular pallisadoes and green shores of Manhattan Island, covered with sloops and steamers—and own that in your brightest moment of fancy, you never dreamed of the creation of an equally glorious river, or a city whose position is more strongly marked by all those characteristics which are desirable in a great commercial emporium. Returning, you hear the cry of fire, and repair to the scene of disaster, but go home disappointed, because you find that the good people of New York never give a fire a fair chance, but knock down the house to preserve it from the flames. You walk out on a Sunday evening, and are fairly elbowed into the gutter by the broad-spread bonnets and *gigot de mouton* of the sable beauties, who, with their beaux, have then the possession of the pavement.

"At Philadelphia, 'the city of Brotherly Love,' you are struck with the regularity of the streets,—their numberless handsome mansions,—the lavish use of white and grey marble,—pleasant avenues and squares,—noble public institutions,—markets,—the abundance of water,—and the general attention to dress visible in every one you meet. As in New York and Baltimore, you are surprised with the great proportion of handsome female faces and delicately moulded forms which crowd the public walks and saloons, like so many sweet fresh May flowers. You make the usual visits right or left, dictated by taste or reverence; including the romantic scene at Fairmount, and the spot where the celebrated treaty was concluded between Penn and the Delawares; and you taste that hospitality and frank unostentatious kindness which, with all their faults, proved or imputed, the American ever offers to a stranger who conducts himself courteously.

"At Baltimore, 'the city of Monuments,' snugly sheltered within its deep bay, and rising from an oblong basin of the Patapsco towards the amphitheatre of wooded hills on the west, you marvel to hear how, from a period of time within the memory of some yet living, the small village of a dozen houses has sprung up into a large capital, overspreading an extended area, abounding with noble public and private edifices, and possessing an increasing commerce with every port under the sun. You admire the neat style of building,—the bustle of the Bay,—the beauty of the shipping,—and the lovely scenery in the environs. You welcome a southern climate in

the perfume of many odorous flowers, and, more than all, the delightful society for which Maryland is pre-eminent—frank, polished, and unaffected.

"At Washington, 'the city of magnificent Distances,' with the haste and eagerness of a new comer you visit the lions;—ascend to the capitol;—criticise its architecture, whether properly authorized to do so or not,—listen to the proceedings in either House for an hour or two,—pay your respects to the President,—visit the country-seat and grave of our great and good opponent Washington. You plan, but do not execute, an excursion to the Falls of the Potomac,—get more and more bewildered with the study of the city, which seems to have been contrived with an eye for the especial advantage of the hackney coachmen;—get squeezed out of all equanimity at a Presidental levee;—retain your appetite, but lose your patience at a scrambling dinner in Gadsby's Hotel,—and finally, retrace your steps to Baltimore as we did, with a resolution not to return to Washington till there should be a less suffocating heat in the places of public resort, less dust in Pennsylvania avenue, more water in the Tiber, and more elbow-room in the hotels.

"I have, however, no hesitation in saying, that our first impressions of America, were every way pleasing, both as to men and things. We saw the country and the society under the best auspices; and the season at which we made our first journey, was also one which naturally incited us to contented enjoyment."

Of Boston, which he visited soon afterwards, he says, that it is "by far the most English-looking city of the Union, and has a character for possessing much good, well educated and accomplished society, male and female." He regrets, however, that he had not "a fitting opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the details and the society of this large and handsome capital."

We may transcribe here his remarks upon our excellent countrymen down East:—

"The manners and habits of this great eastern division of the American people are strikingly distinct from their fellow citizens to the southward. The character of the inhabitants of New England for diligence, shrewdness, and all those matter-of-fact talents which tell in a country like this, where every man is struggling to get and maintain an independence, is probably familiar to you. They are speculative, at the same time that their caution, clear-sightedness, and indomitable perseverance, generally ensure success. In politics, their practical conduct is strikingly opposed to the theoretical vagaries of the south. They have often, and not without reason, been compared to the northern inhabitants of our own island; but, I think, the New Englanders have all the steadiness and prudence of the Scotch, with a yet greater degree of ingenuity. Like the Scotch, they foster education; like the Scotch, they are inclined to the more severe forms of religious discipline and worship; like the Scotch, they are fearfully long-winded; like them they are gadders abroad, loving to turn their faces southward and westward, pushing their fortunes wherever fortunes are to be pushed, and often in places and by shifts where no one ever dreamed that fortunes were to be gained. They may be found supplanting the less energetic possessor of land and property in every state of the Union. They have a finger upon the rim of every man's dish, and a toe at every man's heel. They are the pedlars and schoolmasters of the whole country; and, though careless of good living abroad, when at home and at ease they are fond of 'creature comforts.' No where is the stomach of the traveller or visiter put in such constant peril as among the cake-inventive housewives and daughters of New England. Such is the universal attention paid to this particular branch of epicurism in these States, that I greatly suspect that some of the Pilgrim Fathers must have come over to the country with the cookery book under one arm and the Bible under the other; though I find in more than one code of ancient laws made in early times, orders issued that no person should make 'cakes or buns, except for solemn festal occasions, such as burials and marriages.' There are but few boys among them; many of their children seem to start up at once to puny men. I should not think that they were a fun-

loving nation, or had great reverence for holidays;—jokes are an abomination to many among them.

"Though, in common with all Americans, they are proud and boastful of their claims to unlimitod freedom, they are fond of imposing grievous burdens upon the inferior orders of animals within their power; and you see horses and cows, pigs and geese, labouring under the most singular yokes it is possible to conceive.

"The faults allied to this kind of character are easily recognisable. Where education and religion has had its proper influence, and high-mindedness, and innate sense of honour exist, all this shrewdness and strength of character will add to the respectability of the possessor, and to the good of the social circle. But where it is allied with meanness and littleness of soul, it must bear the stamp of sordid and low cunning in petty transactions, and of uncompromising, ungenerous aggrandizement and selfishness in larger operations. Hence the diverse terms in which you hear the so-called Yankee or Easternman named, and the praise and obloquy with which the character which I have attempted so roughly to sketch is alternately drawn. I was never, to my knowledge, taken in by any of my particular or casual acquaintance in any of the Eastern states, and I am far from believing, though I may have laughed at the thousand-and-one-tales related of the extravagant ingenuity and cunning of the Yankee pedlars tramping through every nook of the Union; but I can easily conceive that there is many an arrant rogue among them, and many an arrant goose amongst their customers.

"I have in pure idleness given you as harmless a sketch of the character of one great division of these doughty republicans as was ever penned, and surely so far I should escape having my name held up to national scorn and obloquy, by my trans-Atlantic acquaintances, should it ever get to their ears. But I must not make too sure; for a man sometimes gets spiteful in spite of himself, and I may possibly by and bye, in the progress of my relation, arrive at a place where I was both cross and crossed, had the tooth-ache, was disappointed or contradicted, met with dull weather or a cold breckfast, and then you may find that I occasionally see through a bilious medium, and can find fault, like other English travellers, with all and every thing about me."

With regard to the character of the people of the United States in general, our author denies that they have a national character. "The only distinctive and really characteristic marks exhibited by the mass of the population are, perhaps, a hearty detestation of monarchical forms of government on the one hand, and a boundless admiration of the republican form under which they live on the other." This he attributes to the different blood and origin of the inhabitants of the different portions of the country; and he thinks it is doubtful whether they will ever amalgamate sufficiently, under the great difference of temperament, style of life and habits consequent upon such diverse climates alone, so as to admit of one picture, however broadly sketched, being in every particular characteristic of the whole. He therefore strongly censures the temper of mind with which a prejudiced or superficial foreigner sets down any particular trait (especially if a discreditable one,) as characteristic of the whole people from Maine to Florida; whilst he at the same time expresses a very just and natural surprise at "the utter perversity and sensitiveness of mind, of by far the greater majority of Americans, of whatever class, in taking to heart and bitterly resenting any chance remarks upon the 'men and manners' of a given district, when perhaps not exactly of a laudatory description—thus making the quarrel of one divi-

sion of the community the quarrel of all." For this weakness, which, as he says, amounts almost to a national disease, he charitably suggests some reasons; but it is one which should be reprobated rather than extenuated—which should be shown no mercy in order that it may be eradicated as soon as possible.

The political principles of Mr. Latrobe are those of the High Tory party, and he expresses them without reserve, deprecating with all his soul the spirit of innovation at home, which, as he thinks, threatens the overthrow of England's prosperity and glory. Of course, therefore, while he is willing to make every allowance for difference of circumstances in our case, and speaks in a way to indicate that he would not deem it advisable to alter our republican institutions, for the present at least, if he could, he is yet much more sceptical as to their ultimate effects, than is flattering to American hopes. The reasons which he assigns for his misgivings are, the constant irritation from the rise of political questions—the elections, by which the whole mass are more or less agitated from year's end to year's end—the degrading style of warfare carried on against private character by the innumerable polemical newspapers—and, chiefly, "the looseness of the tie generally observable in many parts of the United States, between the master and servant, the child and the parent, the scholar and the master, the governor and the governed, in brief, the decay of loyal feeling in all the relations of life." "Who shall say," he asks, "but that if these bonds are disturbed and set aside, the first and the greatest which binds us in subjection to the law of God, will not also be weakened, if not broken? This, and this alone, short-sighted as I am, would cause me to pause in predicting the future grandeur of America under its present system of government and structure of society; and if my observation was sufficiently general to be just, you will also grant, there is that which should make a man hesitate whether these glowing expectations for the future, in which else we might all indulge, are compatible with growing looseness of religious, political, and social principles."

We trust there is exaggeration both in this statement and prediction; but there is quite enough of truth, unfortunately, in the former, to render it much more advantageous for us to confess it and feel fully sensible of its existence, in order to avoid the verification of the prophecy, than to hug ourselves in the fond idea that we are listening only to the sinister croakings of a monarchical foe, baseless as the fabric of a vision. With *Lynch law* almost erected into a system, and acknowledged as paramount to the constitutional tribunals, it were worse than vain to fling back the accusation of Mr. Latrobe, uttered evidently, as it is, more in sorrow than in anger; and the only way of reviving the *loyalty* which is indispensable for our welfare, and of which indeed, there is too manifest a decay—the loyalty to order and the constitution—is for

every good citizen to use his best endeavours to save the character of his country—to assist the people in all its struggles for freedom—and to be ever ready to draw the sword in defence of its rights and liberties.

Things have indeed come to such a pass that it behoves all who address the public and have the real interests of the country at heart, to speak out—to exert every nerve to arouse them to a due sense of their condition. The seeds of anarchy and ruin are beginning to be sown too deeply to permit the hope of their eradication, unless the most strenuous efforts be now made: and though they may not grow up and ripen immediately, from the various counteracting influences which a beneficent Providence has dispensed, and which must continue to be operative for a time to come, yet eventually, if not destroyed, they must usurp the entire soil, and in the mean while they contaminate the whole atmosphere with their poison. We know how difficult it is to make this believed by a people who have been so much accustomed to be fooled to the top of their bent by fulsome, indiscriminate adulation, that it is almost impossible for any one to expect to be listened to who does not "rain sacrificial whisperings in their ears," assuring them that they are the most enlightened, the most refined, the most powerful, the most magnificent nation upon which the sun has ever shone in his diurnal rounds, from the commencement of time to the present day; but they must believe it, if they would become as they *can* become—for, in the eloquent language of Mr. Latrobe, "if on any part of His earthly creation, the finger of God has drawn characters which would seem to indicate the seat of empire, it is here"—they must believe, we say, the sad truth we have dared to utter, if they would become all that their sycophants tell them that they are. Let us not, like the Indian when the cataract is near, suffer ourselves with closed eyes to be whirled over the fatal precipice, and overwhelmed in the surging waters of discord, anarchy and blood.

With regard to our society, Mr. Latrobe expresses himself in language very different from that which foreign tourists generally employ, affirming that in the principal cities the stranger will find circles with the majority of individuals composing which he may be proud to acknowledge community of sentiment and feeling. But he also remarks justly upon the injurious circumstance of the youth of both sexes being introduced so prematurely as they are upon the scene, and performing so prominent a part. We have already, in an article in a former number, pointed out some of the serious evils consequent upon this circumstance. The absence of *intellectuality* in our fashionable intercourse is its great bane. That must constitute the basis of every society to render it permanently agreeable. The placing the *heels* above the *head* in its organization—the estimation of it as merely

a means of exercising the feet to the sound of a fiddle—must soon cause its relish to be lost. Delightful, says our author, as is the buoyant scene of youthful gaiety, enjoyment and excitement, all but the young become tired of badinage after a while, and then there is nothing to supply its place. He would not have made this exception in favour even of the young, had he remained long enough to understand the real state of the case.

We must extract here what he says of the better part of our creation.

"Foreigners have affirmed that the women of the United States were of a superior race to the men, both in person, style of thought, and expression. I do not know if Brother Jonathan would be gallant enough to smile at a sober compliment paid at his expense to his wife or sister, but it is, I believe, nevertheless true. There is a great charm about the females of good education; and they are justly celebrated for the solidity of those qualities which render them good wives and mothers, as well as such as catch the attention and command the respect of the stranger. Alas! that so many of those fair flowers of the West, may be compared to the beautiful ephemera of their country, which are born and glitter for a day, dying, as it might seem, before their time; sinking to the grave, just as life reaches its period of greatest enjoyment. The number of lovely girls that gather together and crowd the gay winter saloons, or deck the summer fêtes, is no less surprising than the proportion that die before their prime:—whether from the effects of a climate subject to the most sudden extremes, or an inappropriate style of dress, or both combined, it is difficult to determine. Again it has been said, and repeated, that the females are not respected as they ought to be in the United States. This I believe to be founded in error. Still I should be willing to allow that they are not appreciated as they should be, so far as their influence on society in general is not as much felt as it ought to be. It is contested, that female education is as carefully tended in America as in Europe; if so, they are hardly allowed to make the same use of it, as, from the time that either a lady marries, or is supposed to be past the age for marriage, which is tolerably early, she either vanishes altogether from the circle of society, or is thrown into the background. 'Well,' you may say, 'I suppose the mother is better at home caring for her children.' No; her children are launched at an inconceivably early age into the world, and if she will be with them, she must follow them. And here I may mention one broad line of distinction between European and American society. In the former, the prevailing tone is taken from the middle-aged. Ladies out of their teens, with mature judgment, and that grace and polish which added years give, though it may impair beauty, and subdue sprightliness, give the tone of society. But in America,—the paradise of youth, unshackled by those forms and precautions which the corruptions of European society render indispensable,—the land of confidence in the young,—the tone of social assemblages is almost altogether under the control of the young. The married and unmarriageable look on and listen, but they hardly partake—far less dictate; and one thing which immediately indicates a foreigner is, that he pays attention to them.

"I have been really astonished to see, how the belle of last spring, then followed by all,—sparkling as the fire-fly flitting over her hair;—whose form was in every eye—whose words sounded sweet in every one's ear—would the next season be handed quietly into her seat among the sedative ladies of the back row, and hardly have occasion to open her lips during a whole evening's entertainment. It is true, she had been married in the interval—yet, there she was—with a mind more matured, with beauty unimpaired, and added interest!"

That Mr. Tudor is not behind hand in gallantry, the following will testify. We submit the decision of the *calash* question, which he moots, to our fair readers, without comment.

"I may here take the opportunity of saying, before I explode the fire-works and terminate the gala, that, with respect to the personal attractions of the ladies of the

United States—having now seen four of the principal towns of the Union—I must frankly acknowledge that I do not think they have, by any means, degenerated by being transplanted from the British to the American soil; and on the supposition of their possessing as much real worth as personal beauty, which I am most willing to concede to them, they need ask from nature no other boon in order to render them at once both pleasing and estimable. The ladies of Philadelphia appeared to me, as far as my limited opportunities of seeing them extended, to possess as many claims to this distinction as any that I have seen elsewhere; but they struck me as being too recluse in their habits, in comparison with the New York ladies—too covetous of their charms, by secluding themselves at home, as if they had all taken the 'veil,' and converted their houses into so many nunneries,—that, like certain roses, or like the wild flowers of the desert, they seem 'born to blush unseen.' Their fair neighbours of Manhattan island pursue a less exclusive course, and, instead of wasting all their fragrance at home, display beneath the glowing canopy of heaven the beauty they have borrowed thence; and if I could only persuade them to exhibit their accomplishments on the lovely terrace of the Battery, instead of constantly perambulating the dusty avenues of Broadway, I should flatter myself with having done much to rescue that delightful promenade from its present undeserved state of neglect, as well as their taste from just criticism.

"As I have commenced, in these reforming times, to be somewhat of a reformer myself, I feel inclined to try the experiment in a foreign land, before I venture too deeply in my own; and, though apparently a very ungallant thing, the first attack I should make would be directed against the odious calashes worn so frequently by the ladies of New York, and occasionally by those of other cities. Being totally unaccustomed, in England, to see this outlandish head-gear worn by any of the sex, except by ancient matrons of ninety or a hundred, I almost wondered on what antediluvian generation I could have fallen, when, on stepping ashore at New York, I beheld young ladies, possessing youth, beauty, and elegance, eclipsing all their charms beneath so unbecoming a costume. What the convenience may be that is attached to it, or what the secret of the toilette connected with its use, I cannot even guess; but as I have candidly confessed that nature has been lavish in her gifts to them, it would appear rather ungrateful to *her*, as well as unjust to themselves, to conceal and disfigure the work which she has taken so much care to adorn."

The following observations of Mr. Latrobe about our literary condition, we commend especially to the egregious *clique* of witlings and poetasters who have constituted themselves the nucleus of "American literature."

"It has been the fashion to express a doubt whether America will distinguish herself in the fine arts, and in the higher departments of literature. As to genius, surely no one will pretend to say that that rich and noble grain, sparingly sown as it is in any part of the globe, may not spring up on the soil of the Western world. The question is rather whether the people of the United States, possess among themselves the power of fostering and nurturing genius, or whether the character of the people, their style of education and habits, are inimical to its growth. Genius is of no particular clime, and though a taste for the fine arts, and the power of estimating and appreciating it, is more inherent in one people than another; it will frequently spring up and thrive where least expected. What will retard the growth of real talent in America more than any thing, and prevent its soaring in many instances above mediocrity,—smothering it in the bud,—will be false praise, false standards of excellence, and a compliance with the vitiated taste and models of the age. There exists not a young aspirant to talent of whatever description, who cannot find a coterie both willing and ready to praise and flatter; and where this poison is administered to a young mind, removed from the opportunities of making comparison between his own works and those of real and mature excellence, its bad effect is commonly irretrievably destructive of future and justly merited distinction. It will be a misfortune for America, whatever she may think, if she encourages a disposition in her sons to look no further than themselves for their standard of excellence in literature and in the arts, as well as in politics.

"In the change effected in the style of education of late years in many parts of Europe, the people of the United States have shared to a certain degree, and, comparatively speaking, education is there also conducted with undue haste, and ends in the acquisition of superficial knowledge. Our forefathers may have been mistaken in their systems of education, and it would be absurd to say that the practice pursued in the universities and schools of Europe, was faultless. Fifteen years ago, you and I thought—and naturally so, as we were both boys, hating application,—that the time spent upon the classics, and the abstruser branches of mathematics, was lost to all intents and purposes, especially in cases where the future course marked out for the boy led him away from their application in after life; but we may both think otherwise now,—and find reason to doubt, whether, after all, the old way was not based on the sounder judgment and truer philosophy. The present spirit of the world, the temper of mankind, the style of literature of the present day, the decay of the reasoning powers, and the growth of those of the imagination; the production of innumerable works of fancy, of fiction, of local interest; the unblushing manner in which men 'lard their lean books with the fat of others' works,' all prove that there is a disposition to deterioriate. Who writes now for posterity? Who submits to the toil necessary for the production of classical works? Who can be made to believe that however a man may possess the power of rapid production of ideas, it is toil, labour, and patience alone which will enable him to attain perfection? No! a petty name among a chosen coterie, blind as ourselves, is all we aim at now, and poor indeed must be the claims of that author whose works neither procure him cash nor compliments.

"With regard to the people of the United States, it is a great pity that among the many solid excellences which they have inherited from British blood, a general and decided taste for, and appreciation of the fine arts cannot be included. In England, I believe, taste, however affected at the present day, is, where it exists, acquired in the generality of cases. A love of music, painting, statuary, architecture; an eye for harmonious proportion and form amongst us, is as foreign to the minds of thousands in the educated classes as it is generally observable in all ranks of society in Italy. As far as their tastes are deducible from the parent country then, the Americans are under a disadvantage; and many Europeans are inclined to surmise that they labour under one equally great, from the style of education, interior construction of society, and habits of the people; but foreigners may cavil and prophesy, and Americans may arrogate what they do not yet possess:—Time alone will show! —America has apparently her race to run, and may appeal to her vigorous and herculean youth for promise of a distinguished future.

"As to American authors, who for number and variety begin to vie with those of any country in Europe, many remarks from me would be out of place. I could name divers, perhaps hardly known in England, whose works in their several branches of science or literature, should command respect among the generations that be; and at least, whatever posterity may say to them, claim quite as favourable a doom as some hundreds among us, whom fashion and the reviews combine to praise.

"The great demand for works of fiction inundates the American continent with a flood of poems and romances from her own press; besides the numberless reprints of good, bad, and indifferent, from ours. So far as America plays the pander to the vitiated style and taste, which is a disease of the age in Europe, so far may she have to partake of the punishment and the cure, whatever it may be, and whenever it comes.

"In natural history and philosophy, theology, mechanics, travels, divers works have been lately written of great merit.

"There is one class of writers, which I am glad to believe is going rather out of vogue; these are the so-called 'truly American writers,' and among them, there are men of both wit and talent, both of which would be of more value, if taste were added.

"From the perusal of the works whose authors were distinguished by this epithet, I have been inclined to suspect that to be a 'truly American author,' it was necessary not only to show an extreme predilection and fondness for their native country, its history, its institutions—to see the past enveloped in a mist of glory, and the future veiled in a golden dust of prophetic anticipation, but also an anxiety to invent

occasions for a palatable sneer at Old England. A 'truly American author,' evidently speculates a little upon the low passions of revenge, and jealously, in the breasts of such of his countrymen as may yet harbour them, and seeks occasion to flatter the same. Having perhaps specified in his contract with his bookseller, that there should be a certain quantum of anti-anglican matter in every literary offspring; he exacts from his brain the invention of proper occasions for the introduction of a poor innocent John Bull, decently attired in corduroys and top boots, whose real business in the work is extremely doubtful and enigmatical. Here he figures of course to very indifferent advantage, furnishing the writer, however, with the convenient means of exposing cherished prejudices and ignorance. If this is to be a 'truly American writer,' and the reviler of America on our side, called the 'truly English writer,' the sooner both die out the better. I hope we live to better ends than to perpetuate hatred and prejudice.

"But this is all by the by, or 'apropos,' as it is the fashion to say, when you get off the road into the ditch. I was going to remark, that whether it is in the fine arts that America is to distinguish herself or not, there can be no doubt but in the mechanic arts she will attain great excellence. Of that, every thing gives promise; and the very circumstances which would seem to be against her in her cultivation of the former, are highly conducive to her advance, and perfection in the latter. Travel where you will, through the middle and eastern states, you see tokens of a busy spirit of emulative ingenuity, boldness of design and conception in every branch of mechanics, from the lowest to the highest, which must command admiration. To this the absence of monopolies—the incessant call for exertion and emulation—the vastness of the public works are all favourable. The advantage of having given birth to more than one striking and original genius in naval architecture, and the natural bias of the people to commerce, kept alive by success, and by the jealous rivalry with England, and between their own companies of merchants and owners of packets,—has covered their coasts with innumerable vessels of every class, the aptitude of which for the purposes of their erection, is only to be equalled by the symmetry of proportion and beauty of appearance for which they are distinguished. The steam-vessel contains abundant proofs of this mechanical talent in every part of its details. From the bridges—water-works—rail-roads—docks and public works of every description, down through the countless number of aids to human comfort, to the very mouse-trap, you detect the prevalence of this same busy ingenuity and talent. And there is no reason to believe it will not increase with the growth of the country."

The larger portion of Mr. Latrobe's volumes is occupied by his narrative of two journeys to the far West—the first with the expedition sent out by the general government in the fall of 1832, to arrange various matters connected with the Indian tribes newly congregated on the western frontiers—and the second to the Falls of St. Anthony, the following year, accompanied by his companion from the other side of the water, Count Pourtales, and Mr. M'Euen of Philadelphia. The history of the former is already well-known to the reading world, it being the identical one in which our admirable friend, Geoffrey Crayon, appeared in the new character, much to the surprise of his intimates the public, of a buffaloe-hunter and prairie wanderer, and of which he gave them so delightful an account. It was, therefore, not without some hesitation as to whether it could possibly be worth the while to follow any one else over the same ground from which he had gathered a literary harvest, that we began to intrust ourselves to Mr. Latrobe's guidance for a second visit. We were soon, however, very well satisfied that we had not decided amiss; and we know not what better compliment we could pay to our author's

narrative, than to say that it can be perused with pleasure even by one who has got the "Tour on the Prairies" by heart. If it has none of those inimitable touches, those *Irvingisms*, so to call them, which characterize the latter, it is yet written with that unflagging vivacity and point—that joyousness of one who revelled in the scenes which he describes, and regarded even the worst discomforts of the trip as only so many causes of additional zest—which awake an interest at once both in the journey and the traveller, and sustain it to the end.

Our readers may like to encounter again their old acquaintances, to whom they were so graphically introduced by Mr. Irving, and compare our author's impressions of them with those which they have received.

"Our cavalcade consisted of the Colonel and his two servants, viz. a black boy William, and a little thin lack-a-daisical Frenchman named Prevôt, who generally took charge of our two wagons while on the march: then the Commissioner, the Doctor, Washington Irving, Count Pourtales, and your humble servant, and lastly our scape-grace Tonish, together with another half-breed, whose services were principally required to care for a number of led horses.

"Slight traits may suffice to delineate the principal personages.

"The Colonel, whom we considered for the time being the head of the party, generally led the van; a fine, good-humoured, shrewd man, of French descent, with claims both to fortune and family in Missouri. As our conductor, we were all beholden to his courteous manners, and extensive information on every subject connected with the country and its red inhabitants, for much of our comfort and entertainment. In the pursuit of his profession of Indian trader, he had often dared captivity and death. Among the Osages, whose principal trader, and organ with government he had long been, he was supposed, and I believe justly, to possess the greatest influence. In fact, he had been brought up from his early boyhood, more or less in their camps; had hunted, feasted, fought with and for them, and was considered by them as a chief and brother. From him we were glad to take our first lessons in hunting, camping, and backwoodman's craft, and enjoy our first peep at that kind of life, which, judging from his fine vigorous person, and the health shining on his sun-burnt features, was, with all its hardships, congenial to health and good humour. He was to be our guide to the Western Creek Agency, about three hundred miles to the southward. The Commissioner, with whom we had long become intimately acquainted, was worthy of the respect which all entertained for him. His kindliness of spirit won our regard; and we all did justice to the singleness of purpose with which he, a happy husband and parent, and truly a lover of quiet, had left his family and the comforts of an Eastern home, to become a peacemaker among the rude tribes and inhabitants of the West.

"The Doctor was, I am happy to say, quite an unnecessary appendage, and I believe he would have felt no disappointment, had his lot been cast otherwise, as this kind of adventurous life was not consonant with his tastes. He had not made up his mind to all those petty troubles which are unavoidable beyond the pale of civilization, and you will always find that such men are sure to meet with more mischances than their neighbours. As to our trio, I need say nothing here, but pass on to the domestics, a far richer field for description.

"The black boy was only distinguished by his good nature, and by his sleeping like a raccoon, while he held the reins and pretended to drive. The Colonel's little French retainer, Prevôt, was the scape-goat of the party. He had certainly been born under some very unfortunate aspect of the heavenly signs, and seemed unable to shake off their malignant influence. Nothing could be more diverting to others, than the composed melancholy which seemed to reign in his features and sentences, as his weak nasal voice was heard in the brake, or at the camp-fire, deploring his unhappy lot. Did a horse kick—Prevôt's shin-bones or fingers bore testimony

to the fact. Did it happen that the passage of a rivulet was difficult for the wagon, look but back, and you might be sure that the legs and skirts disappearing in the brushwood, as the possessor tipped back from the inclined seat, were the appurtenances of little Prevôt: and so to the very end of the journey, when we left him on the Neosho with a terrible catarrh.

"These worthies, however, will all be forgotten ere long, and probably you may hear no more mention made of them, but Tonish will not so soon sink into oblivion. Light, active, in the prime of life, no horse could take him by surprise; no inclined plane could throw him off his balance. He was a man of no mean qualifications. Full of make-shifts, and unspeakably useful in the woods: they were his home. A house was an abomination to him, and he was at a loss what to do with himself when he got within one. He possessed, however, a wife and family at Florissant, to whom his visits would seem to have been 'few and far between.' He was garrulous to excess, in spite of an impediment in his speech, in the form of a barrier, which it was necessary to break down by an effort, after which the words composing the meditated sentence, came tumbling out headlong. He was a weaver of interminable stories, all about himself and his hunting exploits. We soon found out that he was a most determined and audacious braggart; but it was some time before we all came to the unanimous conclusion, that, for lying effrontery, none of us had ever seen his equal. In fact such was the ingenious and whimsical way in which he would bring a host of little lies to cover a big one, that it became a matter of amusement with us to watch his manœuvres.

"Following our march as fancy dictated, or stowed away in the rear of the wagons, we had a train of eight dogs, all belonging to the Colonel, who was something of a humourist, and accordingly they all had appropriate names, dictated by love, hate, and political feeling, among which, note Henry Clay, a greyhound; Jackson, a bull-dog; and Mrs. Trollope, a hound with a number of whelps."

* * * * * *

"I have named the guide, Beatte, and as he will, perhaps, figure on divers occasions on my paper, you shall here have his character. In consequence of the arrangements made by one or other of the party, he and another half-breed, named Antoine, had been added to the number of personal attendants. In the character of the latter, indolence seemed to be the prevailing feature. It was depicted in his heavy, sleepy, dark eye; and the Indian blood evidently predominated over the French. He was willing and active enough when excited, but it was no common occasion that would incite him to action. For an hour together he would stand at the camp-fire, with his cloak tightly twisted round his body, his arms motionless within, and gaze upon nothing with a fixed glance, in which there was neither life nor speculation. In form, he was an object of admiration to us all, and I suspect to himself no less. His body and limbs were most symmetrically moulded. His bust was that of an Antinous. Indeed I may here observe, that the finest living models of human figure I ever saw, were among the Indian half-breeds.

"Beatte was the son of a French Creole, by a Quopaw mother. He was of medium height, and of a light compact form and good features. His clothes, poor as they might be in quality, always appeared well draped on his person, and there was something in his whole character and manner, which answered to the picture my fancy paints of Robin Hood. Wayward and distant till he became attached to our persons, we were all inclined to misjudge him at first; but before we had been a week together in the wilderness we found his value. He was by far the best hunter of the whole party engaged in the expedition. The very reverse of Tonish, who used to spread the tidings of his own going forth to the chase throughout the camp, with huge predictions of extraordinary success, which were very rarely fulfilled.—Beatte, seeing that the horses were hobbled, and his services not in immediate demand, took his rifle, stole forth quietly, and seldom came back empty-handed. Further, he was the only one in the whole company who had any knowledge of the country, and his information and guidance might in general be depended on; moreover there was that feeling about him, that he would be true to you in a strait, and stand by you either in a bear-fight or an Indian skirmish; and that was not to be undervalued. That he had met with rough adventures enough in the course of his chequered existence was proved by the state of his limbs and ribs, most of which had

been broken or dislocated again and again. In short, when the time of parting came, we all looked upon Beatte as a friend, and Tonish as a scaramouch."

The following extract will exhibit the spirit in which our traveller prosecuted his journey.

"As to ourselves, we had amusement and excitement enough without swopping. We had agreed from the outset, that, as the three domestics had their hands full with the care of the general disposition of our affairs while in camp, and the charge of loading and unloading pack horses; that each of us should continue to look to his own steed—unsaddling and hobbling him in the first instance, and, when brought into camp the following morning, taking off the vile hobbles and preparing him for the start. There was no hardship in this, if I except unhobbling, as the knot with which the feet were strongly secured, during the course of a long night spent in hopping through the damp grass, became often hard as iron, and as wet as a sponge; and many a time have I begun to lose my equanimity, and been on the point of using my knife, after five minutes were thrown away with alternate application of teeth and fingers, vainly attempting to unloose the gordian tie. For the rest, all seemed to inspire pleasure; and when we subsequently met in the gay saloons of the Eastern cities, we often recalled those days of adventure and light-heartedness.

"We had left the busy world to the eastward seething like a cauldron with excitement. To the ordinary bustle and stir of a people straining with soul and body for the acquisition of wealth—that attendant upon the pending election of a President, and the presence of that fearful scourge, the cholera, which had just then reached the line of the Western waters, was added. Here, alone in the midst of the great wilderness, we moved day by day; lay down at night and rose in the morning in peace and quiet. We were like a vessel moored in a sheltered haven, within the breakers, and out of the reach of the tempest raging in the open sea. Those who have never moved out of the narrow sphere in which all is artificial; where the possession of much makes the attainment of more an absolute necessity: where luxuries appear to be necessaries;—can hardly conceive, how little is in reality essential, not only for existence, but for contentment; or what a pliant and easily moulded mind and body we possess. Get only over your prejudice and try, and there are thousands of so called comforts that you can do without—and of things which you can do for yourself.

"I look back with peculiar delight to our mode of life, and our intercourse with a few trusty friends, on these and our succeeding autumnal wanderings. Both were spent far away beyond the noise and bustle of the great highways of existence. Surely, without having experienced it, you can find excuse for my enthusiasm.

"Our connection with the world being cut off, we enjoyed a perfect absence of annoyance from without. The year was too far advanced for insect plagues, at the same time that the season was so mild and genial, that with few exceptions, our tent was thrown aside as useless.

"To quit one trampled and despoiled camp just when the morning light began to reveal its loss of beauty, and turning our faces towards the West with the assurance that, please God, though none could say where, we should find another place of repose in the day's decline in all its pristine baauty:—to hold our march hour after hour over the untrodden waste, or through the forest—now breaking our way through a thick grove, then breathing the free air of the open prairie, or the scented brake of mint and sumac—beguiling the hours in conversations, and losing sight of the monotony of the scenery presented for weeks to our view, in the excitement afforded by the constant look-out for game, or speculation upon the trails of the Indians now and then fallen in with—who they were—of what tribe—hostile or friendly—when they passed:—to watch the fleet course of the startled deer over the undulating prairie—or to listen to the wailing cry of the cranes above our head, descried like so many white specks floating in the blue ether: finally to choose our new abode in the tall deep forest by the river side, or among those exquisite groups on the higher grounds, where the forest merges into the prairie, and forms landscapes teeming with all the charming varieties of English park-scenery—was not all this delightful? And, when the little share of toil and care which fell to the lot of each alike was concluded; and the hours intervening before sun-set, which

each passed as he listed, were ended,—when each came dropping in from his walk or the chase, and the fire grew momentarily brighter and brighter, as, enjoying our hunter's repast, the twilight gloom settled down among the trees,—when the evening tale and sober mirth were prolonged, till each in turn stole to his chosen nook in the tall grass, or on the thick leaves which the autumnal forest shed—were not our pleasures equally simple and guileless?

"The blessing of sound sleep seemed to be denied to none who needed it:—and yet I delighted to wake in the stillness of the long night, and to rouse my spirit from its lethargy; to open my eyes upon the deep blue sky, with its hosts of stars, over-head; to glance upon the dying fires and sleeping camp; to muse upon the past and the present; to raise my heart to heaven;—and, without taking care for the future, to bless God for a portion of those sweet and healthful thoughts which spring from a calm and contented spirit, and incite my soul to gratitude for this lull and calm in the midst of the heaving and restless sea of existence."

It was amusing, says Mr. Latrobe, "to see the effect of the life we were leading, and the company we were associated with, on the spirits of the most peaceable amongst us. There was the good, kind-hearted commissioner, whose career had never been stained up to the present time by act of violence to beast or bird, girding himself in his own quiet way for the expected rencontre with biped or quadruped savages, and breathing destruction to the innocent skunks and turkeys—there too was to be seen our friend Irving, the kindly impulse of whose nature is to love every thing, ramming a couple of bullets home into a brace of old brass-barreled pistols which had been furnished him from the armory at Fort Gibson, with a flourish of the ramrod, a compression of the lip, and a twinkle of the eye, which decidedly betokened mischief. As to my comrade, incited by the marvellous tales of Tonish, it was dangerous to hunt in a jungle with him, such was his anxiety to have a shot at the bison." Our traveller thus sums up the lessons he had learnt from this expedition. There is no inconsiderable philosophy in it.

"So here, in a measure, we finished our wanderings in the Far West, and that with real regret. Every species of travelling has its lessons, and this had not been wanting in such. During our journey of a thousand miles in this region, we had become acquainted with much of that species of knowledge which is the stay of the hunter, and gives him assurance in the vast solitudes of the trackless forest and prairie. Many a secret of horse-craft and wood-craft had been revealed to us. We had been taught to distinguish the trail of one animal from another,—to steer according to the tokens afforded in sunless days by the trees of the forest and the plants of the prairie of the side from which the north wind blows, or the sun should appear,—to know the track of Indian friend or Indian enemy,—to distinguish their forsaken camps and to read their hieroglyphic signs graven on the trees. We had found that to sleep unhoused, night after night, for a month together, in the damp air of the deep forest, is not necessarily followed by colds, sneezing, or consumption; and that one may contrive to live on animal food without bread or salt, without indigestion. We had been shown how to follow the bee from the flower to his distant hive in the hollow oak; and when the tree was felled, how to despoil and rifle the gathered sweets. Whether always successful hunters or no, we had learned to be patient and good-tempered ones;—to provide fire under many disadvantages, and to kill and cook our supper under as many more. Lastly, we had learned to paddle a canoe; make our own mocassins; and bag a Bison. Were not these accomplishments worth crossing six thousand miles of sea and land to acquire?"

From his journey to the Falls of St. Anthony, we regret we

cannot find room for an extract, especially for his amusing and graphic picture of the "*misères*" of his party at "Cross Camp."

During his travels in the West, particularly, our author had occasion to remark the bad practice of taking a glass of wine and bitters or some other spirituous concoction before breakfast. He gives it, however, as the result of his observation, that the Americans, as a people, are far from being intemperate, if by intemperance is meant absolute inebriety, of which he thinks—though we regret we are compelled to differ from him—that less is seen here than in any country of Europe. But, he continues, "if by intemperance is meant a habit of frequent unnecessary indulgence in stimulants, and dram-drinking, then they richly deserve the stigma; though the improvement, and the return to sound feeling in this respect, has been so general in many parts of the Atlantic states, that the stricture can hardly be applied to them." To this unfortunate custom, and to the marvellous rapidity with which the hot cakes and viands of the plentiful tables of the steam-boats and hotels are cleared and consigned to the stomach, without the possibility of having undergone the process of preparation which nature has indicated as advisable, both from the number and construction of the human teeth, and the original smallness of the swallow—he ascribes "the pale faces, contracted chests, and lack-lustre eyes of a great number of citizen travellers in all parts of the West," and, he might have said, in the East also. It is really high time that this disgusting as well as injurious practice of *bolting* one's meals, which is so prevalent in the United States, to the infinite discomfort of those who by some special good fortune have acquired the habit of masticating and chewing their food before swallowing it, should be corrected. One means of effecting this would be for the directors of our public tables to allow the dishes to remain long enough upon them to enable such as have no rail-road down their throats, to accomplish their meals in their own time, and not force them, as is the case now, either to imitate the fearful velocity of their neighbours, or rise from their places more famished than when they sat down, having only put enough into their mouths to excite the cravings of appetite. This, by degrees, by causing the rapid gentlemen to sit idly looking on for a good while between the two courses—a matter of supreme aversion to us Americans—might induce them, by way of self-defence as it were, "to dawdle" a little more in their operations, and eventually, by convincing them of the greater advantages of "making haste slowly," to adopt the practice. We have never been able to understand why it is, that in steam-boats especially, the servants, as soon as they perceive the quickest of the quick beginning to pick his teeth with an air which says *jam satis*, should set about sweeping every thing off the table, regardless of the fact that some have just succeeded in getting something on their plates—

unless they are actuated by the same reasonable motive as the worthy citizen who on being asked by an opposite neighbour to help him to some vegetables, pushed the dish towards him, begging him to help himself, "as he was in a great hurry to reach their journey's end."

Mr. Tudor thinks, justly enough, that besides the one just indicated, another cause of that peculiarly American disease, dyspepsia, is "the enormous quantities of hot bread, hot rolls, smoking-hot cakes, half baked, and little removed from dough, and withal saturated with melted butter, which are consumed at nearly every meal, morning, noon, and night, by all ages, and each sex—by little children, as well as by their grown-up fathers and mothers." To these two quite sufficient reasons we can add yet another—and that is the custom of "taking tea," which means drinking a quantum of the Chinese beverage, with a pretty substantial accompaniment of various "relishes," two or three hours only after a hearty dinner. "Don't give the stomach too much to do," said an experienced physician, "and it will never trouble you," but it may well be supposed that it will murmur and revolt at the little repose which it is thus permitted to enjoy. We ought to beg pardon, perhaps, for thus dilating upon this unpoetical theme, but

> "Let school-taught pride dissemble all it can,
> These little things are great to little man."

When we reflect upon the momentous consequences which have often been produced by indigestion; how much domestic happiness it has destroyed; what seas of blood it has instigated tyrants to shed; how many evils affecting the world, almost, it has occasioned; what revolutions, we might say, it has directly or indirectly brought about; when we remember that Napoleon's disasters are attributable to the circumstance of a dyspeptic attack, which clouded his brain and paralyzed his energy at the critical moment of the fight; when we consider all this, it should not be deemed waste of time and paper to descant elaborately upon the subject. Verily it is a national affair of vast importance. If dyspepsia goes on increasing at the rate that it has been for a few years past, we shall begin to regard it as the most formidable foe to the perpetuity of our institutions. Hapless, indeed, would be the land, the defence of whose liberties against an invading enemy is intrusted to a dyspeptic general commanding dyspeptic forces!

Of American scenery, Mr. Latrobe's opinion is, that taken as a whole, it is far from being entitled to the epithet of picturesque, though there may be occasional landscapes of the most exquisite natural beauty, fully justifying the application of that epithet.

"But," he says, "do not suppose that for the rest there is no charm;—that there is nothing in the Western world to make up for the deficiency of this pleasing attribute. There is a character to which it may proudly lay claim in the face of the

East, and that is, sublimity. I know what you would say—I never forget the Alps and their majesty, but they stand almost alone.

"Get to the summit of the Allegheny, and look out upon the dark mantle of primeval forest clothing the swelling ridges which roll towards the deep blue horizon, rising and falling like the tempest-stirred ocean;—bury yourself in their recesses amongst the giant trees;—look forth on her vast estuaries, her ocean, lakes, and bays indenting the shores for hundreds of miles, sparkling in the sunbeams, or reflecting the deep blue of heaven through her own transparent atmosphere;—stand upon her boundless prairies stretching to the westward, a thousand miles of unbroken grassy meadow, bespangled with flowers of every hue, where no hand ever reaps, no finger ever culls, and but few feet ever tread;—sail over her inland seas in calm or storm, and know yourself, though surrounded by the watery horizon for hours, in the centre of a continent! Then mark her numberless rivers, whether thousands of miles from their bourne in the Ocean, spreading under your eye a broad moving mirror of shining water in the vast solitude of the silent forests; boiling down a rapid for miles as white as snow; contracted among their poplar islands to a torrent—or yet nearer their estuary, amidst the cultivated fields of the lower and more thickly inhabited lands, when the accumulated waters of a thousand streams press on in one wide reach after the other, and expand into broad tide-stirred bays ere they finally merge in the great Deep.

"Well may America be proud of such scenes. All bear the impress of sublimity. The feelings which they convey to the human mind may be less pleasing and less definite, but they are more durable.

"One scene yet remains, which, though you have gazed upon the Alps in all their splendid alternations of high sublimity, and acknowledged the presence of the same feeling while floating on the bosom of the Ocean in calm or tempest,—still stands forward among these, the world's wonders, and vies with them, in claiming its degree of this attribute,—and that is Niagara; the huge step between the waters of an upper and lower world, whence the thunder of water has echoed through the forests, and the vapour of the great cataract has ascended for ages, like smoke from an altar to the great Creator of All."

One conclusion to which Mr. Latrobe's observation has led him, must gratify every philanthropic breast; this is that "the prevailing spirit in America towards England is far from hostile, and that there is every disposition to welcome and return that kindness of feeling and mutual confidence and respect which should grow up between the two people." This is a consummation devoutly to be wished for, and we know not how it can be more effectually brought about than by the frequent visits to both lands of such men as Mr. Tudor and Mr. Latrobe.

Besides these two works which we have just noticed, another one, having the United States for its subject, has recently appeared in England. Its author is a Mr. Abdy, who writes himself Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and in some respects a "fine fellow" he is. He gives incontrovertible proof of both talent and cultivation not unworthy of his alma mater, and in most matters, Major Downing himself, with all his patriotism, could not take offence at his remarks. Strange as it may seem, that a plant of either of those old Tory hot-beds, Oxford and Cambridge, should exhale a republican odour, it is nevertheless the fact that Mr. Abdy is even a radical, if we may judge from these pages, and of course is well disposed to behold in our democratic institutions an agreeable spectacle. But there is one dark spot upon them which seems al-

most to have monopolized his eyes, allowing him to contemplate little else with attention. So powerfully, indeed, does it appear to have affected his vision, that we are somewhat surprised that it did not cause him to see every thing *couleur de noir*. It proves the strength of his liberalism, at all events, that in spite of the powerful operation of this drawback on his mind, he should yet have been able to prevent it from influencing his judgment materially upon the entire system with which it is incorporated.

This dark spot is our negro slavery, to investigate the condition of which was the chief motive of Mr. Abdy's visit to this country instead of to the European continent, he having been ordered by his physicians to travel for the benefit of his health. And here, by the way, we may protest against the publication by invalids, as a general rule, of their impressions of foreign climes. It is next to impossible that they should be correct. The *mens sana in corpore sano*, we hold to be indispensable for a just and impartial appreciation of strange customs and manners and matters. How can it be conceived, that an individual predisposed by the jaundiced hue which sickness is apt to spread over every thing, to look awry, should not be irresistibly tempted, by the unavoidable discomforts, torments to him, of travelling, to use a pair of spectacles of the most discoloured and discolouring glass? To a cause of this nature, in sooth, we are inclined to attribute the perfect fever of philanthropy—of affection for the oppressed black, and humane hatred of the tyrant white—which was raging in Mr. Abdy's veins during his peregrinations through our land. Did we not believe it a species of disease, we should certainly deem it a great misfortune for the gentleman that he was not born with a sable skin, as he appears to have been infinitely fonder of the association of those thus favoured than of that of the pale face; and he more than once intimates, in pretty broad terms, that he considers them the most valuable portion of our population. Surely it could only have been from a species of *mania* not mentioned in the physicians' books, caused by sympathy with the negro, that he should have come all the way across the great water to enjoy the delightful happiness of being miserable, of which John Bull is proverbially fond, from commiserating the lot of the black, when he might have obtained the same happiness in a much more intense degree at home, by exploring and being shocked at the infinitely worse condition of the labouring classes in the manufacturing districts, at no vast distance from the venerable shades and antique spires of Jesus College itself.

Upon this subject of the negroes, to which Mr. Abdy's volumes are principally devoted, he verily, to use a phrase more popular than elegant, "goes the whole hog." He is *Nerone Neronior*. He maintains, not only the doctrine of immediate abolition, but of the elevation of the blacks to all the privileges and immunities of citi-

zens of the Union; aye, would even have us seat them at our tables, and give them our daughters for wives. In short, he writes upon this theme just like an enthusiast who can descry no real obstacle in the way of the full accomplishment of his fantasy; who thinks that he can cut down the Alleghanies with a pen-knife, and turn the course of the Mississippi by a push of his arm. He came to our shores with the strongest prepossessions from his real or imaginary negro-mania, examined the subject only for the purpose of fortifying them, and has given us the result with all the overweening confidence and warmth of one who has never "bothered" himself with looking at the other side of the question.

It would be useless here to attempt an examination of his facts and inferences. All that we need say to him at present, is that instead of finding every slave groaning in anguish of spirit beneath the yoke, if he had had his "eyes right" he would have met with many a free black who would have ejaculated a sentiment of the same import, though mayhap not quite so poetically expressed, as Petrarch's exclamation:

> "Nessun di servitù giammai si dolse,
> Né di morte, quant 'io di libertate!"

When he dismounts from his sable Pegasus, Mr. Abdy is a pointed, terse, sensible writer. The following extracts are good specimens.

"There are of course many things in New York and in London that strike an Englishman and an American on their first arrival as singular, if not absurd. A better illustration of the embarrassment alluded to cannot be given, than a passage that occurs in a little work published some thirty years ago by a Yankee on his return from a trip to England. 'The first funeral,' he says, 'I saw, was such a novelty, that I followed it a short distance, not knowing what it was; and, as my manner is to question every one who I think can give me any information, [a Yankee custom,] I asked an honest fellow 'what the show was?'—he seemed a little offended, but directly replied—'you may know one day, if you do not come to the gallows!' This man, like Chatham, was 'original and unaccommodating.'" Austin's Letters, &c. Now, it is evident that the man imagined Austin was bantering him, or he would not have used an expression, the humour of which—and it really is not without point—would have been thrown away, as the answerer must have known, upon any one unacquainted with the nature of the procession. The writer adds—'observing I was surprised at his answer, and feeling perhaps a little mortified, he asked me 'if I lived in London?' I told him 'I had just come.' 'Well! but people die sometimes in your town?' By this time I discovered the performance was a funeral. The plumes being white, a sign of a virgin, instead of black, which are more usually displayed, account for my ignorance. Had I been in Pekin, I should have expected a white funeral, but was not prepared to see one in London.' Thus it is that nature is punished for the blunders of a traveller's imagination; and nations are angry with each other because their respective customs do not correspond with their own preconceptions. What is allowable at Pekin is ridiculous in London or Boston. Veniam petimusque damusque:—I shall have frequent occasion to claim the benefit of the act.

"That two nations, separated by the broad expanse of the Atlantic, should differ in many points from each other, is to be expected; but why should their agreement in a matter common to both excite surprise? Yet several persons with whom I conversed, complimented me on the correctness of my language, and seemed to be astonished that an Englishman should speak his mother-tongue with propriety:—that

he should leave the letter *h* in its right place, and suffer *v* and *w* to speak for themselves. One man observed to me, that the grammatical accuracy with which Charles Kemble spoke struck the people on his first arrival in New York as something unusual in one from 'the old countrie.'

"We may 'guess' from this what sort of gentry are used to honour the United States with their presence. Many who go thither upon business and are distinguished at home for nothing but vulgarity and ignorance, set up for gentlemen—(though they have no pretension, or rather are all pretension)—and complain that outward appearance is not treated with sufficient respect, as if insolence would be taken for full payment of personal merit any where.

"As John Bull, when he travels, generally assumes the rank which is most wanting to him at home, and puts forth his claims in an inverse ratio to his qualifications, it is not surprising that he should impose upon 'the natives' in a double sense, and sink his country while he is raising himself.

"It is probable that the average of literary accomplishments is higher among our brethren in the new world, while the extremes at either end are less distant from the middle point of the scale.

"It may be observed that the English and the Anglo-Americans are placed in circumstances less favourable to a fair appreciation of each other's peculiarities than any other two nations, with the exception of those which bear the same relation to each other. Their common language is the chief impediment in the way of a mutual understanding. That which seems to bind them together, serves too often to dissever them; and the pleasurable feeling which attends their approximation is frequently merged in the sensation of an unaccommodating dissimilarity. When a word has two meanings, one that we have been long accustomed to, and the other, not only new but opposed to the former, it need not be asked to which we would give the preference. But when the new associate attempts to displace the old, and by connecting itself with the expression, to take sole possession of the mind, it is extremely difficult, under the shock of conflicting feelings, to do justice both to past and present impressions—to retain our former attachments, and to enter, by sympathy, into those that are equally cherished by others. No such prepossessions are interwoven with a foreign language; and our partialities take a different direction when we are among those who speak it."

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"In many respects the manners and customs in New York are rather French than English; and one is reminded by the dress and furniture, more of Paris than of London. It is usual to dine early, and visit in the evening, when there is less ceremony and display than in the morning, as we term it, at which time calls are not always welcome or willingly paid. The ladies do the honours of the house well; and every one is 'at home.' There are few places, indeed, where a stranger is less likely to be embarrassed; and, if any thing displeases him, it must be his own fault. A Londoner—and still more a Parisian—on his first arrival at this Queen of Trans-Atlantic cities, is not a little surprised at the number of well-dressed young women he meets along the Broadway, without a chaperon or a servant. In no European city of equal population would the fair sex be permitted or inclined to enjoy such liberty as the state of public morals, and their own virtues, have secured to the ladies of New York. The lapse of a few years, however, to judge from what is already visible, will limit the promenade within the hours of day-light.

"Two features struck me forcibly in the domestic character:—and, I presume, the remark has a wider application. The one is, that the different members of the family are firmly united together; the other, that they are at peace with the rest of society—I mean, that there is much attachment at home, and very little scandal abroad. Unlike the feudal system, which teaches us to rally round our chief, and attack our neighbours, private life resembles state-government;—compact in itself, inoffensive to others, and tributary to the general union. Its members 'stick together,' without 'pulling other people to pieces.' That respect for the feelings of others, which, in mixed society, induces mutual forbearance and forbids familiarity, is not, as in too many places, laid aside where it is not wanted. It is not a currency which falls in the house as it rises without. There seems to be a sort of correspondence between the political institutions of the country and its family arrangements. No

privilege is annexed to birth, and no inequalities exist, but what may be traced to causes which must be admitted to be just and natural.

"There are two features in the national character that few strangers fail to observe; and, as I often heard the justice of the imputation acknowledged—particularly by those who are most exempt from both failings, (it would be indelicate to bring my friends into public court as witnesses,) I have reason to think the remark is correct. The Americans are too anxious to make money, and too apt to spoil their children. Parental affection may, perhaps, be the cause of the one, as it is of the other, though it is hardly consistent with any rational object it may have in view, to 'heap up riches,' and make those who are to 'gather them' unfit to employ them properly;—to increase both the quantity of temptation and the chances of yielding. It was truly painful to see how fretful and restless the children were made by this inconsiderate indulgence. I have known them to lose all the pleasures of a little excursion, because they could not get what was in fact unattainable, and what they never would have asked for, if their unreasonable wishes had not been habitually complied with. I shall not readily forget an interesting child I saw at an hotel, crying on the stair-case, as if her little heart would break: on inquiring of her elder sister, who was below, what was the matter, she said—'It is only because she will not go up stairs alone.' I told her she ought not to indulge her, as she was old enough to find her way by herself:—'So I think,' was her reply, 'but if papa was here, he would make me go up with her.' The boys are much more spoiled than the girls, and that is the case pretty much all the world over. As if a 'male child' were really and truly of more value than a female, more notice is taken of it. When one of these spoiled children cries, it is usually quieted with a sugar-plum. The consumption of confectionary is thus in a state of progressive increase. Sweetmeats, like tobacco, are first used as a remedy, and then as a luxury; the one is just as good as a styptic for tears, as the other is in curing the tooth-ache. Both, at last, become necessaries, and are continued when there are neither tears to be shed, nor teeth to ache. Whenever these pitiable little beings make their appearance at the dinner-table in the hotels, there is sure to be pouting or squalling, because they have got something to eat they do not want, or want something they cannot get. I had, unfortunately, an opportunity of watching for three weeks the way in which a little girl of two years old was managed by her parents. When with her father, who was kind and assiduous in supplying all her wants and whims, she was constantly whining out, 'Ma! ma!' when with her mother, her cry was 'Pa! pa!' with equal pertinacity, her preference for the absent parent being meted out with the nicest impartiality. Both pursued the same method to quiet her;—not by taking her at once to the other, or telling her she must not be indulged; but by striving to coax her attention to some other object, and keeping up in her mind a continued alternation of excitement and disappointment. The poor thing was thus systematically taught evasion and deception, and her request was met by the same want of rational consideration, whether it were proper or capricious. The answer to any observation upon the effects of indulgence is—'poor creatures! they will soon have hardships enough; a little indulgence now can do them no harm:' a singular sort of preparation for a world that is thus acknowledged to require self-control or resignation in all who are to pass through it. They manage their horses differently—they accustom them, at the earliest age, to the saddle and the bit; and teach them when young, to bear and obey. The result in both cases is what might be expected. Their children are plagues, and their horses admirable. It might really be thought that common sense had nothing to do with the treatment of youth; and that there were no years of discretion but what have been fixed by legislative enactment. Men are governed by names; and because, by a perversion of language, 'childish' and 'foolish' mean the same thing, 'child' and 'fool' are taken to be convertible terms: and language, which is fitted for nothing but to amuse the one, is too often employed to instruct the other.

"The women are good-looking and amiable; but their beauty is not like their temper, the *better for keeping*. Though few are 'fair' as well as 'fat' at 'forty,' there has been a good deal of exaggeration on this point. A young English officer, who was making a forced march through the country, observed to me one day that they appeared to him neither impassioned nor susceptible; because they exhibited little emotion at dramatic representations, and upon other occasions where the

fine arts address themselves to the senses. A Frenchman, who had enjoyed more leisure and more opportunities for judging, expressed an opinion as opposite to the former as the vivacity observable in the native country of the one to the phlegm in that of the other. Human nature is much the same here as she is on either side of the British Channel. Many women, who seem cold as flint in general, give out fire enough when they find a 'blade' that suits them.

"Much more regard is paid in the United States to dress and external appearance than with us. This proceeds from the same source as the love of money. Where no distinction is attached to rank or birth, it is natural that other 'outward and visible signs' should supply their places, and be proportionably valued. Fashion has, unhappily, despotic sway in these matters: and the imitative principle, as it descends, is not likely to elevate the character, or increase the happiness of those below. There must be a commensurate sacrifice somewhere, when milliners charge high prices and give low wages. I have known a whole family living in a garret, and the mother borrowing a few shillings to buy a pound of tea, while the daughters were vying in the Broadway with the wives of wealthy merchants, and 'fishing' for admiration with silks, and ribbons, and all the arts of the toilette. It is curious to observe the difference of meaning affixed to the same word by the different classes of society. To one all above, to its opposite all below, a certain point, were gentlemen and ladies; to both, the rest of the world was made up of men and women. 'Are you the man,' said a driver to Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, 'that is to go in that carriage?' 'Yes.' 'Then I am the gentleman to drive you.' A young female of New York, while looking over an English prayer book, was much shocked with that expression in the marriage service—'Wilt thou have this *woman* to thy wedded wife?' She insisted upon it, with all the dignity of offended rank, that the phrase ought to be, 'Wilt thou have this *lady*,' &c. With us, and from what I have observed it is the same with our Gallic neighbour, it is considered vulgar to confound the genus with the species, by using these words on every occasion, and to show so much solicitude about titles, which defeat their own object by repetition and misapplication. In the same way we look upon it as a proof of rusticity, to make frequent use of the term Sir! or Madam! In America the custom is so general, that it takes some time to be reconciled to it. It is probable that the different practices have some reference to the political forms, that prevail in the two countries, and were adopted to soften equality in the one, and restore it in the other. An American has a way of pronouncing some of our common words, that is not to be met with in England, except among those, who have not had the advantage of a good education. Should he, when in London, find himself thus classified, he ought not to complain of the injustice. Does he not himself apply a much more inequitable test to his fellow-citizens in matters of infinitely greater importance? Surely pronunciation affords a much better criterion of refinement, than colour of moral worth. I was often reminded that allowance should be made for a new country that has not yet acquired the graces and elegances of older communities; but never did I hear any thing like regret expressed (except by the abolitionists, who are stigmatised as unworthy citizens for lamenting it,) that European morality was not as much aimed at as European fashions. It was amusing to see the same persons tremblingly alive to any imputation of wanting that nice polish, which is supposed to distinguish the best society in England, yet totally insensible to the charge of as vile a narrow-mindedness as ever disgraced the lowest. The 'Patricians' will readily listen to you when you describe the usages of our fashionables: but, if you state that a man's complexion is no bar to admittance anywhere, your remark is received with a sneer of indifference or a smile of scornful incredulity. To be quizzed and caricatured for vulgarity is intolerable to the same people, who seem not to know, or not to care, that you despise them for their prejudices. Hint to them that they eat peas with a knife, and they are highly enraged: tell them that their conduct to the 'niggers' is inhuman and unmanly, and they laugh in your face. They look to Europe for 'mint and cummin,' and leave her 'the weightier matters of the law.' Purity of language is more valued than generosity of sentiment or nobleness of behaviour. To speak with more grammatical accuracy than an Englishman, is matter of general boasting; but to be his inferior in the kind and benevolent feelings he exhibits to every member of the human family, neither excites reflection nor inspires shame."

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"I left Northampton on the 16th, at three, A. M., for Boston, and arrived at that place about eight in the evening. The road was good; and, if we had not changed our vehicle three times during the journey, and stopped at the various post-offices for the bags, and at the hotels for refreshment, we should have got in much sooner. The first fifteen miles were performed in an hour and forty minutes. The distance is ninety-four miles. The passengers were inclined to be sociable; and, as it was a fine day, and the country not uninteresting, the journey passed off pleasantly enough. An English coachman would have been somewhat amused with the appearance of the stage and the costume of the driver. The former was similar to some that are common enough in France, though not known on our side of the channel. It was on leathern springs; the boot and the hind part being appropriated to the luggage, while the box was occupied by two passengers in addition to the 'conducteur,' and as many on the roof. On the top, secured by an iron rail, were some of the trunks and boxes, and inside were places for nine; two seats being affixed to the ends, and one, parallel to them, across the middle of the carriage. Our driver sat between two of the outsides, and when there was but one on the box, over the near wheeler; and holding the reins, or *lines*, as he called them, in such a manner as to separate his team into couples, not a-breast, but in a line or tandem fashion, drove along with considerable skill and dexterity. When he got down, he fastened the 'ribbons' to a ring, or a post in front of the house where he had occasion to pull up. One or two of these jehus were without their coats—an undress I was glad to adopt during the heat of the day,—and others in a plain country frock. I sat on the box most part of the time, and had a good deal of conversation with my companion. He was a very pleasant merry fellow. As he at first objected to admit a third to the honour of sitting by his side, I endeavoured to joke him into good humour, and very soon succeeded, by laughing at his fun. When I asked him, for instance, whether he was full inside? he replied, with a knowing look:—'I guess I am—for I have just had a good dinner.' We all laughed heartily. The joke was new to me: and the others were not in a vein to be nice about novelty. Three young men, who were inside, amused themselves by bowing very gravely and with profound respect, to the old folks, who were sitting at their doors, or looking out of the windows as we passed, and who were puzzling their brains, long after we were out of sight, in trying to make out to what acquaintance it could possibly be that they were indebted for this peice of unexpected civility. No one of our party, which was so numerous as to fill two stages, had any reason to complain of its formality. On my arrival, I was well received by the lady of the house to which I had been directed, and a comfortable bed soon made me forget the fatigues of the day."

We should not forget to mention that Mr. Abdy has discovered another national habit for our benefit, besides those already found out. It is one, however, which we think that the discoverer had better have kept to himself, as it does not speak very eloquently for his fascination as a companion—being nothing more nor less than the habit of *yawning*.

ART. VII.—*Travels in Ethiopia above the second cataract of the Nile, exhibiting the state of the country and its various inhabitants, under the dominion of Mohammed Ali, and illustrating the Antiquities, Arts, and History of the ancient kingdom of Meroe.* By G. A. HOSKINS, Esq. London: Longman & Co. 4to. pp. 307.

ETHIOPIA is to the moderns almost untrodden ground. Bruce alone, previous to the conquests of the present Pacha of Egypt,

had a glimpse of the remains of the ancient glories of Meroe, and even now that the road is rendered more safe by the arms of Mohammed Ali, few have had the resolution to brave the climate and the desert. In the words of our author:

"The valley of the Nile as far as Wady Halfa has been described by many. Only six or seven Europeans have penetrated beyond that cataract; and unfortunately, all even of these were not sufficiently acquainted with Egyptian antiquities, and competent, as artists, to give a satisfactory description and correct delineation of the interesting remains which exist in those remote regions.* In using the term acquainted, I do not mean to state that any person has penetrated very deeply into the mysteries of Egyptian lore, much less can I pretend to have lifted 'the veil of Isis, which no mortal has yet raised;' but even a slight knowledge of the recent discoveries in hieroglyphics, gives to the traveller of the present day an advantage over even perhaps the most learned travellers who visited this country before the discoveries of Young, Wilkinson, Champollion, and Rossellini. Egypt is no longer a field for speculative ingenuity and brilliant imagination. The daylight has appeared, and the efforts of talent and perseverance have cleared away many of the difficulties which obstructed the first labourers in this rich mine of antiquarian research. Enough is already known of hieroglyphics to make the subject to be duly appreciated by literary men, and we may confidently expect important information from that source. The drawings which have hitherto been made in Upper Nubia are considered to be very inaccurate; much has been left undone, and the hieroglyphics have been but partially and imperfectly copied: while many of the inscriptions are totally unknown. Aware of these circumstances, and also that not a drawing or description of the antiquities of Meroe has yet been published in England, and hoping that my labours may be of some service to those interested in these subjects, I leave Thebes to encounter again the fatigues and perils of the desert; but Meroe is before me, the probable birth-place of the arts and sciences."

With such views and objects he set out from Thebes, 1st February, 1833. The second day he arrived at Esnet, and the third at Assuan (Syene). Here, instead of ascending the cataracts, and navigating the river to Wady Halfa, he sought the means of crossing the desert on the eastern side of the river. These he obtained from the Sheikh of the Abadbes, who usually provides camels for travellers between Syene and the capital of the Berbers. This useful personage is thus described:

* "Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix are the only Englishmen who have seen the antiquities of the isle of Meroe; and it is deeply to be regretted that they have not published their observations."

"I was agreeably struck with his appearance; he was a man of middle size; extremely regular features; a calm and dignified manner; a benevolent, and at the same time noble expression of countenance. His dress was remarkably neat and clean. His turban and linen gown remarkably white, and of good materials."

Nine camels and two dromedaries having been obtained, our traveller set out from Syene, 9th February. The road for the first six days is at no great distance from the river, the cultivated land on whose margin it occasionally enters, and in some cases follows the banks; at other times it traverses the desert hills. The scenery is spoken of as remarkable from the contrast between the narrow strip of verdure in the neighbourhood of the river, the dark hills, and the bright yellow sands of the desert. On leaving the vicinity of the stream, the first and second days' journey lay through a series of mountain passes, separated by narrow plains. On the third he reached and travelled over "an immense down of sand, variegated with round balls of iron ore, and studded with a few small hills of sandstone, containing thin layers of gypsum."

"The only object to interest me, and relieve the weariness of mind and body, has been the mirage. Some travellers state that this phenomenon has deceived them repeatedly. This I am surprised at, since its peculiar appearance, joined to its occurrence in a desert where the traveller is too forcibly impressed with the recollection that no lakes or pools exist, would appear to me to prevent the possibility that he who has once seen it can be a second time deceived. Still this does not diminish the beauty of the phenomenon;—to see, among burning sands and barren hills, an apparently beautiful lake, perfectly calm, and unruffled by any breeze, reflecting in its bosom the surrounding rocks, is indeed an interesting and wonderful spectacle; but it is a tantalizing sight to the Arabs, traversing the desert on foot, always with a scanty supply of water, and often, owing to their great imprudence, wholly destitute of it. There is much of the sublime to elevate, of real danger to excite the mind in the passage of the desert: the boundless plains of sand, the thought of the distance from the habitations of man, and from the most common necessaries of life, the perpetual apprehension of the falling short of water, and the certainty, that whoever from fatigue or illness is unable to keep pace with the caravan, will at once, with his share of the provision and a camel, be abandoned to his fate. And what a fate! Few left in this manner ever reach their destination."

On the fifth day the road wound among the mountains and some valleys, the doone palm and acacia made their appearance. Rain also falls occasionally, and is succeeded by herbage, the valley has even the appearance of having once been cultivated. Some wells are to be found, of which only one contained water, and that of a bitter taste. On the sixth day the road left the mountains and entered an immense plain of sand; a journey of thirty miles over which brought our traveller to another valley containing acacia trees. The succeeding day brought gazelles to enliven the scene, and passed near a spot where mines of gold have formerly been worked. On the ninth day the passage of the desert was completed, and the party reached the banks of the Nile at Abou Hammed; the whole distance being about two hundred and fifty miles. We have been particular in our abridgment of the account

of this route, as it is the great track of caravans and travellers between Egypt and the upper valley of the Nile. It has in ancient times been much more frequented than it is even now, and in the valleys traces are occasionally to be seen of the road having been improved by human labour. Bruce followed a longer and more perilous route, leaving the Nile below Syene, and striking it again higher up than Abou Hammed.

From Abou Hammed the road again nearly follows the course of the river, and our traveller reached, on the 28th of February, Al Makkarif, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Berber, now a province, governed for Mohammed Pacha by a Turkish Bey.

At the court of the governor, the two most conspicuous personages were, the former king or melek of the province, who, driven from it by his neighbours, had in revenge become the guide of the pacha's armies, the present Melek of Shendy, and an Arab Sheikh of the tribe Abadbe. Of the latter it is said: "His family have held this title from time immemorial: the stamp of nobility is marked upon his high forehead; and there is an expression of dignified mildness in his countenance which commands respect."

His portrait, which forms one of the embellishments of the work, confirms this description, and although swarthy almost to blackness, no trace of negro blood is to be detected in the well formed Caucasian skull. The Bey received Mr. Hoskins with great kindness, and loaded him with civilities, although well assured that he was to expect little or no return, and this is mentioned as a departure from the usual Turkish habits.

The province of Berber is more extensive than the ancient kingdom, and contains 30,000 resident inhabitants, independent of the desert tribes, who pay their tribute to the Pacha at Al Makkarif. Of these tribes, the most noted are the Abadbes and the Bishareen. The latter are usually classed as Arabs, although they neither use a dialect of the language nor claim descent from that people. By some they are supposed to be descendants of the Troglodytes, and it is stated that there is the name of a nation sculptured at Thebes, which reads Pi Sharim. They are said to be treacherous, cruel, and addicted to theft. Some persons at Makkarif stated that they count 200,000 houses or tents, but in spite of the extent of their territory, this must be an exaggeration.

The Abadbes number about 50,000 tents, being thus less numerous than the Bishareen, but superior in bravery and intelligence. Having been the allies of the pacha in his conquests, they are exempt from all personal tribute, and merely pay taxes upon the cultivated lands they may happen to occupy.

In addition to these two great tribes, he saw individuals of ten other tribes, eight of whom have submitted to the ruler of Egypt, and two, the Shelouks and Numrum, still maintain their independence.

The force with which the governor of Berber maintains his supremacy is no more than four hundred soldiers, and as our author well remarks, shows a deep knowledge of the art of government, for even with this apparently inadequate force, insurrection does not seem to be apprehended. The descendants of those very tribes which resisted the power of the Pharaohs, the Achæmenidæ, the Ptolemies, the Cæsars, and the Abassides, have been made by Mohammed Ali to crouch beneath his yoke.

"He has done so in despite of all the obstacles man and nature opposed to his ambition;—a brave resistance, cataracts among which many of his barks were lost, the horrors of the desert, burning climate, malaria, fever, which at first annihilated his army 'at one fell swoop.' The statement of Cailliaud, that at Sennaar the Pacha saw one-third of his army fall a prey to intermittent and malignant fevers, dysentery, and bilious attacks, shows at how dear a price these conquests were purchased. But the Pacha's power in this country rests now on a basis which it would be difficult to shake,—a combination of vigorous policy in council, with superiority of arms and discipline in the field."

Our author seems to think that the agriculture of Berber is on the decline, in consequence of the exactions of the Pacha's government. His taxes are certainly of the most impolitic sort, being principally levied on the water wheels by which the country is irrigated. But the quiet produced by an orderly and settled government has given a stimulus to commerce, and the wandering tribes are beginning to derive benefit from its increase, by the increasing demand for their services and those of their camels.

"This gives employment to the Arabs of the desert, and attaches these roving tribes, by the strongest chain of interest, to a more regular and less barbarous government than they have ever been accustomed to, and thus reconciles them to the relinquishment of their independence. When we consider the predatory and lawless habits they gloried in for ages prior to the Pacha's conquests; the anarchy and confusion which afforded them such facilities for rapine, and in which their bold unruly spirits delighted, as the short though dangerous path to distinction and wealth—it is surprising to see them thus quietly occupied in the vocations of peace, and earning their livelihood by honest industry. A tribute of applause is certainly due to Mohammed Ali, for effecting this great improvement in the habits and pursuits of the uncivilized hordes who occupy so considerable a portion of the continent of Africa."

At Makkarif Mr. Hoskins embarked upon the Nile, and reached the first evening Unmatun, which is situated opposite to the junction of the Nile with its first branch, the Astaboras of the ancients, and Tacuzze of the Abyssinians, but known in this part by the local name of Mugrum. The width of the Mugrum is about one thousand feet, it swells earlier than the main branch of the Nile, and its waters are of a green colour. In March it was nearly stagnant.

The banks of the Nile in this vicinity are covered with groves of acacias, doones, and palms. The verdure is more brilliant than any our travellers had before remarked, justifying the description of the emissaries of Nero: "Herbas circum Meroem demum, viridiores, silvarumque aliquid apparuisse."

It was in the peninsula formed by the junction of the Astapus with the Astaboras, that the ancients placed the *island* of Meroe, and the city of Meroe is stated by Pliny to have been situated about sixty miles from the confluence of the streams. In effect, after a sail with a favourable wind for a day and night, Bagromeh was reached, in the vicinity of which exist remains which can only be assigned to this long famed city. These remains are no more than the Necropolis, for every vestige of habitation or public edifice has been destroyed by time or buried beneath the sands, except a few fragments of walls, and a space on the bank of the river about two thousand feet square, strewed with brick.

"These indicate without doubt, the site of that cradle of the arts which distinguish a civilized from a barbarous society. Of the birth place of the arts and sciences, the wild natives of the adjacent villages have made a miserable burying-place; of the city of the learned, 'its cloud cap't towers,' its 'gorgeous palaces,' its 'solemn temples,' there is 'left not a rack behind.' The sepulchres alone of her departed kings have fulfilled their destination of surviving the habitations which their philosophy taught them to regard but as ruins, and are now fast mouldering into dust. As at Memphis, scarcely a trace of a palace or temple is to be seen. In this once populous place, I saw timid gazelles fearlessly pasturing. The hyænas and wolves abound in the neighbouring hills.

"The small villages of Bagromeh consist of circular cottages with thatched conical roofs. The peasants have numerous flocks which they send to pasture on the plain. On the banks of the river I observed cotton, dourah, and barley. Such is the present state of Meroe. It is an ample requital for my toilsome journey to have been the first to bring to England accurate architectural drawings of all the remains of the ancient capital of Ethiopia, that city which will ever live in the grateful recollection of those who love the arts."

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"It will be alleged that there are many discrepancies between my architectural and picturesque views and those of M. Cailliaud. I have only to remark that the former are by M. Baudoni, a most skilful Italian architect and painter of acknowledged reputation, whose sufficient recommendation to me was the patronage of that most distinguished of British antiquaries, Sir Wm. Gell. The picturesque views were drawn by myself with the Camera Lucida; so that I can vouch for the exact position of every stone."

The engravings indeed bear intrinsic evidence, that can be readily appreciated by the artist, of the accuracy of the delineation, and besides exhibit much taste in the selection of the points of view. It is in fact the principal advantage of the beautiful invention of Wollaston, (the Camera Lucida) that an amateur of taste and judgment, may, by the aid of it, produce sketches of equal value as representations of scenery with those of the most practised artist.

Our author thus describes the impressions produced by a first view of the pyramids of Meroe.

"Never were my feelings more ardently excited, than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids in the distance, announced their importance; but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations, when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Geezah are magnificent, wonderful from their stupendous size, but for picturesque effect and architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Meroe. I expected to find few such remains here, and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting as these sepul-

chres, doubtless of the kings and queens of Ethiopia. I stood for some time lost in admiration. From every point of view, I saw magnificent groups, pyramid rising behind pyramid, while the dilapidated state of many did not render them less interesting, though less beautiful as works of art. I easily restored them in my imagination, and these effects of the ravages of time carried back my thoughts to distant ages."

The principal group of pyramids is composed of twenty-three, in various states of preservation; besides seven in such a ruined condition that their plan cannot be made out. In the neighbourhood are three other groups, two of which contain each but two pyramids, and the third six. At the distance of about a mile to the West may be traced the remains of twenty-five others, almost buried in the sand. Each of the pyramids whose place can be discovered, has been furnished with a portico, and these porticoes face eastward, although there is no care manifested in making the directions of the sides correspond with the cardinal points. In these respects they differ from the pyramids of Memphis, which have been skilfully *oriented*, and of which the entrance is on their northern face. The fronts of these porticoes are beautiful, showing a strong resemblance to the propylons of Egyptian architecture, the heights of the porticoes are all nearly the same, being about 11 feet, but their breadth and projection vary with the size of the base of the pyramids to which they belong. Most of the porticoes contain but a single room; some few of them, however, have two, and these are adorned by sculptures. The largest of the pyramids is about sixty-three feet square, and the smallest no more than seventeen. The most remarkable peculiarity of the architecture, which was observed, is that the roof of one of the porticoes was formed into a regular arch. It has been a matter of dispute whether the Egyptians were possessed of a knowledge of this structure, or whether the few which have been observed in Egypt were not the work of more modern times, after a communication was opened with Italy. But we have in this remote region an example of the arch when no such communication can be suspected.

Our author, skilled in the study of Egyptian architecture, and thus possessed of the power of detecting the several ages of Egyptian art, ascribes these edifices to a more early epoch than any which exist in Egypt. It is easy however to see that in this he may be mistaken, as what would be the infancy of the art, and thus mark a remote age in a country which afterwards attained a higher degree of skill, may in another only mark a greater degree of rudeness at a given epoch. Let us however hear his own argument.

"A question which has long engaged the attention of literary men is, whether the Ethiopians derived their knowledge of the arts from the Egyptians, or the latter from the former. One of these hypotheses must be admitted, as the similarity of the style evidently denotes a common origin. These pyramids belong without doubt to the remotest age. No edifice perhaps is better calculated to resist the ravages

of time or the destructive efforts of man than the pyramids; particularly when constructed as these are without any chambers in the interior. In a country where earthquakes are unknown, little rain falls, and the wind is seldom violent, ages must elapse before those vast masses of stone could be much dilapidated unless buried by the desert or carried away by men as the materials for other buildings. The porticoes even of the pyramids which are standing, although adapted to their proportions, are almost all injured and most of them destroyed. There are no symptoms of fanatical violence having been exercised on what remains. Their ruined and defaced condition must be entirely attributed to their great antiquity.

"The sculpture is in a very peculiar style, which can hardly be called good: the large figures in particular display a certain rotundity of form which I never observed in any Egyptian sculpture. The smaller figures have also this peculiarity; but from their dimensions it is not so observable, at least not so striking. The hieroglyphics are much defaced; indeed those I have copied are almost all that remain. The Ethiopians did not group their hieroglyphics as well as the Egyptians; their striking deficiency in this respect proves either a great corruption on the Egyptian style, or most probably a great improvement made by the latter on the Ethiopian invention. This is the more extraordinary, as Diodorus informs us that the knowledge of hieroglyphics was in Egypt confined to the priests; but that in Ethiopia they were understood by all.

"To any one who, like me, has made a long study of Egyptian antiquities, the style of the sculpture, even in the absence of any known name, is generally sufficient to determine its epoch. This fact, of which those travellers who have spent any time in Egypt will be fully aware, may give additional weight to my opinion of this sculpture."

He then states, that the style is distinguishable from the more ancient style of Egypt, from that of the Rameses, that of the Persian, Plotemaic, and Roman epochs, and yet that it does not appear to be a corruption from any of them. All which is no more than was to be expected, when we consider that Meroe never became subject to the Egyptians, being only once reached by a hostile inroad, and that although its sovereigns more than once ruled over Egypt, this does not necessarily imply their having borrowed the arts of the conquered country. Mr. Hoskins states that he has obtained in different places visited by him, the hieroglyphics of numerous sovereigns of Ethiopia. From our scanty knowledge of the history of that country, either through the sculptures or the works of profane historians, it will be a matter of great difficulty to assign the dates of their reigns, and arrange them in chronological order.

Few of the sovereigns of Ethiopia are mentioned by name in any existing histories. Homer can hardly be ranked among these, and we may therefore pass by the episode of Memnon, the son of Aurora and the king of the Ethiopians; yet the very mention of such a prince by both Homer and Hesiod proves that early relations of commerce must have existed between Asia Minor and Meroe, for however embellished may have been the 'tale of Troy divine,' it was skilfully adjusted in all its points to existing traditions and popular belief. The invasion of Ethiopia by Semiramis, is of an age which authentic history does not reach, and if founded on fact, applies most probably to the Asiatic Ethiopians who were more near neighbours of Nineveh.

The earliest mention of Ethiopia as a formidable nation, which occurs in the Jewish Chronicles, is in the account of the invasion of Shishak, 971 B. C. It is however possible that the huge host there spoken of may have been from the countries nearest the first cataract, which were often reduced beneath the sway of the Pharaohs, and not from the distant kingdom of Meroe. Herodotus besides informs us that of all the Egyptian Kings, Sesostris alone subdued Meroe, and it is a most remarkable fact in confirmation, that the *cartouch* of that Rameses, who has by Champollion been identified with this mighty conqueror, is inscribed on one of the ruins of Meroe, when no other Egyptian name has yet been detected.

Sixteen years after the invasion of Shishak, Judea was again invaded by Terah king of Ethiopia.

"I conceive that the army of Terah, like that of Memnon, and those perhaps who assisted Shishak, may have been transported from their own country by the navigation of the Red Sea. It has been objected by some that Terah could not have been king of Ethiopia above Egypt, without being master of the latter country: but not only was the way by the Red Sea shorter and much more convenient, but the king of Meroe at that time may have possessed part of Arabia, and he may thus have marched his army through the Peninsula. We may however suppose that he would not have undertaken such an important war against the people of Judah, if he had apprehended any impediment to his progress, from such near and powerful neighbours as the Egyptians and Arabians. I see no more reason to doubt that this Terah was a king of Meroe, than that Tirhakah was sent, who bears the same title in Egypt of king of Ethiopia. The monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia, fortunately confirm the correctness of the title of the latter, and show us that Tirhakah, called king of Ethiopia in the Bible, was also king of Meroe: but because no vestiges of edifices constructed by Terah have survived the almost complete destruction of Ethiopian monuments, there is no reason why we should conceive that the Ethiopia of which he is called king, is not the same country which Tirhakah afterwards ruled."

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"We now come to that glorious epoch in the annals of Ethiopia, when her kings reigned not only over their native country, but over the entire valley of the Nile, including the whole of Egypt. Their dominion embraced nations of every variety of colour and character, from Memphis to the interior of Africa. It is highly satisfactory to know that the account of this dynasty of Ethiopian kings who reigned over Egypt, is not only transmitted to us by the joint testimony of sacred and profane history, but is also amply confirmed by the monuments of both countries."

The extracts from Manetho preserved by Julius Africanus and Eusebius, give a list of three kings, Sabbako, Livichus, and Tarkus, or Tarakus. Their united reigns are stated by the different quotations from forty to forty-four years. The united testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus give an Ethiopian rule of fifty years, ascribed however to a single monarch. Lapidary inscriptions settle this question, and show that three monarchs ruled in succession; the first bears the name of Shabak; the second of Shabatok; the third of Tirhakah. The last of these is obviously identical with the Tirhakah king of Cush (Ethiopia) mentioned in scripture as having advanced against Sennacherib, whilst the latter was waging war against Hezekiah. The miracle by which the army of

the Assyrian king was destroyed, is also connected by Herodotus, with the reign in Egypt of a priest of Vulcan, the successor of an Ethiopian king.

These kings are represented upon the temples and palaces of Thebes, in a dress differing from that of the Egyptians, but coinciding with that worn by another people, admitted to be inhabitants of the upper Nile: their names are sculptured, not only there, but upon the ruins of the kingdom of Meroe.

The next event connected with the history of this country, is the emigration of the warrior caste of Egypt. Psammitichus, we are told by Herodotus, having kept on foot an army of twenty-four thousand men to protect his kingdom against the Ethiopians, the Arabs, and the Assyrians; these soldiers, discontented at not having been relieved for more than three years, resolved to go over to Ethiopia. This resolution they carried into effect in spite of the intreaties of the king, and we are informed that this migration rendered the Ethiopians more civilized, as they thus received the customs of Egypt. We cannot but think this a more probable view of the subject than that which derives the civilization of Egypt from Ethiopia. The centre of art and learning was unquestionably at Thebes; here are yet to be seen monuments, as superior to those of Ethiopia in design and in execution, as the former are to the constructions of the Ptolemies after the decline of Thebes. Still, however, we see in Meroe and in Egypt, works of the same school of art, inscriptions in a common language, titles in the same hyperbolic style of compliment, and the sculptured evidences of an identical religion. The people to whom Cambyses sent a mission of Ethiopians, were not civilized, as they did not know the arts by which dresses were constructed, or the use of ornaments. It may, however, be supposed that they were nomade tribes, differing from the inhabitants of the cultivated banks of the Nile.

The next Ethiopian king whose name has reached us is Ergamenes, a cotemporary of the second Ptolemy. He it was who threw off the yoke to which his predecessors had been subjected by the priesthood. This was so strong, that we find the powerful and victorious Tirhakah abandoning his possessions in Egypt at their bidding, and we are even informed that they were in the habit of sending their kings orders to put themselves to death. This yoke was only removed by the total destruction of the sacerdotal race. The name of the king who effected this change in the government of Ethiopia, has been found inscribed on the sanctuary of Dacker, written Erkamon. We find Ethiopia again mentioned in the account given by Strabo of an invasion made upon the Roman province of Egypt. This was induced by the withdrawal of the garrison of Syene, by Ælius Gallus. This inroad was not only repelled by Petronius, but he pursued his success, invaded

Nubia in return, crossed the desert, and penetrated to Napata, then the capital, and took it. This expedition of Petronius was during the reign of Augustus, and probably took place about 20 B. C.

The sovereign of Meroe at this time was a queen of the name of Candace; the same name is ascribed to her whose eunuch was made a convert to the Christian religion, A. D. 33. The capital at this period was Napata, and not Meroe.

"The latter celebrated metropolis seems to have existed until the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and in the time of Nero, Pliny describes Napata as of no importance. *Oppidum id parvum inter prædicta solum.* After this sad decline of the glory of the Ethiopians, we find the wild tribes, whose power was formerly absorbed in the superior greatness of Meroe, now acting the principal part. The wars of the Blemmyes and the Nubians with each other, and against the Roman power, are the most important events afterwards transmitted to us; but as these tribes have left no monuments of their civilization, their names, victories, and defeats, have little connexion with the history of Meroe."

The importance which Meroe possessed, whether exaggerated or not, was certainly great when considered in relation to her nomade neighbours, and to the debased negro race with which she was immediately in contact. This importance was derived from her commerce.

"Placed at a short distance only from the conflux of the Astaboras and the Nile, she was connected by the former with the part of Ethiopia now called Abyssinia; and by the latter, now denominated the Bahr el Azruk, or Blue River, with the provinces of Sennaar, Fazoukl, and perhaps with regions still farther south. It is also probable, that by the Bahr el Abiad, or White River, the true Nile, she communicated extensively with vast regions in the interior of Africa. The distance of these rivers, particularly from the Astaboras, to the present ports of Massoua and Souakim on the Red Sea, whence she received, perhaps, the productions of Arabia and the Indies, is by no means great. Nature seems to have facilitated the intercourse, by providing her with the ship of the desert—the camel. By this means, probably, the commerce of Meroe may have been widely diffused into the centre of Africa; to the countries now called Kordofan and Darfour, which are only at a short distance from the Nile; nor is it impossible, that a powerful and enterprising nation, such as the Ethiopians then appear to have been, may have extended their caravan trade to the kingdoms of Soudan, Bornou, &c., and possibly even to the now impervious Timbuctoo."

In early times, the commerce between India and the West must have been better carried on by Meroe than by Egypt. The communications of the former with her ports on the Red Sea, were easy, and a caravan trade was opened at an early period by the Arabs of Yemen, who are immediately opposite. May we not therefore date, as the period of the decline of Meroe, the time when a direct trade by ships was opened from the Egyptian harbours?

Long after this period, the Ethiopian port of Adule possessed a great trade in "ivory, horns of the rhinoceros, hides of the hippopotamus, shells of the tortoise, sphinxes, and slaves." Diodorus cites, among the riches of the island of Meroe, "mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, great abundance of ebony, and various kinds

of precious stones." Our author shows that it is extremely probable that much of the metals mentioned in this passage were procured by commerce, and were not products of the island itself. There are indeed mines formerly worked for gold in the Nubian desert, but these were generally in possession of the Egyptians; and even at the present time, Habeesh and the negro countries, as well as the regions south of Sennaar, abound in gold, while the space between the rivers yields none. Iron mines are found in Kordofan and Darfour, and this must have been anciently an article of great value in this part of Africa, as there are no mines of iron in Egypt.

"Herodotus says, 'the Ethiopians on the confines of Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued on his expedition, and those who inhabit the sacred island of Nysa, celebrate festivals to Bacchus. These Ethiopians and their neighbours bring, according to my memory, two half measures of pure gold, two hundred long round pieces of ivory, five Ethiopian children, and twenty large elephants' teeth.' This passage reminds me of that magnificent procession in a tomb at Thebes of the time of Thothmes III. Fifty figures are represented, exclusive of the Egyptians, painted red; six are black, and four of a dark brown, but apparently of the same country. These people, not having the Egyptian dress, are doubtless Ethiopians, and most of them are so called by the hieroglyphics. The splendid presents which they are presenting to the royal owner of the tomb, almost exactly correspond to the account just quoted from Herodotus.

"They consist of ivory, ebony, a most beautiful collection of vases, and a variety of animals—horses, cows, the giraffe, capricorn, leopards, cynocephali, greyhounds, &c. Among a gorgeous pile of offerings, appear heaps of gold and silver, skins, precious woods, and indigo. In the same procession are also thirty-seven white people, with very nearly the features of Jews, although many, from the hieroglyphics, consider them to be Scythians. Some of the latter are leading a chariot and horses, an elephant, young children, and one of them a bear; they are also carrying a number of elegant vases."

Our author has embellished his work with a series of coloured plates, representing this remarkable piece of sculpture. Considering that it represents events of the reign of Thothmes III., who lived about 1500 B. C., it gives an idea of the state of arts at that remote epoch, far beyond any which we have hitherto been able to figure to ourselves, with all our enthusiasm for Egyptian antiquities. The vases, which from their colours must be chiefly gold and silver, have the most graceful and beautiful forms, equalling the finest of those called Etruscan; they are, besides, embellished with paintings which must be enamel, and are altogether representations of articles of such beauty as would demand the highest skill of the best artists of London or Paris to imitate. Among other articles in the heap of offerings, are the heads of animals wrought with perfection in gold and silver, and trees are borne in the procession. A similar event is related of a later Egyptian monarch, in which the details are given in words that might almost seem to be a description of the sculpture in question.

"Athenæus, (see *lib.* v.) in his description of the festival given by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the Alexandrians, mentions that there was in the procession a number of Ethiopians, carrying the teeth of six hundred elephants. Others bore two thou-

sand blocks of ebony, and some were loaded with vessels of gold and silver containing the finest gold. Besides these, there were two thousand four hundred dogs, men bearing trees, and a number of animals, both birds and beasts, parroquets, and other birds of Ethiopia carried in cages; one hundred and thirty Ethiopian sheep, three hundred Arabian, and twenty from the island of Nubia; twenty-six Indian buffaloes, white as snow, and eight from Ethiopia; three brown bears, and a white one, fourteen leopards, sixteen panthers, four lynxes, one giraffe, and a rhinoceros of Ethiopia. The reader has only to refer to my drawings to perceive how admirably the procession, represented on the walls of this tomb, erected at the time of Thothmes III., considering it also as a pictorial representation, agrees with the one described by Athenæus, and the tribute mentioned by Herodotus, as paid to the Persians, one thousand years after the reign of Thothmes."

Our author enters now into a long and ingenious discussion in relation to the commerce of Meroe, and the causes of its decline. These are summed up, in the diversion of the Indian trade to the Egyptian ports, a change which was not completed until the time of Strabo; the injury produced by the theocratic power; the loss of soil by the river, and the spread of the desert; the ruinous wars with the possessors of Egypt. Still, even in the eighth century, the kings of Nubia and Ethiopia could bring into the field one hundred thousand horse, and as many camels. Finally,

"According to a tradition which I learned at Dongolah, in the reign of the fourth caliph after Mahomet, this country was conquered by the Arabs, and the inhabitants blended with the conquerors, who forced them to become Mussulmen, or drove them out of the country, probably into Abyssinia.

"After all that has been said, those who view the present rude and degraded state of this country, may feel a difficulty in believing that it ever could be so enlightened and flourishing as I have now described it. They ought, however, to consider, that it is not more surprising that Meroe, under the uncivilized and ignorant government of the Arabs, would lose all knowledge of the arts, than that the little island of Rhodes, once eminent for power, civilization, and commerce, should now, although not, like Meroe, deprived of her rich soil, be equally ignorant and barbarous."

The present state of commerce is thus described:

"Small caravans still occasionally go from Shendy into Abyssinia. Sometimes the rulers of the latter country do not permit them to enter their dominions, and civil wars not unfrequently put an entire stop to the trade; but when, as is generally the case, the merchants succeed in obtaining an entrance, the profits are enormous. They receive in exchange a little ivory; gold; a very fine species of cotton scarf, much esteemed and worn by the Abyssinian women in the Turkish harems; and the Abyssinian coffee; which, although not equal to the Mocha, is almost the only kind drunk in Nubia; but their chief return is in slaves. The wars which generally distract that unfortunate country, furnish to each state abundance of these victims, which, like cattle, are exchanged with the merchants for the luxuries of Egypt: few are the Turks who have not Abyssinian girls in their harems, and I have seen numerous eunuchs brought from that country. It is horrid to think that beings called Christians should be guilty of such enormities; but there is no doubt of the fact. The slaves, whether girls or boys, by compulsion or inclination, invariably become Mahometans.

"A caravan also occasionally goes to Souakim, where they get India stuffs, Mocha coffee, and a great part of the spices, the use of which is so general. Small caravans also go to Kordofan and Darfour. In the former of these countries, the Pacha of Egypt monopolizes the richest produce, as gum, ivory, and ostrich feathers; but Kordofan is the chief mart of negro slaves. The jealousy of the King of Darfour against any persons coming or going from the dominions of the Pacha of Egypt, at whose power he trembles, prevents the commerce from being now very extensive.

The merchants are very illiterate, and in general extremely debauched. Even their interest does not check their dissoluteness, or protect the honour of their poor Abyssinian female slaves. The supply of gold is very much diminished; some, however, is still found of the finest quality; but in every direction the caravans regard slaves as the most advantageous exchange for their goods. They drive them like cattle over the burning sands, and, what I have been an eye-witness to, over the bones of their brethren, which lie bleaching in the desert. The ingenuity of their masters seems to be exercised, not in alleviating their pains, but in devising how to economize their own purses, by discovering on how little and how coarse food their victims can exist, and what extent of fatigue and suffering they can endure and yet remain saleable. In the district which we have seen to have been once the emporium of the East, there remains only this miserable traffic. Instead of palaces and splendid edifices, there are now only rude and miserable huts. Of the power, wealth, and civilization of Meroe, not a vestige remains to corroborate the testimony of historians, but a few small temples, and the splendid sepulchres of her departed kings."

Our author being compelled to return by the instances of his boatmen, left the site of Meroe with great regret, and returned by the way of the river. He halted and visited Shendy, the present capital of this region, and the seat of the little that remains of its former commerce; he found it a collection of about six or seven hundred hovels, and containing not more than three thousand to three thousand five hundred inhabitants. From Shendy he took the route across the Western or Bahionda desert, to a point opposite the town now called Merouch, and which, from coincidence of name, has by some been supposed to be the site of the ancient Meroe. Before leaving Shendy he visited some ruins situated in the desert to the south, but found them, although extensive, of a bad style of architecture, and of little interest. The route across the desert of Bahionda commences at Metammul, and occupied seven days. It is less difficult than that through the Nubian desert; trees and herbage are not wanting, and wells of fine water occur twice upon the route.

Near Merouch are situated ruins which go by the name of Gibel el Birkel, from the mountain around whose base they are scattered. This is about three hundred and fifty feet in height, and is distant rather less than a mile from the river; its circuit is about eight thousand feet.

The ruins are composed of the remains of eight edifices, principally temples, and a number of pyramids. Of the temples, one is of great dimensions, being in length about five hundred feet.

"It is now little more than an immense confused pile of ruins. One column only remains entire; having the capital of the form of the lotus leaf; denoting its epoch, not only by its style, but by the name still legible on the slab of the capital. Of the vast number of columns which once ornamented the porticoes, vestibules, and apartments of this enormous edifice, one only remains; a sad relic of departed splendour; and this, defaced, tottering, and almost bent with age, cannot long answer the purpose of transmitting to posterity the name of its royal founder. It seems almost by miracle to have survived the ruin which surrounds it, and we may congratulate ourselves on this circumstance; for, if it had fallen a generation earlier, the fragments would have been swallowed up by the desert, or carried away by the Arabs; and consequently, the style of the architecture, and the name of the king,

who perhaps built this splendid edifice, would have remained wrapped in impenetrable mystery.

"Few temples in Egypt have been more extensive or finer than this must once have been. Sufficient still remains to show its extent and magnificence; traces of columns, fragments of battle scenes, and sacred processions, display its architectural beauty, and the interesting historical events which once adorned its walls."

The name on the column is that of Amemnith, which would probably stamp it as of Egyptian structure; but in the sanctuary is a granite altar decorated with four representations of a king, who is named in hieroglyphics Tirhakah. On a larger altar is the name Pionchei, of a king unknown in Egyptian annals.

The pyramids are on the western side of the mountain; the largest is eighty-eight feet square; they have characters very similar to those of Meroe, and are like them furnished in several instances with porticoes having arched roofs.

"Some of them appear more ancient than any in the valley of the Nile, with the exception, perhaps, of those of Meroe and Nouri. They are the tombs of a dynasty of kings, whose names are now unknown. That they were royal sepulchres, and not those of private individuals, is, I think, evident, from their being as magnificent as the pyramids of Meroe, which we know to belong to kings from the ovals they contain; and many of the individuals in these tombs have the serpent, the emblem of royalty, above their foreheads. If this had been the site of Napata, I should have considered that the dilapidated state of the ruins might have been caused by Petronius; who led there the Roman arms. I trust that the hieroglyphic inscriptions which I have copied will contain much valuable information; and that, at all events, the name of a place, evidently once so considerable, may again with certainty be enrolled in the list of cities. Her habitations and palaces are utterly destroyed; the desert is swallowing up the remains of her temples; and the sepulchres of her kings are fast decaying. A city where the arts evidently were once so zealously cultivated, where science and learning appear to have reigned—is now possessed by ignorant tribes. Where are now the people who erected these splendid monuments to their gods? Were they exterminated by the warlike tribe who now occupy this territory, driven into other regions, or blended with the race of their conquerors?"

At the distance of eight miles down the river from Gibel el Berkel, are the remains of a number of other pyramids, far more dilapidated than any visited by Mr. Hoskins. One is remarkable from its having in its fall disclosed an interior pyramid, around which the ruined exterior had been built as a nucleus. The present name of the place is Nouri. Except where such remains occur,

"Nothing can be more tedious and uninteresting than this voyage; we have scarcely seen any cultivated ground since we left Meroueh, except the islands; the desert has almost entirely overspread the banks of the Nile; and where there was once, perhaps, a happy and numerous population—a people acquainted with the arts, rich cities and villages, now no other track is to be seen but that of the timid gazelle, which finds a secure pasture on the bushy acacias which on each side border the river. The glaring reddish-yellow sands have supplanted the rich cultivation, and waves of sand have swallowed up the vestiges of the temples and palaces which adorned the cities. Where were the numerous towns whose names we read in the itineraries? Are there no monuments remaining of their magnificence, no traces of their habitations? The vessel buried in the fathomless deep leaves but fragments, which are soon covered by the waters. Thus the Lybian and great Nubian deserts, ever active and incessant in their attacks, have concealed entirely from our view, the little, perhaps, which the hand of time, and more destructive ravages of war and religious fanaticism had spared."

Passing by ancient Dongolah, our author reached the new town of that name. The former our author considers to be the site of the ancient Napata. It agrees with the position pointed out by Pliny, but possesses no architectural remains. The province of which New Dongolah is the capital, became for a time the refuge of the Mamelukes who escaped the slaughter of their fellows by the Pacha of Egypt. It was here that this band, recruited for several centuries by the importation of Georgian and Circassian slaves, in which the condition of slavery was the sole passport to power, and which had even conferred royal authority on its members, was finally dispersed. Received with hospitality by the native princes, they usurped the government by treachery, and although reduced to the number of less than six hundred, remained masters of the country for nine years. Pursued at last by the vindictive arms of the Pacha, they undertook the bold enterprise of traversing the desert in a direction parallel to the Nile, to Tripoli. Having first retreated to Shendy, they passed westward to Darfour, and thence by Bornou, Beghazmi and Fezzan, to Tripoli. Of their two chiefs, one was killed near Fezzan, but the other reached the shores of the Mediterranean in safety, with many of his followers.

At no great distance below New Dongolah, is the island of Argo. This contains some important antiquities. The most interesting of these are two monolith statues, each twenty-three feet in height, which appear never to have been finished, and which are not inscribed with hieroglyphics. Both have been overturned, and one is broken into two pieces. In their immediate vicinity is a less statue of beautiful workmanship, which bears the name of Sabaco, to commemorate whose conquest of Egypt they were probably erected. Close at hand are traces of a temple from two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet in length.

Returning to New Dongolah, after visiting the quarries from which these statues appear to have been extracted, our author found himself cut off from a chance of return to Egypt by the revolt of the inhabitants of the province of Mahas. The governor of Dongolah showed great want of decision in this emergency. At last however he collected his forces, joined to them the Arab and Turkish merchants residing in his territory, and at the very first onset the superiority of the arms of these auxiliaries decided the contest.

The road being thus opened, our author continued his descent of the Nile. The next remarkable place which he visited was Solib. Here he found the ruins of one of the most splendid works of ancient art. It is a temple of great extent, and in the purest style of Egyptian architecture. The columns bear the name and titles of Amunoph III. The entire length of this edifice must have been at least five hundred and forty feet, and the number of columns

with which it was adorned, and whose situation can still be accurately ascertained, eighty-four.

The first portal or propylon is almost a total ruin; it gave admission into a space whose exact purpose cannot now be determined. At the distance of thirty-five feet from the outer entrance, a court is reached, having the dimensions of seventy feet by forty-five; this court had been ornamented by six columns whose diameter was ten feet. The second pylon had a front of one hundred and sixty-seven feet, and formed an entrance to a court ninety feet by one hundred and thirteen feet, ornamented by twenty-eight columns forming a peristyle, and having a double range on the side opposite to the entrance. Seven of these columns are still erect, having a circumference of nineteen feet four inches. These columns, it is remarked, are more light and elegant in their proportions than any specimens of the same kind in Egypt, while they still retain the characters of grandeur and severity which is in unison with their position. To this court another succeeds, having the dimensions of seventy-eight by one hundred and thirteen feet, and which was ornamented by sixty-two columns, the rows on the two sides being double, and single at the two ends. These columns were seventeen feet in circumference. To this court succeeded a chamber, which appears to have served as a vestibule to the sanctuaries; it contains the remains of twelve columns, of which only one now remains in a perfect state. This column is peculiar from presenting a form of capital usually considered to belong to the age of the Ptolemies. It is composed of branches of the palm tree, and has a resemblance to that in Grecian architecture known as the Corinthian. Near the base of these columns there is some interesting sculpture. The objects represented are prisoners, each bearing the name of his country. Those on the north side have beards; those on the south are young persons. The former have none of the negro cast in their features, the latter have thick lips, wide nostrils, and high cheek-bones. Our author copied the names of thirty-eight of the provinces borne by these personages. When these shall have been decyphered, they will probably add to our knowledge of the countries subdued by the founder of this temple.

Between Solib and the second cataract Mr. Hoskins visited ruins at Sukkot, Amarah, and Semneh. These are less important than those of Solib, and like it are of Egyptian and not of Ethiopian structure. Indeed from Gibel el Birkel downwards, with the exception of the statues of the Isle of Argo, no genuine Ethiopian remains were met with.

At the second cataract our author closes his journal, and as he reached it on the 16th June, the season was favourable, and he expresses himself as more struck by the peculiarity and magnificence of the scene than he had been on a former visit.

"The effect of the rising sun on the black shining basaltic rocks which project into the river, forming innumerable islands, is very striking, and the picturesque beauty of some of the islands is heightened by the curious contrast with the stripes of yellow sand which are mixed with them. These little rocky islands, impeding and compressing the current, increase tenfold its force: and the white foaming river, dashing over the rocks, makes the colour of the black shining basalt still more remarkable, while the roar of its waters animates the scene. There is also a striking contrast of the black basalt with the white calcareous rock, tinted with red and other hues, which forms the foreground."

* * * * * *

"I have seen the beauties of the Alps, the Apennines, Arcadia, and the Pyrenees; I have surveyed the lakes of Bavaria, England, Italy, Scotland and Switzerland; I have followed the Rhine from Schaffhausen to the Sea, and sailed on the Danube, the Rhone, and many other rivers; but I must confess I never was more moved by any view than this. I mean not to compare it to the landscapes of Europe for magnificence, or what is generally considered picturesque effect. This is a view of an extraordinary and peculiar kind, for besides the singularities of the landscape already described, there are associations connected with it, which cannot but excite the traveller. The very solitude of the scene where no habitation of man is visible;—the extent of the view beyond the cataract, along an immense desert of yellow sand extending over the vast continent of Africa;—then the river, forcing its passage through the rocks that threaten to stop the progress by which it carries to thousands, and even millions, the means of subsistence;—and shall I say nothing of the mystery which hangs over it? On its banks, perhaps, first flourished the arts; its source is hid in impenetrable obscurity, as is also the greater part of the stirring events which the bordering countries have witnessed."

At this point then we must part from our author, which we do with regret, for we have rarely met with a work which possesses more of interest. This is owing not only to the nature of the subject, but to the pleasing manner in which the adventures encountered, the architectural remains, and the natural scenery are described. It is however to be regretted that Meroe fills so small a space in ancient history, and that her importance grows rather out of the obscurity in which her annals are shrouded, than out of any great share taken by her in the revolution of empires.

Our whole historical information in respect to Meroe, may be comprised in a few lines. It is certain that at a very remote epoch, a civilized society was formed on the peninsula comprised between the true Nile, and the Astaboras. But whether this preceded the civilization of Egypt, or was derived from it, it is impossible to say. The earliest notice of this empire is in the Rabbinical tradition, that Moses, while in the service of the Egyptian king by whose daughter he had been adopted, commanded an expedition against Meroe. Other faint notices are found in the statement of the Egyptian priests, that, of the long list of monarchs they exhibited to Herodotus, eighteen had been Ethiopians. One king alone of all the powerful monarchs who swayed the Egyptian sceptre carried his arms as far as Meroe, and in an age parallel to that of the second Assyrian empire, three Ethiopians ruled Egypt in succession by right of conquest. Immediately before this conquest, we find a great Ethiopian monarch invading Judea, which he must have reached by the way of Arabia and the Red

Sea. Next follows the fruitless expedition of Cambyses, and after a long interval we have the slaughter of the priests by Herkamon, the reigns of the Candaces, the war with the lieutenants of Augustus, and Meroe disappears from the historic stage.

What other facts in relation to her trade and history can be gained from ancient historians, have been collected by our author, and have furnished us with copious extracts. Heeren has also employed himself in the illustration of this subject, but we find in him little or nothing of which Mr. Hoskins has not availed himself. Much of his argument is therefore founded upon sheer conjecture, and thus the word 'perhaps,' is almost continually to be found in his sentences. We regret that we are compelled with him to confess our ignorance. The lucky chance which has preserved the annals of the most interesting portion of Egyptian History, has no parallel in respect to Meroe; and it is only left for us to regret, that this once mighty empire, may forever refuse to be included in the domain of authentic history.

ART. VIII.—*The Hawks of Hawk Hollow. A Tradition of Pennsylvania.* By the AUTHOR of "Calavar" and "The Infidel." Philadelphia: 1835.

IT were a curious and interesting inquiry to trace the various popular forms which literature has assumed in the successive ages of its history. An inquirer fond of such speculations, and fond of generalizing historical facts, might easily find the materials for some striking theories. He could make out, without much difficulty, a very plausible argument, to show that in every period in which literature has flourished, there has been some predominant and fashionable form, originated by the leading spirit of the age and adopted by all who sought for popular favour. He might point out with tolerable precision, in more than one country, its successive periods of lyric, heroic, and dramatic poetry, of history, eloquence, and fiction. He might show us at one time a whole nation smitten with the love of song, and five hundred poets at once engaged in the composition of verses celebrating the deeds of chivalry. He might prove that the whole inventive genius of a refined and powerful nation was for no inconsiderable period entirely devoted to the concoction of fairy tales, as that of other nations had previously been to the singing of ballads and war songs. As the forms of literature multiplied, and its votaries increased, he would find his task becoming more complicated and laborious; but amidst all the variety that might distract a feeble or undisciplined intellect, the commanding one would perceive a

constant uniformity, so far as regarded the existence of a leading form of composition, in each brilliant age, in which its creative genius delights to display itself, and which, by some inscrutable influence, whose source our speculative inquirer might puzzle himself with seeking, moulds the Platos, the Ciceros, the Shakspeares, or the Scotts of that age, into philosophers, orators, dramatists, or novelists.

That such is the case at the present period, no one can for a moment doubt, nor will any careful observer of literary signs fail to perceive, that the best inventive genius of our age is following its leading spirit in the line of prose fiction. To what extent the other departments of literature—history, poetry, and the drama, for example, may be suffering from this cause, it is not our present purpose to inquire. An ingenious contemporary has made out, to his own satisfaction at least, that the last of them has undergone a complete and final decline in England, from the exceeding popularity of fiction. We should rather ascribe the decline of the legitimate drama in Britain to the enlargement of the metropolitan theatres, and the consequent introduction of melodramas, and we would hope that its revival may sooner or later take place.

Whatever conclusion we may arrive at with respect to its effect on the decline of the drama, it is very certain that prose fiction is at present the most prominent and popular form of polite literature. It has been raised to this eminence by the genius of an individual writer, who lived to see the form of composition which he rendered universally popular, applied not only to its original purpose, of rational entertainment, but to the communication of almost every species of historical information, and of moral and doctrinal instruction. He has developed a power, which all hands have seized upon and applied to their several purposes, with an alacrity hitherto unprecedented; so that we are no longer surprised to see fiction employed by the politician and the divine, with as much freedom as by the moralist. The antiquary or the doctor in divinity of the present day, sits down as coolly to write a novel for the purpose of illustrating the civil polity of Charlemagne, or confuting the errors of heterodoxy, as ever a Roman senator rose up in council to show the evils of despotism, or of civil discord, by a fable. It has become a matter of course to attack and defend one's sect or party, to demonstrate or illustrate all sorts of opinions, and promote all sorts of great enterprises and charitable designs, by means of a story, long or short, good or bad, as the case may be. If you would have the public attention, you must clothe your truth in the garb of fiction; and if you tell your story well, with the masculine fervour of a Scott, or the grace of an Irving, then shall all men listen, even though all men may not be convinced.

Fiction opens the grand arena for literary distinction. Multi-

tudes are rushing into it; many who are destined to acquire enduring fame, and very many who will pass into speedy oblivion. Already we perceive that the competitors are becoming too numerous for the present limits of the field. But we are by no means ready to admit that the capabilities of fiction itself have been exhausted, or even developed to any thing like their full extent. Notwithstanding all the rich and glorious results of the present century, we believe that the future will witness others yet more magnificent—the *materiel* being still abundant, and the genius of man as active and ardent as ever.

The large space which fiction already fills in our literature, and the still greater extent to which it will undoubtedly spread, render it a matter of grave concern with the critic, to settle with some degree of precision the laws to which it may be considered fairly amenable; and to see those laws duly administered, at least so far as in some good measure to clear from the arena set apart for the contests of inventive genius, those feeble and presumptuous aspirants, who only crowd and cumber the ground. The necessity of recognising some settled principles in this department of writing, is becoming every day more apparent, from the audacious violations of good sense, correct taste, and sound morality, committed by novel writers, and, what is a great deal worse, tolerated by novel readers; that is to say, by nearly all who pretend to keep up with the current of polite literature. Scott elevated and refined the art so far as to render it lawful and expedient for all readers, even the most fastidious in morals and taste, to peruse his novels. The courtesy which he won for himself has been extended to all his successors, though not to his predecessors; and it is as curious as it is lamentable, to see the same readers who exclaim against the gross licentiousness of Fielding and Smollet, tolerate the refined licentiousness of Bulwer and D'Israeli, while those who were ashamed to admire the fustian emanations from the Minerva press, are delighted with quite as arrant fustian from the author of Rookwood, and other disciples of the *intense* school.

In England, the art of novel writing has suffered a partial decline within a short period; not that there is any deficiency of novels. On the contrary, the supply has increased far beyond the demand; but the ability of the writers seems to preserve a pretty accurate inverse ratio with the number of their productions. Poverty of invention is sufficiently apparent in the revival of the exploded artifices and plots of the ante-Waverley novels, and degeneracy of style may be conclusively shown by citations *passim* from the works of the popular idols of the day.

Still there are splendid exceptions. The single fact, that Miss Edgeworth, whose fame as a writer was at its zenith long before Scott's culminated, has given us a first rate novel since his decease, is enough to redeem the age from the charge of utter barrenness.

A few others might be mentioned, who unite the higher powers of invention with a chaste and classical style. But these are by no means the leading and influencing writers in this department of literature. They are stemming a torrent which threatens to sweep away every vestige of the golden age of novel writing.

In our own country a better taste prevails among the writers, although unfortunately our readers are too apt to bow to the prescriptive authority of English fashion, and devour every new production of the foreign press without caring to exercise any discrimination of their own in the premises. Irving, Bird, Kennedy, Miss Sedgewick, and one or two others, have the courage still to write according to the dictates of common sense and good taste. Cooper seems to have taken leave of nature in his last effort; but it is to be presumed that the writer of the Pioneers and the Pilot will speedily redeem his reputation from the blight it has received in consequence of this forced and unnatural production. Notwithstanding his vagaries, he has the root of the matter in him. Others of our writers who have discovered a willingness to imitate the worst faults of the worst English schools, have recently made a little improvement, and bid fair to write in future with some regard to independence, or at least better models. Still new aspirants appear, who display an equal contempt for the rules of art and the canons of criticism. They shall have their rebuke in due season. Criticism must do its duty, and leave the ultimate decision to the standard of taste—the common sense of mankind.

Our chief hope of thorough reform in this department of literature must depend on the powerful example of our best writers; and it is gratifying to observe that these are by no means inactive.

Irving has given us three volumes within the year, Kennedy two, Miss Sedgewick as many, and though last, by no means least, Bird has published no less than six volumes during the same period. Much more than a year was of course consumed in the writing of these productions; but the rapidity with which they have succeeded each other, is nevertheless a fortunate circumstance at the present time. The influence of such writers on the public taste must and will be felt. Bird's last novel, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, has brought him before us in a new sphere. From the heroic era he has suddenly come down to a recent period; and leaving the romance with its chivalric personages, and gorgeous trappings, he puts forth his well tried powers in a simple domestic tale, with no other claim to attention than what is founded in the intense interest of the story, the purity of the style, the verisimilitude of the characters, and the graphic fidelity of the descriptions.

We have left ourselves no space for an analysis of the Work. It is sufficient to say, that maugre some evident defects, which

would seem to be the consequence of haste in a great measure, it is worthy on the whole of the writer, whose versatility of powers is rendered sufficiently apparent by his success in a new line, so totally diverse from that in which he had previously succeeded.

The admirers of the rich and ornate style of "Calavar" and the "Infidel," will hardly believe without reading it, that the "Hawks of Hawk Hollow" is written in precisely that style which has been so appropriately termed the *transparent;* which is ambitious only of presenting ideas and objects with clearness and fidelity; which rejects all unnecessary embellishment, and relies alone on its earnestness and truth for effect. His success, however, in this line, is not to be wondered at. It has been shrewdly remarked in relation to elocution, that the man who can read Shakspeare can read any thing. It is equally true, that the man who can write a first rate historical novel, can hardly fail to succeed in any other species of fiction.

We must confess, however, that we should not regret to see our author return to his first love. He has won our hearts so completely in the highest line of his art, that, at least for the present, we had rather find him there than in any other. He has shown us that he is not confined to one region of the world of fiction. He has probably gained a new and distinct class of readers by once departing from it, and we have sufficient confidence in his powers to believe that he would be equally successful in any other.

Still, however, while we would by no means be thought desirous to dictate to genius which knows best its own powers, we must be permitted to indulge our own private preference for the chivalric and romantic when it is in competent hands. We love to have our imagination elevated by great deeds of noble characters. We love to be transported back to the heroic age of adventure, and to hold converse with the choice and master spirits of a stirring age. Sated as we are with the commonplace events and characters of our own time, and with the commonplace literature, which is their transcript, we are willing to resign ourselves with all the simplicity and freshness of boyhood, to a well told tale of ancient chivalry.

A few extracts from the Hawks of Hawk Hollow, will sufficiently confirm the truth of our remarks as to its general character; and with these we must take leave of the author.

The following description is a gem in its way.

"Into this dell they made their way, following the brook, until it fell into a larger streamlet, which was indeed no other than Hawk-Hollow Run, so often mentioned before. Its banks were strown with huge masses of rock, gray and mossy, through which the waters, swollen by late rains, rushed with impetuous speed, and sometimes with great noise and fury, while its murmurs were rendered yet more impressively sonorous by the hollow reverberations of the forest. Proceeding further, the woods, which now invested the hills on either bank, and the rocks, assumed

a sterner character of wildness and grandeur. Hemlocks, and other gloomy trees, with here a rugged maple, or ghostly beech, and there a gibbous oak, springing from interstices of the rocks, seemed, with their knotted and contorted roots, to bind the fragments together; while their thick and arched boughs flung over these ruins of nature a chilly and everlasting gloom. Aloft, on the hill, the grape-vine swung its massy locks from the oak, and, in the lower depths of the ravine, for such it was, the swamp-honey-suckle shook its fragrant clusters, and green dodders rose on the stump of the decaying birch. When their path had conducted the fair wanderers beyond the immediate vicinity of the falls and rapids, these exchanged their murmurs for other sounds not less agreeable. The chattering of jays, the lonely-sounding whistle of the wood-robin, the cry of a startled dove, and now and then the sudden whir of a pheasant, starting from his lair under a fallen trunk, and bustling noisily out of sight—the small uproar of young rabbits, bouncing out of a brier or a bush of ferns, and galloping away up the hill,—the dropping of half-eaten nuts from the paw of the retreating squirrel, and a dozen other such noises as invade the solitude of the forest, here added a double loneliness and charm to a scene long since a favourite with the maidens."

The following extract, containing a description of the pursuit and escape of Oran Gilbert, will not suffer by comparison with the favourite passages of Scott and Cooper in the same line.

"This was enough for the pursuers, whose numbers had been increased by volunteers along the way; and they instantly resumed the road, though with no great hope of coming up with the fugitive, who had foiled them so many times already. They knew, however, that the land was full of parties still in search of him, none of which had perhaps been so close upon his track as themselves. They were also inspired by a discovery that was made when they came to examine the marks of his horse's feet in the moist earth bordering the runlet in the oak-yard, and this was, that the animal had cast a shoe; for which reason, they supposed, the rider would be soon compelled to abandon him, and seek shelter in some fast place among the woods, where he might be surrounded, and perhaps taken alive. They rode on therefore with new spirit, and coming at an early hour in the morning upon the river bank, led by the tracks of his horse, which did not seem once to have left the road, they descried him, or at least a horseman they supposed to be him, riding along the bluff, at a slow gait, indicative of the daring or recklessness of his character.

"He rode a black horse, apparently of great native strength and spirit; but, it was now obvious, the animal had been of late taxed severely, and beyond his powers; for which reason, it was not doubted, the fugitive could be overtaken, before he reached the mountain, which was still distant three or four miles. The party proclaimed their discovery and their hopes, by setting up a great shout. At this, to their surprise, the refugee checked his wearied steed, and turned round, as if for the purpose of making battle,—a display of audacity and resolution that went far to cool the ardour of many who had been, a moment before, the bravest of the whole party. They saw him fling the rifle he carried into the hollow of his left arm, and then, with his right hand, remove from his visage the long locks of black hair that had, a moment before, swung wildly in the wind; and they fancied they beheld, even at the distance which separated them from him, a smile writhing over his pallid features, like that of the panther at bay.

"'Well done, old Oran the 'Awk!' cried one of the party, taking a long rifle from his shoulder, and advancing to the head of the others, who had come to an universal halt. He was a man of middle age, with a face as bleak and weather-worn as the rocks at the river's edge, tall and gaunt of frame, but sinewy, and of a certain bully-like look about the fists and eyes, that showed him to be no inconsiderable man in his degree. 'Well done, old Oran the 'Awk!' he cried; 'I up'old you to be game, chock-full; and so, if you're for a pull ag'in' current, why, I'm clear for showing fair play. So men, just 'old by, like honest fellers; and, my logs 'gin his, I'll show him what long shots is; for he and me was good friends of old.'

"'Go it, Dan Potts, the raftsman!' cried several of his companions, handling

their own arms, as if to try their virtues at a distance, while others cried out, to advance in a body without further delay, but set no example themselves, the appearance of the outlaw being uninviting to all save the bold raftsman, who continued to move onwards, though slowly and cautiously, as if well aware of the danger of a personal contest with one who had been, as he said, his good friend in old times. But the refugee, without regarding the challenge of the raftsman, took advantage of the hesitation of his companions to change his own plans, and by suddenly turning his horse and spurring off with unexpected speed, he gained a considerable space before they could recover from their surprise and follow. They darted after him, however, with what activity they could; and cheering one another with their voices, they rode on at such a pace that, in a few moments, the whole party was sweeping betwixt the yawning jaws of the Gap, up the course of which he directed his flight.

"The mountain is here perhaps two thousand feet or more, in elevation. Its course is oblique to the river, which itself is bent and twisted out of its path by the irregular protrusion and retrogression of cliffs and promontories. The right bank of the river, looking to the east, is fenced by a dizzy and inaccessible wall of crags; while the mountain on the other side, presenting a similar wall to the south, dips down, westward, to the water, in an angle more practicable to human daring, though the whole declivity is covered over with loose rocks, the remnants of some stony avalanche, tumbled from pinnacles above by the same convulsion that thrust the mountain from the bowels of the earth, or shivered it, already uprisen, asunder. A few withered hemlocks are here and there seen springing from between these disjointed fragments, which are, in other places, veiled by patches of flowering-raspberry, alder, and other shrubs; though, in general, the eye reposes on rocks entirely bald and naked, or, at best, tufted with mosses, lichens, and ferns. It presents a scene of dreary sterility and gloom; but its savage wildness can be only appreciated by those who clamber up to its summit over those loose and ever-precarious rocks, which afford the only footing.

"Into the gorge bounded by these frowning limits the refugee was seen to urge his steed; when suddenly, to the amazement of the pursuers, he turned from the road, dashed through a wall of rosebays that hedged it in, and the next moment plunged into the river, swimming his horse right towards the opposite mountain. The cause of this extraordinary step was soon perceived; for the next instant a troop of horse in the continental uniform, came dashing down the Gap, uttering a wild hurrah, that made the rocks ring. It was one of the many parties of military by whom all the passes of the county were guarded; and it seemed the fugitive had rushed almost amongst them, before he discovered their presence. Nothing remained for him, thus checked in front, and retreat cut off behind, but to fling himself into the river, and seek refuge among the dens of the eastern mountain; and this he attempted, though the chances were ten to one that he should be shot from his horse, before he reached the opposite bank. In fact, he had scarce swum beyond the middle of the stream, before the two parties rushed to the water's edge and let fly a volley, which, had it not been fired almost altogether from pistols, must have brought his flight to a bloody close. The water was seen bubbling around him, as the bullets pattered like rain-drops over its surface; but he still swam on, as if unhurt, and some dozen or more of the boldest riders present spurred their horses into the river to follow.

"'Well done, old Oran the 'Awk!' cried Dan Potts, waving over his head the long rifle he had not thought fit yet to discharge; 'it's ag'in my conscience to shoot an old friend in the back, 'specially when there's no tree to cover him.'

"'Bang away, Dan Potts,' cried others; 'shoot, for the honour of the county.'

"'The county be d——d,' said Dan Potts; 'I shoots from my own raft.' And with that, he raised his weapon, and taking deadly aim right betwixt the refugee's shoulders, drew the trigger. But at that moment, the horse, which had until now breasted his way gallantly through the deep water, flung himself aloft in terror or in agony, and rolling backwards, plunged his rider into the water, so that he escaped the shot entirely, as perhaps the animal did also, though that could never be known with certainty.

"'I swog! and may I wreck my next raft on the Foul Rift, if I didn't!' said

Dan Potts, 'but I hit the 'oss on the 'ead, and cuts the bit of his master! Never-somever, I'll try for a spell ag'in, and the next'll be a right-down rusty!'

"With these words he spurred his horse into the river, with which his employment as a raftsman had doubtless made him familiar; for, whether it proceeded from this circumstance, or some other advantage he possessed over the others, he was soon at the head of the swimmers, and leading the pursuit.

"In the meanwhile, Oran Gilbert was seen to spring erect on his horse's back; but the animal never raised his head again from the water, and Oran, abandoning him entirely, trusted to his own courage and strength of arm to reach the rocks that were now close at hand. In this attempt he succeeded. He was seen to issue from the water, and aim his rifle, which he still retained, at the advancing Potts.

"'Try it ag'in, old 'Awk!' roared Dan, as he saw the imperfect flash expire, without being followed by any explosion; 'try it ag'in, old boy; or out knife and be ready!'

"The only answer the tory deigned the bravado was, to fling his now unserviceable and burdensome piece into the river, and then rush up the mountain with all his speed. He was soon lost sight of among the rocks and bushes; a piece of good fortune which he owed to a simple expedient. As he clambered up, he took care to spurn from its lodgment every stone that shook under his foot, which rolling down the declivity, became a source of extreme confusion and peril to the pursuers, (as such are indeed yet to the laggards in a mere party of pleasure,) who were thus forced to loiter in the ascent, after having previously lost some time in securing their horses at the bottom of the hill, until there remained little hopes of overtaking him. The raftsman was the only individual who, in this conjuncture, was able to proceed with any spirit. He pressed upward, dodging the descending rocks with infinite address and agility, and was soon lost sight of; until, finally, even his voice, with which he continued to cheer the others, was no longer heard.

"The mountain was, however, climbed at last; but the refugee had vanished. The only practicable path conducts you to the summit of the hill along the edge of the southern precipices; and the last step is from a shelf that overhangs the wooded abyss below, whence, peeping over the brink of the cliffs at their most tremendous height, the eye looks over many a league of blue hill and misty hollow, of living wood and winding river,—a scene whose loveliness is made more impressive by contrast with the savage desolation that reigns around the point of view. A broad table of stone, shelving downwards, and in part overhanging the abyss, lies like a parapet upon the extreme brink of the precipice; and it is from this, lying upon his breast, clinging with foot and hand to its crevices and the stunted bushes that grow upon its surface, and advancing his head beyond the naked verge, that the adventurous spectator looks down into the dizzy gulf below,—if he have indeed the courage to look.

"Upon this platform the raftsman was found reposing, his elbows resting upon the parapet stone, and his countenance betraying wonder mingled with perplexity. Upon being asked what had become of the fugitive, he pointed to certain marks of fresh blood that lay on the stones where he stood, hard-by the parapet, which was itself dabbled with blood; and, in addition, the black lichens with which it was overgrown, were torn up, as by the struggles of some human being sliding down its inclined surface towards the horrible abyss beneath; and a shrub springing from the verge, was snapped off, as if broken by a human hand.

"'I once,' said the raftsman, 'chased a two-year buck off this here very rock; and I reckon, you may see some of his bones among the bushes below. I was hunting with Oran Gilbert; we were boys together; and, I remember, he said, 'It was a brave jump for a hard-pushed beast, and a wise one, too.' Now let any man run his nose over the rock's edge, and tell me what he sees swinging to a bush some fifty or sixty fathoms below; for, to my eyes, it has much the look of a green hunting shirt, or a big rag of it. There's a stream of blood running up along the rocks, and here's the ending of it. There was some old wound bursting out on him afresh, and, to my thought, the man was not able to run further; and so he remembered the deer, and took a jump;—and I must say, it was a brave fancy of his, and a wise one too.'

"To this conjecture confirmation was given, when one of the party, having peered over the rock, declared that he saw the flutter of some garment, hanging on a

bush many a weary foot below. The stones were hunted over again; a track of blood was plainly distinguished, and had been remarked before, staining the rocks for some distance below: and on this platform it ended. The closest search could not detect any mark to show that the fugitive had proceeded a step further; it was believed at once, that, having reached this spot, and found himself incapable of proceeding further, the pursuers, headed by Potts, pressing him close, he had thrown himself from the rocks, preferring a death in keeping with his savage career, to falling alive into the hands of his foes. There was no other way to account for his disappearance, the presence of blood on the parapet, and the wave of the garment below; and, indeed, a second, and then a third person, looking down, they swore they could see, among the bushes at the bottom of the cliffs, something that looked like a human form, as they doubted not it was. It was accordingly resolved to descend the mountain without delay, which, after uttering a loud shout of triumph, they did, with the single exception of the raftsman; who, declaring himself overcome with fatigue, sat down upon a stone on the platform to rest, and was soon lost sight of by the others. As the last man left the shelf, he beckoned to him with his hand, nodded his head, and took other means to arrest his attention; but these being disregarded, or perhaps unperceived, he ceased his signals, and muttered half to himself, half aloud,—

"'Well done, Tom Wolf; you're no fox, and a man must ha' said, 'Fifty guineas!' aloud, to fetch you. But I was a fool to think on't; no 'alves and no quarters, is my cry; and a man mought as well take the money and the credit into his own hands, without sharing; for, I reckon, the creatur's clean done up, and can make no more fight than a 'possum. Nevermore, there's no varmint of the woods or water can stand by him for a trick; and so we'll look sharp, Dan Potts, and see what'll come out of it. I reckon I shall make them 'ere fellers stare! They say, the governor has offered five hundred dollars for him, hard money, dead or alive. Five hundred dollars isn't to be made, every day, a-rafting. There's a big hole under that stone; and, I remember, he boasted he had been down in it afore; which was like enough, for he was always a ventur'ing devil.'

"It may be gathered from these expressions what cause had prevented the raftsman leaving the shelf with his companions. Immediately beneath the projecting portion of the table-rock, so often mentioned, there is a cavity or niche in the face of the cliff, visible, on a clear day, even from the foot of the mountain, and inaccessible from the top only because there are few men in the world of sufficient nerve to attempt reaching it, by climbing over the face of the cliff,—an exploit the very thought of which is appalling. It occurred to the ancient comrade of the refugee, that the latter, persuaded he must be captured, unless he could throw his pursuers off the scent, or delay the chase for a time, might have bethought him of the stratagem of causing them to believe he had thrown himself from the rocks, while, all the time, he was lying snugly and safely in the cavity beneath the shelving rock, from which he might be expected to sally out, the moment the pursuers had descended. This was rather a conceit in the raftsman's mind than a positive suspicion; but it was sufficient to impel him upon a new course of action, a main incentive to which was the prospect it seemed to open to him of securing the rewards that had been offered for the apprehension of the noted outlaw.

"He sat down therefore upon a stone opposite to the parapet, and scarce twenty feet from it, holding his rifle ready cocked upon his knee, his knife loosened in the sheath, and his little hunting-axe lying at his feet; and he sat thus without fear, knowing that, even if the refugee were armed and in the pride of his strength and daring, he could not ascend to the shelf, without being entirely at his mercy. He sat in silence, expecting each moment to see the fierce eyes of the outcast peering over the rock, or to hear the rattling of stones along the face of the cliff, denoting that he had left his hiding-place, and was beginning to ascend. He sat watching, however, a long time in vain;—and was beginning to believe that his suspicion was groundless, and that the desperate Oran had in truth leaped from the cliff, when, suddenly there rose beyond the verge of the rock the apparition of a human head, but so spectral, so pale, so ghastly with blood, and so wildly unnatural of expression, that he was seized with a sudden fear, and beheld the whole body succeed it, and the refugee himself (for it was he) stand erect upon the parapet, before he could raise his piece, and charge him to surrender.

"'I have you, Oran, old friend!' he said, at last; 'so down knife, and take quarter. If you move foot or hand, I'll fire upon you.'

"The outlaw heard his voice, and beheld the threatening weapon, without any manifestation of surprise. He bent his eyes upon him with a stare that curdled the raftsman's blood. 'Fire!' he said, and laughed; and then suddenly drawing the knife he had taken from Elsie's cottage, he made a fierce spring from the rock right against the uplifted rifle. The attack was so unexpected and energetic that Potts had scarce time to pull the trigger, before the tory lighted on the shelf at his feet. He drew it, however, with the certainty that the next moment the assailant would be lying dead at his foot—he drew it, and not even a flash burst from the treacherous powder; it snapped in his hands; and before he could exchange it for another weapon, nay, before he could even draw his knife, he found the blade of his opponent glimmering at his breast. He caught at his wrist, the only expedient that saved him from a mortal thrust: and being of great nerve, he strove, at the same time, to hurl the tory upon the rock. But great as was his strength, and feeble as he had supposed the powers of Oran to be, the attempt was foiled, and he began in his heart to curse the covetousness, that had deprived him of a helper, in such a time of need. As he caught the wrist of Oran in his left hand, he sought, with the other, to snatch his own knife from the sheath; but the motion was anticipated, and his own right hand grasped in Oran's left; so that the two stood for an instant facing one another, entangled, as it might be said, like two wild bucks, that have, at the first blow, interlocked their antlers together, and thus remain glaring at each other, waging battle only with their eyes. In that instant, the raftsman beheld enough to make him repent the temerity with which he had sought to bring the refugee to bay. Instead of being weakened by loss of blood, or exhausted by the toil of ascending the mountain, it seemed as if he was suddenly imbued with new strength, as well as additional fury, by the mere presence of a foe; and there was that in his countenance, which expressed, along with a native love of conflict, the malignant ferocity of a maniac. Indeed, his appearance was so fearful, and his ability to resist to the uttermost so manifest, that the raftsman felt strongly moved to call for a parley and propose a mutual release; but the desire came too late. The tory perceived the fainting of his heart, and laughed:

"'I never did harm to you or yours, Dan Potts,' he said; 'but you shall never say so more. You would sell the blood of a dying man—you must first win it.'

"With that, he relaxed his grasp on the raftsman's right hand, as if for the purpose of seizing him by the throat; and Potts took instant advantage of the motion, to snatch his knife from its sheath. The motion was a trick of juggling, such as the outlaw had learned among the red associates of his boyhood, and perhaps practised in similar encounters before. The next instant, he had thrown the whole weight of his body upon the raftsman's breast, and directing the half-drawn blade at the same time with his hand, Potts fell upon the rock, his own weapon buried to the handle in his side.

"'Go!' shouted the victor, leaping up, and dragging his victim towards a corner of the shelf, where no parapet intervened betwixt them and the abyss,—'to your fellow bloodhounds below!—Something in memory of Hyland Gilbert!'

"He struck the body with his foot,—it rolled crashing over the slender twigs and decaying flakes of stone on the brink of the precipice, and then disappeared, with not a sound to indicate its fall upon the shivered rocks below. The next moment, the victor ran from the platform, and was buried among the forests that darken the long and desolate summit of the ridge."

ART. IX.—*Report of* WILLIAM CRAWFORD, ESQ. *on the Penitentiaries of the United States, addressed to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. Presented by his Majesty's command. Ordered to be printed, 13th March,* 1835.

AMONG the improvements of the last and the present age, are be reckoned the advances which have been made in Prison cipline. Before the time of Howard, this subject, now deemed important, had attracted little attention in Europe, except in states of Holland and Italy. In England, whose social refinents were distinguished among the polite nations of the conti-nt, no sensibility was excited towards the convict, nor was any nsequence attached to the mode of his treatment. He was not y left to pine in filth, and want, and misery, the extent of which now difficult to conceive, but his moral nature was exposed to ry variety of injury. The want of beds and necessary ali-nt, constituted but a part of his physical sufferings. Cleanli-s was so little attended to, that diseases were engendered of a aracter as virulent and destructive as the plague. Howard res his testimony to the fact, from personal observation, during years 1773-4 and 5, that the havoc produced in England by Gaol-fever, greatly exceeded that of even public executions. e can form but an imperfect conception of its destructive agen-, in comparison with these, even if we consider the cruel aspect the British code at that period, and the inexorable spirit in ich it was administered. It is true, according to Sir Stephen eodore Janssen's table of malefactors, ending in 1772, the start-g number of six hundred and seventy-eight executions occurred the district of London alone, during the twenty-three preced-g years. But no calculations short of the deplorable events ich this disorder produced, can give an adequate idea of its solating influences. Friends and relatives who visited the pri-ns, carried the infection to their families, who, with themselves, came its mortal victims. The Courts of judicature were not empt from the pestilential poison. On one occasion at Oxford, is related, that owing to the presence of certain prisoners in urt, the Chief Baron upon the Bench, the Sheriff and about ree hundred more, who were assembled, became diseased and pired within the space of forty hours. Lord Bacon informs , that in his time, they had twice or thrice experienced the xious effects of this alarming distemper, when alike "the judges at sat upon the jail, and numbers of those who attended the busi-ss, or were present, sickened and died." It may be readily agined, when the mortality was so certain and unsparing be-nd the limits of the prison, how fell and shocking this formida-e agent must have been within! Howard might well say, in

adverting to the confinement of mere insolvents with felons in these deadly receptacles, that the frequent sentence pronounced by the creditor against his unfortunate debtor, *to rot in gaol*, was full of emphatical meaning.

But it was not the mere physical miseries of his lot which filled the cup of the prisoner's hopelessness and degradation. It was the unrestrained and licentious assemblage of the old offender with the young delinquent, the male with the female, the debtor with the felon, and all in a state of perfect and lawless idleness. The pernicious effects of this system are so well portrayed by the benevolent man already quoted, through whose instrumentality it was partially altered and improved, that we cannot do better than to give the description in his own words.

"The general prevalence," says Howard in his State of Prisons in Europe, "and spread of wickedness in prisons, and abroad by the discharged prisoners, will now be as easily accounted for, as the propagation of disease. It is often said, 'A prison pays no debts;' I am sure it may be added, that a prison mends no morals. Sir John Fielding observes, that 'a criminal discharged, generally by the next sessions, after the execution of his comrades, becomes the head of a gang of his own raising:' improved, no doubt, in skill by the company he kept in gaol. And petty offenders who are committed to Bridewell for a year or two, and spend that time, not in hard labour, but in idleness and wicked company, or are sent for that time to county gaols, generally grow desperate, and come out fitted for the perpetration of any villany. Half the robberies committed in and about London, are planned in the prisons, by that dreadful assemblage of criminals, and the number of idle people who visit them. How contrary this to the intention of our laws with regard to petty offenders; which certainly is to correct and reform them! Instead of which, their confinement doth notoriously promote and increase the very vices it was designed to suppress. Multitudes of young creatures, committed for some trifling offence, are totally ruined there. I make no scruple to affirm, that if it were the wish and aim of magistrates to effect the destruction, present and future, of young delinquents, they could not devise a more effectual method than to confine them so long in our prisons, those seats and seminaries, (as they have very properly been called,) of idleness and every vice.—Shall these irregularities, the sources of misery, disease, and wickedness, be endured in a nation celebrated for good sense and humanity?"

The public sensibilities were for a long time proof against appeals, but it was by representations, such as the foregoing, that they at length experienced an awakening impulse. It was not alone the honour of the country that was concerned, it was not alone its humanity towards the afflicted, but it was the cause of national justice, both to individuals and itself, that demanded legislative interference. Acts of Parliament were made, and prisons erected upon plans more consonant to humanity and national policy. The County prison of Gloucester, and the Penitentiary at Milbank, attest the salutary efforts of a few benevolent individuals intent upon the promotion of great national benefits. But notwithstanding the Act of 19 Geo. 3. which proclaimed the elements of a better system, and that of 4 Geo. 4., called the Gaol Act, for the reformation of County prisons, neither the great Penitentiary for the Kingdom, nor far, far less the County gaols, have

arrived at that perfection which the good and wise men of a former day hoped, and the genius of the present day requires.

It is only necessary to look at the political condition of Great Britain, to be convinced how much of support against a raging popular storm, sweeping the whole extent of her dominions, she will need from the moral attainments of her people. It is only necessary to glance at the reports upon *pauperism* in England, and more recently in Ireland, to be convinced of a state of society which must invoke, for its preservation, all the correctives of a wise retributive system. Whatever may be the *moral* elements of the age, strictly understood, the direction of its genius is for freedom. An education suited to the meridian of free institutions, must not only be of the mind, but of the heart. It must not only inform, but it must improve. It must amend the corruptions of the aged, as well as protect the young from crime. It must mould all legal penalties into its own likeness, or rather summon them as its instruments. It must, so to speak, cheat the *sanction* of the law of the character of an avenger, which it has for so many ages sustained, into an auxiliary in the great work of moral reformation.

How far the tendencies of Europe, at the present day, may have been influenced by the example and sentiments of this country, we have neither the room nor the inclination to examine. But if the *political* maxims of the new world have, indeed, struck deep and taken root in the hard and fallow ground of the old, in despite of the weeding labours of her prominent husbandmen, surely we may hope that those other productions of our soil, which give to the former all their vigorous health and sanative properties, shall be transplanted and bloom with equal luxuriance. It was, we may assume, to cultivate these, that we are indebted for the visit of Mr. Crawford, and as a consequence thereof, a report upon our prisons and penitentiaries, including much important and valuable information upon the penal codes and school systems prevailing in the different states of the confederacy.

The new world, it would seem, is to become the great seminary of the old. Whatever light was brought from thence, in the settlement of this country, and whatever additional sparks still reach us from the European crater, are reflected back with the accession of a tempered, but more generous radiance. France, England, and Prussia, have already shown a willingness to listen to the accents of their progeny. The deputation of the French Commissioners was the signal for others that have followed. As we have already paid due honour to the labours of these gentlemen, and as Dr. Julius has not yet favoured us with the result of his inquiries, the Report of the English Commissioner, now before us, claims the respect of an undivided notice.

The merits of this Report are the perspicuity of its style and its

general statistical accuracy. It bears strong internal evidence of labour, and shows its author to be a pains-taking, and very earnest inquirer. Its opinions manifest clearness and correctness of thinking, except in relation to England; and if without philosophy or general learning, it is, nevertheless, in its whole scope, eminently practical. Hume asserts in his History of England, that islanders are prejudiced against all that lies beyond the precincts of their insular situation. This sounds more like a specious paradox than an acknowledged and established truth, and yet, we opine, that some reasons might be adduced in favour of its plausibility. In relation to the English Commissioner, this sectional prejudice, this narrow and exclusive partiality, betrays itself in a variety of forms. Sometimes it exhibits itself in his guarded mode of stating a fact, or giving a narrative. Sometimes in his desire to abate from an admitted improvement, by denying to its origin the merit of a virtuous motive. In short, whenever abstract opinion, separated from his "native land," is concerned, the Report may with safety be consulted; but whenever comparisons may be instituted, or national collision in any form apprehended, his mental equilibrium is lost or impaired, his moral nerves seem to be jarred and disturbed. He seems to have been afraid, lest by any liberality of concession, he might dim the bright glory of England, as the most transcendant country on the face of the earth. He seems solicitious that her juridical and penitentiary scheme, the deficiencies of which are avowed in his own appointment, should be considered as exempt from all disrepute. We have the singular spectacle of a man, visiting a foreign country, the superiority of whose criminal institutions are confessed, and for the purpose of remedying well known defects in those of his own, discovering not only that the institutions which he has come to visit, are lamentably defective, but that the system pursued at home is of surpassing, unrivalled excellence. If what the author has presented to his government as a Report, had appeared under another title, we should designate it as a clever attempt to underrate American philanthropy, and a plausible exhibition, by way of contrast, of the benevolent sensibilities of the English nation.

Abundant pains doubtless have been taken to prove that British beneficence has been sagacious, alert and untiring, and that the British penitentiary system, as a consequence, possesses the merit of originality, and most other merits beside. No circumstance is too unimportant to be noticed and amplified, if it may by possibility exalt or depress the reputation of benevolent and judicious England. For example, the individual and moral worth of the men who fill the important station of *keeper* to our prisons, was in an official Report on the peculiarities of our system, a proper subject of remark or indication. But this intelligence is no where communicated, except in relation to Sa-

muel R. Wood, the Warden of the Eastern Penitentiary, whose fitness for the office he holds, respectability of character, and enlightened zeal, receive a warm and adequate tribute. An admission of the general fact has no where been made, except by innuendo, and accompanied by detracting observations in regard to the mode of appointment, for the purpose of elevating the English dignitaries of the same class. "It has been stated," says Mr. Crawford, "in more than one publication, that the office of Keeper of an American penitentiary is held by persons higher in rank than those who occupy similar situations in other countries. If this observation be intended to imply that such officers are superior in character, talents, and acquirements, to those of other nations, *I think it but right to say that this remark does not apply to England.* On the appointment of a prison governor in England, the qualifications of the respective candidates are subjected to the scrutinizing investigation of a large body of disinterested and independent magistrates, in whom the election rests. This is not the practice in the United States," &c. Now, we would not derogate from the character of the governor of Newgate, nor the governors of some of the other great prisons of the United Kingdom. They may be men of note, talents, and worth; but is not the office of *governor* for the most part a sinecure, or has he more than a mere nominal connexion with the prison? Why did not Mr. Crawford tell us of the characters, talents, and acquirements of the *governors* generally, and of all the real *keepers*, those to whom the inmates are actually confided? These are the persons with whom he should have brought us acquainted, and if *they* be men equal in general qualifications to those who superintend the prisons of this country, the information is new, and should not have been withheld. But aware of the reverse, he has hesitated, from a false notion of national pride, to discharge an imperative official duty. He has omitted to seize the golden opportunity of exposing the many errors and accumulated mischiefs which flow from the incompetency of *under-keepers*, and of holding out our superior care, in this respect, to the cognizance and imitation of his constituents.

For the purpose of ascertaining the real character of some of these superintendents of the gaols of England, we may refer our readers, *in multis aliis*, to the evidence taken before a Select Committee of Parliament, and contained in their Report made on the 12th of July, 1829. The opinions of men altogether unworthy, coarse, and uneducated, will be found there seriously recorded, upon the nice and delicate question of the reformatory effects of solitude. The Report of another Select Committee on the state of the penitentiary at Milbank, communicated to the House of Commons in the year 1823, manifests in the plainest language, that the appointment of a man of "education and supe-

rior condition," as the head of a prison, had been at least unusual, if not altogether unknown. The Committee say, "Among *the improvements lately adopted*, your Committee think it not the least important, that it has been thought proper, to place at the head of the establishment in the prison, as governor, *a person of education and superior condition in life;* and they are of opinion, that this office should always, in future, be held by a person of that description." Report on Milbank for 1823, p. 4.—The only mode of reconciling the assertion of Mr. Crawford, even in relation to *governors*, with the official attestation of these Reports, is to suppose that English *particularité* upon this subject is of recent date, and that the partial improvements then suggested for Milbank, have since been carried into more general practice. But in regard to the real *keepers* of the prisons,—those to whom the custody of the convict is actually committed, those with whom he comes into contact and maintains a daily intercourse—we have the best authority for believing that in *condition*, both moral and intellectual, they are unsuited to the solemn responsibilities of such a station.

Not exactly akin to this, but tending to elucidate the fondness of our author for balancing the possession of one excellency with an opposite blemish, is his remark, that more injury results from the County prisons of America, than benefit from her penitentiaries. This indeed may be true, but, we presume, even the Commissioner himself, would admit its applicability to the prisons of England. The moral evils which she has inflicted upon herself by the toleration of existing abuses in her prison management, are incalculable; and penetrated with this truth, he should have candidly informed his government that their bad prisons were at once highly disgraceful and deeply detrimental; that while the good prisons of the Kingdom were the means of reforming a *few*, the vicious practices connived at in others, spread corruption and contamination over the *many*.

We shall not turn to the County gaols, as they existed in England, prior to the time of Howard. It will be enough to say that although the disclosures and criticisms of this philanthropist led to some alterations in the original picture, and that the gaol system underwent the process of retouching in 1819, yet its expression and lineaments have been preserved so as still to present a shocking and repulsive visage. The Commissioner himself informs us, that of the one hundred and seven County prisons in England and Wales, sixteen only are gaols, and of these, but seven admit of any regular employment. The provisions of the Gaol Act, passed in 1819, in regard to separation between the convicted and untried, and the means of restraint upon all, are constantly infringed. To these are added, in many cases, the miseries of a *bread* diet, restricted in quantity, and the cruelty of retaining

lunatics in confinement, after they have been acquitted of the imputed offences on the ground of insanity. Of the separate prisons belonging to corporate and other jurisdictions, which amount to one hundred and sixty in number, sixty-seven have no rules prescribed for their government and discipline; in many the regulations intended by the amended act, 4 Geo. 4, are violated or neglected; in ninety-five, there is not a sufficient number of sleeping cells; in seven there is no allowance of food at all; in most no occupation whatever is pursued; in the greater number the sick languish for want of an infirmary; and in many there is no effectual separation of the sexes. We shall not fatigue and shock the reader by referring to the local prisons of Scotland and Ireland, the condition of which is truly lamentable and deplorable. It would naturally be supposed that Mr. Crawford, accustomed to the sight of such receptacles, and to the superlative depravity which they display, would see and represent *our* County gaols as rather eligible places of incarceration. But no, not contented with the strong censure implied in the remark which we have quoted, he does not hesitate to affirm, that he has "visited many miserable places of confinement, but seldom, if ever, witnessed such a combination of wretchedness and depravity, as is to be found in some of the county gaols and town prisons of the United States." Bad, as it must be acknowledged, are some of these local prisons, in some of the States, especially in the newly settled and thinly populated neighbourhoods of the west and south, a simple perusal of the Commissioner's Report will convict him of having witnessed greater refinement of distress, more multiform and disgusting wickedness, in the loathsome prisons of the most densely populated and oldest districts of his own country.

But when in connexion with this averment, he asserts that the popularity of penitentiaries in the United States, springs from no higher sentiment than a desire to rid the community of the burthen of supporting criminals, he manifests a plain intention either to deny to us the possession of any thing laudable, or to refer its adoption to a base and grovelling motive.

"The profitable labours" says he, "of the prisoners, is in fact the popular feature in the management of the American penitentiaries; and I am inclined to think that the great desire which exists, to rid the community of the burthen of supporting criminals, has occasioned in most of the States the establishment of penitentiaries; while throughout the whole country this feeling has evidently given a great impulse to the progress of prison discipline. * * * With the exception of New England, and Pennsylvania, I have generally found that the public approbation in reference to prisons has been measured not by their permanent effects on the moral character of the liberated convict, but by *the profits of the establishment.*"

Pennsylvania and New England will no doubt *feel* an exception which casts so severe an imputation upon their sister states. But who were the sublimated spirits of England that gave birth to

the memorable enactment of 19 George III.? Howard, Blackstone and Eden, were the men who bore upon their shoulders that burden which the nation at large refused to sustain. These spirits of light, rendered more distinguished by the frigid unconcern of their countrymen, met, in the progress of this benevolent enterprise, every form of difficulty and discouragement. A period of fifteen years was afterwards supinely permitted to intervene, between the passage of a statute, enacted at their importunity, and the practical adoption of its salutary principles. It is even probable that the only prison which England possesses on the plan of the statute, would never have been erected, had it not been for the persevering energy and accidental residence of Paul in the County of Gloucester. Very difficult would it be to account for the change in the popular feeling of Great Britain, except by ascribing it to the stimulus imparted by subsequent reasoning in regard to the *pecuniary results* of penitentiaries judiciously managed, and the *lessening of pauperism* by their influence upon the habits and characters of convicts. The purest and most deserving of mankind are not free from the operation of mixed motives; and England partakes equally with others in this common infirmity. But it savours of harshness and injustice, when various causes, some venal and some more exalted, may, and probably do operate in the production of particular measures, that those *motives* and *inducements* only should be referred to which are the least elevated and laudable.

In the genuine spirit of an English tourist, anxious to interpret all appearances which admit of a double construction, into evidences of social delinquency, rather than to maintain the philosophical bearing of an English Commissioner, he strives to account for the small number of females in the American prisons. Having treated of the great proportion of crime which the coloured bears to the white population in this country, he thus continues; "Few circumstances connected with this subject impress a visiter more forcibly than the small number of females to be found in the penitentiaries of the United States. In America the white woman fills a station superior to that in any other country. * * * * I fear, however, that the criminal calendars do not convey a correct idea of the extent of crime among the female population; at least I have been assured, that from the general sense which exists of the value of female services, particularly in those parts of the country which have been but recently settled, there prevails a strong indisposition to prosecute, especially if the offender be not a woman of colour. Magistrates are also reluctant to commit women," &c. One might suppose, without any great exertion of fancy, that this attempted explanation of a fact, arose from the apprehension, that if not thus accounted for, it might peradventure interfere with the opposite descriptions of certain veracious English travellers. Fe-

males, we believe, who commit crime, are treated in this country pretty much as they are all over the world. They are, we entertain no doubt, unceremoniously arrested, and without absurd or squeamish punctilio, convicted and punished. The Commissioner might have seen enough in the high estimation in which the pure, unsullied female character is held, to convince him that a proportionate dread of its forfeiture would thence be produced. If female deviation or obliquity seldom occur in this country, it only proves, that considering the influence of general sentiment and conduct upon the feminine character, vice cannot be pervading and utterly heartless in the community, nor crime exist in its most depraved and incorrigible form.

Our author plays a peculiar part in discussing the claims to originality of the two penitentiary systems prevailing in the United States. He refers both to foreign countries, and gratuitously assigns to New York the precedence in prison discipline over Pennsylvania;—a merit, which the former state, to our knowledge, has never asserted. Be that as it may, he has erroneously adopted the opinions of several Pennsylvania writers, in ascribing the system pursued at Auburn to the *Maison de force* of the Netherlands. He says, "Those who are acquainted with the history and present state of prison discipline in Europe, will at once perceive, that the plan adopted for the government of the Auburn penitentiary, is that which has been, with a few periods of intermission, for many years pursued at the *Maison de force* at Ghent. The descriptions given of that celebrated establishment in the works of Mr. Howard and Mr. Buxton, strictly apply to the Auburn penitentiary." There is no such wonderful novelty in the regulations of this penitentiary, as to oblige any one to seek for its origin in a distant land. The mere fact of its general resemblance to the Ghent prison, is not evidence of its source. We all know how frequently the same course of reflection is pursued between different minds; and similar manners and customs prevail in distant and almost incommunicable regions. Our Rittenhouse believed, and with positive propriety, that he was the discoverer of fluxions, since it was the unaided production of his own fine intellect. But he found that he was not entitled to the honour of a primitive discovery, when afterwards informed that this credit had long before been vehemently contested in Europe, by Leibnitz and Newton. The annals of literature and science teem with similar examples. For ourselves, we should want some better and less controvertible evidence of parentage for any art, system, or sentiment, than its general resemblance to something of an earlier origin. The derivative title of the Auburn system, could be maintained with more plausibility, if it could be shown that the *Maison de force* had been visited previously to its adoption; that its plan had been displayed or developed; or that its mere existence had been known in New York. If

the scheme be borrowed from Ghent, the latter, with equal probability, owes its origin to the Hospital of St. Michael's at Rome. Of this prison Mr. Crawford seems not to be aware, and yet it had its commencement so long ago as the beginning of the eighteenth century. In its management it is identical with the Ghent institution, and differs from it only in this, that St. Michael's is confined to juvenile offenders. It enforces silence, possesses separate dormitories, and teaches trades; and each of the latter is under the direction of its appropriate instructor.

Touching the introduction into New York of the Auburn plan, its history, which is soon told, discovers it to be the offspring of domestic genius. Long prior to the erection of that penitentiary, New York had a state prison at Greenwich, in which, since the year 1797, various employments had been constantly and profitably conducted. The absence of discipline, and the want of separation, suggested the necessity of another prison, and resulted in an edifice at Auburn for the western division of the state. This prison, from 1816, when it was built, to 1820, when a number of separate sleeping cells was erected, had nothing remarkable in its internal economy. It was at this latter period that Auburn began to assume its present character by a single important variation. Trades and employments had been for a long time successfully prosecuted, and in 1820, it received the improvement of separate dormitories. It only remained to classify the prisoners, at trades and in shops, according to the existing mode, to exhibit the discipline for which it is now distinguished. From the gradual manner in which the improvements were ushered in, each successive step being only a natural advance from that which preceded it, and the simplicity of the whole theory itself, it is palpable that we are exclusively indebted to New York for its inception and maturity. But with great respect for our official visiter, the regulations of Ghent and Auburn are variant in two essential particulars. Howard describes the Ghent prison as it appeared in 1784, and Buxton as in 1818. Both these writers concur in representing the prevalence there of stricter classification than has ever been enforced in the Auburn penitentiary. In addition to this, the lash, that great agent of Auburn discipline, is wholly unknown at the *Maison de force*. We therefore arrive at the result, that all the credit of the scheme, superior in many of its features, it must be admitted, to previous systems, is justly attributable to the activity of our sister state. But in rendering this meed of justice to New York, we are not without apprehension, that some of her worthy philanthropists, would prefer the mercy of our silence. It shows that she cannot esconce herself behind a high authority, a venerable prototype, for the disgraceful severity of the whip;—that the example of as frequent and unfeeling corporal castigation

as the punitory page exhibits, has been reserved for a part of the United States, and the nineteenth century.

But an elaborate attempt is made in this Report, to deprive Pennsylvania, in which state the other system of penitentiary discipline exists, of much of the merit which she has heretofore claimed, without dispute, in regard to the unsurpassed excellence of her early laws, and the salutary character of her criminal institutions. In the two passages which we cite, and these are quoted at large, in fairness to Mr. Crawford, it will be perceived that a deliberate blow is insidiously aimed at the boasted supremacy of the state over her sisters of the Union, less with a view to do justice to others, than to display the unrivalled and superlative merits of England.

"The merit of having been the foremost of the states to mitigate the severity of the criminal law, belongs to Pennsylvania. This important subject interested the legislature so early as in the year 1786, when the penalty of death was abolished for the crimes of robbery, burglary, and the offences against nature. The punishments substituted were, however, of a most defective character, and consisted of hard labour, publicly and disgracefully imposed. Ignominy was added to other penalties. The heads of the convicts were shaved. They were distinguished by a peculiar dress, and secured by iron chains and collars. Thus shackled, they were turned into the streets of Philadelphia, where they are described to have conducted themselves so riotously as to render it dangerous for the public to approach them. At night they returned to their prison, where all descriptions of the male convicts were herded together. It was principally owing to the exertions of a highly meritorious society, formed about this period in Philadelphia, that in 1790 the law for the public employment of convicts was repealed. In the course of that year, the gaol in Walnut street, which had hitherto been used for the confinement of prisoners of war, was appropriated to criminals. The sexes were separated, and the convicts were employed in various occupations. The preamble to the act for the regulation of this prison, attributes the failure of the previous laws for the government of the criminals, to the want of restraint within their places of confinement; and a hope is expressed, 'that the addition of unremitted solitude to laborious employment, as far as it can be effected, will contribute as much to reform as to deter. To carry this object into effect, sixteen separate cells for male, and fourteen for female convicts, were added to the building. The erection of these cells, and the introduction of trades, excited, shortly afterwards, considerable attention. Visiters, struck by the manufacturing character of the establishment, and the apparent industry of its inmates, hastily assumed that the ends of punishment were at once accomplished; and the Walnut street prison, great as were its defects, was pronounced to be a model for general imitation. This impression derived strength, from the circumstance, that shortly after these arrangements had been made, the number of commitments became lessened; a fact which was unhesitatingly ascribed to the discipline of the gaol. But what was the nature of that discipline? In the main body of the prison, criminals of every shade of guilt were associated; nor could conversation be restrained while they were at work. The newly erected cells, from which it has been inferred that solitary confinement was enforced, were only six feet by eight, and eight feet high; they were badly ventilated, and so defectively arranged that the convicts in the adjoining cells could communicate with ease. There was no seclusion; and I have been assured, by those who have carefully investigated the subject, that neither labour nor employment of any kind was performed in those cells. They were appropriated to the punishment of the refractory only; a statement which is confirmed by the fact of there being in the floor of each cell an iron staple, to which are attached three short chains, for the secure confinement of as many convicts; and there is no reason to believe that this penitentiary was, at any period of its history, less deserving the censures which its own friends have of late

unsparingly bestowed upon it. The progressive advance of population in the state, was attended with an increase of crime. The district from which convicts were liable to be committed to the penitentiary was extended, until at length it became so over-crowded that the free use of the pardoning power was indispensable, in order to make room for new commitments. In fact, until the erection of the Eastern Penitentiary, in 1829, nearly forty years after the appropriation of the Walnut street prison, the State of Pennsylvania could not be said to possess a single place of confinement which had the most ordinary pretensions to excellence. That there was a diminution of crime in Philadelphia in the three years immediately following the appropriation of the Walnut street penitentiary, cannot be denied; but this circumstance may be more correctly ascribed to other causes, than to the effect of imprisonment. During the period in question, the country had become comparatively settled, and numbers who had for some time after the close of the war been thrown upon the public, had found industrious occupations in distant states. The abolition of the degrading practice of employing criminals in the public streets, must also have had a sensible effect in improving the morals of the community, if the following testimony of a most respectable eye-witness be not greatly over-charged. 'The directions of the law of 1786,' says an able writer of that day, 'were soon found to be productive of the greatest evils, and had a very opposite effect from what was contemplated by the framers of the law. The disorders in society, the robberies, burglaries, breaches of prison, alarms in town and country, the drunkenness, profanity, and indecencies of the prisoners in the streets, must be in the memory of most. With these disorders the number of the criminals increased to such a degree as to alarm the community with fears that it would be impossible to find a place either large or strong enough to hold them. The severity of the law, and the disgraceful manner of executing it, led to a proportionate degree of depravity and insensibility, and every spark of morality appeared to be destroyed. The old and hardened offender was daily in the practice of begging, and insulting the inhabitants, collecting crowds of idle boys, and holding with them the most improper and indecent conversation. Thus disgracefully treated, and heated with liquor, the prisoners meditated and executed plans of escape; and when at liberty, their distress, disgrace, and fears prompted them to violent acts to satisfy the immediate demands of nature. These attacks upon society were well known to be desperate, and to some they proved fatal.' "

The other passage to which we have referred, we likewise quote *in extenso*.

"There never was a greater delusion than the opinion which has for many years prevailed in England, in favour of the superiority of the criminal institutions of Pennsylvania. This error has doubtless arisen from confounding the mitigation of the penal law, which at an early period honourably distinguished the legislature of that state, with improvements in prison discipline, in the progress of which New York preceded it, and in which Pennsylvania has been considerably behind England. The assertion has nevertheless been made by writers upon this subject, that the solitary imprisonment of criminals originated in Pennsylvania. A mere reference to dates will show the fallacy of this opinion; and also prove, that so far from either the suggestion or the example of this practice having first occurred in Pennsylvania, that state has been indebted to England for the advantage of both.

"The first public allusion in Pennsylvania to the solitary confinement of criminals, is to be found in an Address issued in 1787 by 'The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons.' Referring to the recent law, which sentenced criminals to hard labour, 'publicly and disgracefully imposed,' the committee suggest, that as the good intended by the measure had not fully answered, 'punishments by more private, or even solitary labour, would more successfully tend to reclaim.' Eleven years, however, prior to the date of this Address, which it will be observed, emanates from an association of private individuals, and contains by no means a strong recommendation of solitary confinement, the statute of the 19 George III. c. 74, containing the passage above recited, was enacted by the British Parliament. The same sentiments were reiterated in an Act passed six years afterwards for the erection of the Penitentiary at Gloucester. This prison

contained seventy-one cells strictly solitary, without any means of exchanging communication, and in which convicts were confined at hard labour. It was opened in the early part of 1791, prior, I believe, to the erection of the sixteen cells for men, and the fourteen cells for women, in the Walnut street prison (which, however, were in no respect solitary, and in which no labour was ever performed); and it is a fact worthy of notice, that at the time, or within a few months of the period, when the solitary system at Gloucester was in operation, criminals were actually worked in gangs, with iron collars round their necks, and chains upon their persons, in the streets of Philadelphia. It is singular to find, that those who ascribe so much excellence to the Walnut street prison in its earliest days, and who have seriously designated its management the 'ancient Pennsylvania system,' should in 1828 have recommended for the government of the Eastern Penitentiary, a plan entirely different from that which it is alleged was enforced in Walnut street prison; namely, solitary confinement without labour. In the penal law of 1794, the words 'penitentiary houses' occur, the phrase being evidently borrowed from the Act of Parliament passed in England in 1776."

It is obvious that Mr. Crawford is not acquainted with the history of penal jurisprudence in Pennsylvania, when he speaks of the subject of criminal law interesting the legislature "so early as the year 1786." Upwards of a century before, that is in 1682, the benevolent Founder blotted from the statute book the punishment of death, for every offence but murder. But he not only mitigated the sanguinary rigour of the English penalties, but he saw, at that early day, the necessity of reform in the prison establishments. Indeed one is the necessary precursor of the other. When almost every offender is delivered to the executioner, *imprisonment* becomes temporary, and its *mode* of subordinate importance. But when the policy of the law is to preserve and reclaim, not to ruin and destroy, then it is that prisons are of the last consequence for the protection of the innocent, and the restoration of the guilty. "The infliction of death," says Bradford, in his Inquiry, "supposes the incorrigibility of the criminal." As an incident therefore to this lenient code, Penn judiciously declared in his Great Law, "that all prisons shall be *work-houses* for felons, thieves, vagrants, and loose, abusive, and idle persons," and that "gaolers shall not oppress their prisoners, and all prisons shall be free, as to room," &c. For the purpose of distinguishing between debtors and felons, who, in England, were not only thrown into the same disgusting receptacle, but subjected to the same inhuman treatment, he made the following provision; "All prisoners shall have liberty to provide themselves bedding, food and other necessaries during their imprisonment, except such whose punishment by law will not admit of that liberty." From the year 1682 to the death of William Penn, in 1718, this humane system of penalties was in operation, and during that memorable period the behests of the great lawgiver were obeyed, that prisons should be *work-houses* for criminals. Upon the rescision of this code by the mother country, and the substitution of her own vindictive policy in the punishment of crime, the regard which had been bestowed upon prisons, began visibly to subside. The early feelings on this sub-

ject were not revived or exhibited, until the termination of the English rule in this country. The year which proclaimed the Independence of the Union, was that which witnessed the first Constitution of Pennsylvania. The injunction contained in that instrument, that "punishments shall be less sanguinary and more proportioned to offences," was partially complied with, ten years after, by the cited act of 1786. Thus, we perceive, that with reference to criminal law, the *originality* of its mitigation belongs to Pennsylvania, who, so far from receiving assistance, was directly thwarted and impeded by England; that prisons were declared to be, and actually employed as *work-houses*, long before the idea was adopted in the mother country. It is plain too that the neglect of prisons between 1718 and 1786, was owing partly to the embarrassments of a bloody code, and partly to the convulsions incident to a revolution. The idea of making a prison a *work-house*, did not originate in principles or precedents derived from England. Penn's own bitter *experience* of the horrors of English prisons had excited his sensibility for their hapless inmates; and his travels in Holland had furnished his mind with plans of renovation which were at once reduced to practice upon assuming the government of a colony.

Having very briefly traced our penal history up to that era at which Mr. Crawford supposes it to begin, we come now to consider those claims to priority in prison discipline, which he prefers for England. Before entering upon this topic, we may premise, that it cannot, at best, be a very philosophical discussion, since solitary confinement is an obvious conception, and existed in practice long before it was the subject of legislation in either country. But the questions raised here by Mr. Crawford, are, whether England did not suggest to this country the theory of solitude in its application to criminals, and whether it was not, in fact, first exemplified in practice in that Kingdom. These are the real issues between us, for no one has ever contended that the statute 19 Geo. 3, which was passed before our Independence was acknowledged, was not unavoidably previous to all legislation here.

Unless our chronology be erroneous, the Report has committed a blunder in placing the act, 19 Geo. 3, in the year 1776. George 3rd, ascended the throne in 1760, and the nineteenth year of his reign occurred in the year 1779, which, beyond doubt, is the actual date of that celebrated statute. It likewise places the commencement of the solitary system at Gloucester in the year 1791, which, we think, will turn out to be an anachronism, and in all probability, a consequence of the mistake which he had committed in regard to the statute itself. We perceive that Howard in his work on Lazarettos, states that the old edifice was demolished, and the new one in progress, in the year 1789. Mr. G. W. Smith, in his valuable essays upon this subject, fixes the opening of the

Gloucester penitentiary in the year 1793, probably upon the authority of information obtained at the prison itself. The Report of the Committee upon the penitentiary at Milbank, printed in 1823, in speaking of the act, 19 Geo. 3, says, that "no measures were taken to carry that act into execution until the year 1794." We may safely assume that the prison was not *opened* until 1793 or 1794; and it is an indisputable fact, that the plan was not that of strict solitary confinement, for four years after it commenced its operations. In the year 1787, "the Pennsylvania Society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons," declared their conviction that punishment by *solitary labour* would tend to reclamation; and that the continuance of certain abuses would prevent "those useful reflections which might be produced by *solitary labour* and strict temperance." It was by virtue of the act of 1790 that the public employment of the criminals, authorized in 1786, was abolished, and that the thirty cells were erected in the Walnut Street prison. If Pennsylvania be indebted to England for the hint of forming these thirty solitary cells, she must have a more remote, if not venerable authority for the *penal mitigations* and *public labour* of the criminals, introduced by the act of 1786. Herodotus informs us that one Sabaco, King of Egypt, changed the penalty of death, whenever any of his subjects became obnoxious to that punishment, and condemned them *to work in the town in chains.* We are told that Sabaco, by the labour of these convicts, raised many mounts and made many commodious canals. We repeat, that it is quite as probable, the legislature of Pennsylvania had the example of Sabaco before them for imitation in 1786, as that of 19 Geo. 3, when they enacted the law of 1790. The notion as to one, is not more preposterous than the other. But our author supposes that the occurrence of the phrase, "penitentiary houses," in our act of 1794, furnishes substantial and plenary evidence that it was borrowed from the act of the English Parliament. It will be recollected that solitary confinement was not introduced into Pennsylvania by that act of Assembly, but by the antecedent one of 1790. The phrase, as it is of frequent occurrence in the several treatises by Howard, was no doubt employed in the statute at his suggestion; and from him it may have been derived to us, after the appearance of his works in this country. It is altogether improbable that the Act, 19 Geo. 3, had travelled to Pennsylvania for a long interval after its enactment. A knowledge of its existence at the time of its passage, was circumscribed by the revolutionary war, and subsequently by its own oblivious fate. It was a mere Parliamentary dictum, prompted by a few wise and benevolent men, in which the nation at large had no sympathetic participation. It slept upon the statute-book until a subsequent act called it from its slumbers. No real vitality was imparted to its principles until the erection of the

seventy-one cells at Gloucester in 1793 or 1794; and long anter to this period, the thirty cells of Walnut Street had established Pennsylvania the effects of solitary labour as a determent to cri and a means of reform.

But it is asserted that the cells of Walnut street were appropri ed to the *refractory* only; that in them there was neither lab nor occupation; and that the whole economy of the prisons of t state, up to the erection of the Eastern Penitentiary, was defect in the extreme. We have already demonstrated to what cau was owing the discontinuance of the *ancient* system of Penns vania prisons. And we may observe, in passing, for the edifi tion of Mr. Crawford, that we refer here to that system of lab and classification which is "ancient" enough to be coeval w the province of Pennsylvania; to that system which Penn creat and which, together with his benevolent scale of punishments, a victim to the Draconian spirit of the mother country. This cellent system, which had been long neglected or disused, w which, from the dominion of a spirit of innovation, had been changed in 1786 for an opposite and erroneous scheme, was vived in 1790, when the Walnut street prison was first appro ated to convicts. It is only necessary to scan the provisions of latter statute to be convinced of the errors and misconception Mr. Crawford in regard to the original destination of these pla of confinement. He alleges that the cells were places of t *idleness* and for the *refractory* only; while we assert, under authority of the act itself, that they were intended for the pun ment of atrocious offences, and that occupation and solitude w the primary objects of the legislature.

It is stated in the preamble that previous laws had failed success, "from *the communication with each other* not being s ciently restrained within the places of confinement," and the is hoped, that "the addition of *unremitted solitude to labor employment*, as far as it can be effected, will contribute as m to reform as to deter." The design of the act is here explic announced, and prepares us for the provision contained in 13th section, which declares that the different descriptions of offe ers "shall be kept *separate and apart from each other*, if the ture of such employment will admit thereof; and where the nat of such employment requires two or more to work together, keeper of the said gaol, or one of his deputies, shall, if possible, constantly present." The fact of there being "in each cell an i staple to which three chains were attached," should not have r led the conclusions of the Commissioner. Competent inquiry wo have informed him, that these cells had undergone alterations in th construction to meet the exigencies of the establishment. T these peculiarities, whenever made, did not render the idleness the prisoners inevitable; and it is a fact, well attested by liv

witnesses, that *regular employment*, though not hard labour, was, during the early periods of the prison, required and pursued in practice. Thus it appears that employment and solitude were intended to form a part of the sentence of each offender; that tasks were imposed;—and we know, upon good authority,* that many prisoners passed the whole period of their sentences in these solitary apartments. The penalty prescribed for violations of prison law, or, in the language of our author, for the punishment of the *refractory*, is, by the 21st section, "confinement to *darkened cells on bread and water.*" And here we may advert to that provision of the law of 1790, which might before have been referred to, in relation to County gaols. The act was obviously designed to extend the system of classification, labour, and solitude, over the state; the 28th section declaring its prevalence in each County desirable, for the sake of "uniformity of punishment." Notwithstanding, however, this judicious and excellent provision, the County gaols of Pennsylvania, from the sparseness of population in many of the counties, and the indifference of others, have remained, it must be owned, almost untouched by improvement. A faithful exposition of facts is all that is wanted to induce the application of an appropriate remedy. Enlightened legislation has begun, and a massive and elegant structure upon the principle of the Eastern Penitentiary, is already the receptacle of convicts for the County of Philadelphia. †

The plan pursued in the Walnut Street prison, was favourable in its effects upon society, so long as the state of the building admitted of classification and solitude. But the act of 1794 rendered it the receptacle of a numerous class of offenders, chiefly felons, from every part of the state. The prison soon became crowded, and the original discipline could no longer be enforced. Commitments continued to grow less until this density occurred; but when from this cause neither separation nor classification was practicable, they increased to an alarming accumulation. From the number seventy-four, which was the annual average of convictions fron 1790 to 1794, the number augmented to three hundred and sixty-two, which was the yearly medium from 1815 to 1820. During the three years prior to 1790, which, it will be recollected, was the era of introducing solitary confinement, the mean proportion of convictions was one hundred and nine. It is thus apparent, if criminal statistics be entitled to any regard, that the efficacy of solitude was established by a continued diminution

* See Reply to two Letters of William Roscoe, &c. by Roberts Vaux; and ' Defence, &c. by G. W. Smith. ... life

† The prisoners were removed from Walnut Street to this penitentiary not made tember, 1835. It has a front of 310 feet, extends in depth 525 feet, imperfect list 408 cells, 9 feet wide, 13 feet long, and 9 feet high. The material dis actions may style of architecture, the castellated gothic.

of convictions so long as the condition of the prison permitted the application of the principle. The Prison Society and the Inspectors, in their frequent Memorials to the legislature, urge, with much cogency, that the moral benefit of prisoners had always been in exact proportion to the degree of separation, and that in the early history of the Walnut Street prison, this benefit was most strikingly exemplified.

It is rather a late discovery of Mr. Crawford that the Walnut street prison, on the original plan, was more corrupting than beneficial. Its crowded condition, rendered so by the act of 1794, must not be confounded with the early stage of its operations, when fewer inmates permitted a fairer trial, and when, notwithstanding a rapidly increasing population, each successive year bore testimony to its reformatory effects. Long before the Eastern Penitentiary was completed, this prison attracted the notice of intelligent foreigners, and very high encomiums were pronounced upon its system and management. A Report of the Managing Committee to the Commissioners of the *Bridewell at Glasgow*, made in the year 1825, acknowledges, in emphatic terms, the value of the example furnished by the Pennsylvania prisons. Similar sentiments were expressed by Roscoe and others, under circumstances which render valuable the expression of such an opinion. Where then is the surprise, that "more than an ordinary degree of excellence" should be ascribed to the Walnut street prison, and where the incongruity of being favourable to the plan which was ultimately adopted for the government of the Eastern Penitentiary? Touching the latter intimation, that sentiments were expressed, or recommendations offered in favour of "solitary confinement *without* labour," as it is not pretended that they were insincere, so it proves nothing, except that various theories were broached, and that some which were found, upon closer examination to be untenable, were properly abandoned. The premises, we think, justify the remark, that Mr. Crawford must stand prominent, as the first author, either domestic or foreign, who has ventured to undermine the fair fame of Pennsylvania in regard to her early and unceasing devotion to this department of philanthropy. The impediments of an infant country, and of a sparse and in many districts a needy population, are quite competent to check the impulses of benevolence on a topic which has hitherto required for its advancement all the incentives of populous redundancy, and all the aids of overflowing coffers.

But erroneous as this Report undoubtedly is, historically considered, and though between England and this country it is partial in the extreme, yet on the questions of solitary confinement, the pardoning power, and the certainty and graduation of punishments, we hail it as an able champion, an opportune and welcome auxiliary. On all these it maintains doctrines, and strikes out

lights, which may confer important benefits upon Europe. In the long array of abuses which it enumerates, and proposes to correct, we have to offer only a single exception. He has omitted to suggest a repeal of all the *obsolete penal laws* of the kingdom. That these are numerous, that they have been insensibly accumulating through a long succession of centuries, no one will deny who is at all acquainted with the character of past ages, or the history of English jurisprudence. The effects, impolicy, and injustice of the continuance of such laws on the statute-book, are so eloquently and truly depicted by Mr. Livingston in his admirable "System of Penal Law for the State of Louisiana," that we may be excused for making two brief extracts from that performance. After pointing out many examples of forgotten or abandoned law, in the Spanish Code, he thus continues his appeal for their formal abolition.

"Let me tell those incredulous apostles who will not believe that a stroke has been inflicted until they can lay a finger on the wound, or that what has been dead may be revived, until with their eyes they behold the resurrection—let me tell them, that such revival of dead and obsolete laws requires no miraculous power to effect; that a weak, an ignorant, or a conceited magistrate, is sufficient for the operation; that it has actually happened, and that by such agency, one of the worst, the most inhuman and arbitrary of all those ancient laws, has been executed under our free and enlightened government. In a remote parish of the then territory (of Louisiana) a human being was, for I know not what crime, by the sentence of a magistrate, condemned *to be burned alive;* that the sentence was executed in his presence, and that there was no law passed by the government of the territory authorizing such punishment. It is true, that a law of Spain directs that the slave shall be punished with more cruelty than the freeman, and the commoner than the nobleman. But the only law I have been able to discover for using this inhuman punishment, makes no distinction. It permits the judge, in every capital case, to designate the punishment. It may be, at his discretion, either decapitation with the sword (for the statute-book, with great humanity, forbids the saw or the reaping-hook,) or it may be by burning, or hanging, or casting to be devoured by wild beasts. Our judge, in the exercise of the discretion thus humanely given to him, chose the fire and the faggot, and afterwards showed where the writhings of agony had forced the chain of his victim into the bark of the tree that served for the stake. No name is mentioned, for death has removed the magistrate from the reach of justification or censure, but having strong evidence of the fact, and its bearing being so immediate on the subject of the report, I should have been culpable in suppressing, however reluctant it might be to mention it." * * * * * "Indeed there is scarcely a greater reproach to the jurisprudence of a nation, than the existence of *obsolete laws;* that is to say, laws that are none—laws that are no rule to guide our actions, because they are unknown to, or forgotten by those upon whom they are to operate; but which may yet be used to punish them for contravention, because they are known and remembered by those who are empowered to enforce them, whenever the malice of a prosecutor, or the ignorance, corruption, or party-feeling of a judge, may induce him to draw the rusty sword from its scabbard. To apply this to our case, as has been seen,

> 'We have strict statutes, and most biting laws,
> Which for these nineteen years we have let sleep;'

statutes of such number and variety, that there is not a state or condition in life that cannot be affected by them; not a man in the community that has not made himself obnoxious to the penalties of some of them. Let the long but imperfect list we have given be perused, and where is he who can say that some of his actions may

not be brought within the purview of one or more of the loose and entangling definitions contained in those laws?"—*Livingston's Penal Law*, pp. 72, 73.

Upon the subject of the two systems of penitentiary discipline which divide this country, we mean the plan at Auburn and that pursued at Philadelphia, the Commissioner gives a decided preference to the latter. In this preference he concurs with the respectable Commission from Lower Canada, whose report was published in the early part of the present year. We shall not institute an extended comparison between the two systems, but it may be remarked, that what is only *attempted* at Auburn and the prisons conducted upon that principle, is actually *accomplished* in the Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia. The nearest approach to solitude is made, of which association is capable, in restraining the vision and the tongue. By that very restraint upon intercourse, the plan is admitted to be imperfect, unless it can be rendered successful. Is it not now conceded, at all the Penitentiaries upon the plan of Auburn, *except only at the one which bears that name*, that notwithstanding the pretended efficacy of the lash, and the utmost rigour in its infliction, the entire prevention of intercourse is impossible? Waiving this, however, if we had no other objection to associated labour than that the prisoners become personally known to each other, our opinion would be decidedly against it. In the Sing Sing Penitentiary there are about eight hundred prisoners. To what region could the discharged convict fly, where, and under what guise could he hide himself, to be secure from discovery and recognition? The propensity of the hardened veteran in crime to follow and persecute his prison associates, is matter of notoriety. The man in whose heart virtuous feelings and good resolutions might be excited, has to encounter the publicity of his infamy, and the terrors of an old associate, who, at any time, at any distance, or in any situation, might blast his character and ruin his hopes. Solitude shuts out the possibility of these, and screens him from that public ignominy which follows the commission of criminal deeds. Upon enlargement from prison, aided by discreet counsel, and fortified by long communion with himself, he has no obstacle to meet in the path of honour, propriety, and virtue. We must here be allowed to quote the Commissioner's own language as to the course pursued on the admission of a convict to the Eastern Penitentiary; the general arrangements of that excellent establishment; and the comparative merits of the two systems.

"On the admission of a convict," says Mr. Crawford, "he is taken into an office at the entrance of the penitentiary and subjected to the usual course of examination. His person is cleansed and he is clothed in an uniform. He is then blindfolded and conducted to his cell. On his way thither he is for a short time detained in the observatory, where he is admonished by the warden, as to the necessity of implicit obedience to the regulations. On arriving in his cell the hood is removed, and he is left alone. There he may remain for years, perhaps for life, without seeing any human being but the inspectors, the warden and his officers, and perhaps occasion-

ally one of the official visiters of the prison. For the first day or two the convict is not allowed to have even a Bible, nor is any employment given to him for at least a week, a period during which he is the object of the warden's special observation. The prisoner soon petitions for an occupation. It is not however until solitude appears to have effectually subdued him, that employment of any kind is introduced into his cell. Under such circumstances labour is regarded as a great alleviation; and such is the industry manifested, that with few exceptions has it been necessary to assign tasks." * * * * "No person but an official visiter can have any communication with a prisoner, unless under special circumstances; nor is a visiter permitted to deliver to or receive from a convict any letter or message, or to supply him with any article, under the penalty of one hundred dollars. Such are the general arrangements of this penitentiary. There are, however, deviations from the rules which I have described, in relation to convicts who are employed at trades, which cannot conveniently be carried on in a cell. Those who are employed as blacksmiths, carpenters, &c. are allowed to leave their cells and work separately in small shops in which they are locked up, or they are associated in such cases with an artificer not a prisoner; but the greatest care is observed both during the hours of work, and when going to and returning from the shops, to prevent any one convict from seeing another." * * * * "The prison (Auburn) has throughout a very imposing appearance. Whatever opinion may be formed of its ultimate influence upon the character of the convict, nothing can be more complete than the vigour and promptitude with which its several regulations are carried into execution. Silence is unquestionably a moral agent of great value in the government of prisons. It operates as a restraint, and is extremely favourable to habits of obedience, thoughtfulness, and industry. Yet the effects of the Auburn Penitentiary, notwithstanding the order and regularity with which its discipline is enforced, have, I am persuaded, been greatly over-rated. Its advocates maintain that the mental seclusion at Auburn is complete, and that the main objects of solitude are in fact accomplished. But vigilant as are the precautions taken to prevent communication, the prisoners do hold intercourse by signs and whispers. For this there are at times opportunities both in the work-shops and when marching in close files. That such is the fact, I have been assured by those who have been the inmates of this penitentiary.

"This intercourse, however slight and occasional, materially contributes to destroy that feeling of loneliness, which is the greatest of all moral punishments, and which absolute and unremitted seclusion cannot fail to inspire. It is stated in an official report to the legislature, 'that even under the admirable discipline of Auburn, we, (the Commissioners,) have seen, within a few weeks past, notes written on pieces of leather, tending to insurrection. So far as they can safely venture, they, the prisoners, will be found talking, laughing, singing, whistling, altercating and quarrelling with each other, and with the officers. They will idle away their time in gazing at spectators, and waste or destroy the stock they work upon.' 'If,' add the Commissioners, 'instead of being repressed by a blow, the usual irregularities of prisoners were to be reported for investigation, we are satisfied that endless litigations before the inspectors would ensue, requiring thereby their constant attendance at the prison.' In the permanent good effects which this discipline is alleged to produce, I have no faith. It is true that the dominion of the lash produces instantaneous and unqualified submission, but this obedience is but of a temporary nature. It imparts no valuable feeling, and presents no motive that is calculated to deter eventually from the commission of crime and amend the moral character. In the year 1828, the superintendent of this penitentiary published a work in which he gave a list of one hundred and sixty convicts, four-fifths of whom were stated on their liberation to have become honest and respectable. On my visit to the Penitentiary at Sing Sing, I was informed that thirty of these persons were then in that prison, and I was assured that an additional number of twenty had also been there since the appearance of that publication. But even were its effects on the diminution of crime apparent, the means by which the discipline is enforced are repugnant to humane feeling and the spirit of an enlightened age. In the repeated conversations which I have held in private with convicts who have been thus governed by the terror of the whip, I have invariably found that this treatment produced strong

feelings of degradation and revenge. The lash is opposed to those moral and religious means which experience has proved most efficacious in the recovery of the human character; and I feel assured that the idea of its adoption as an ordinary instrument of discipline would not be entertained, much less would the practice be tolerated in the prisons of Great Britain. In judging of the comparative merits of the two systems, it will be seen that the discipline of Auburn is of a physical, that of Philadelphia of a moral character. The whip inflicts immediate pain, but solitude inspires permanent terror. The former degrades while it humiliates; the latter subdues, but it does not debase. At Auburn the convict is uniformly treated with harshness, at Philadelphia with civility: the one contributes to harden, the other to soften the affections. Auburn stimulates vindictive feelings: Philadelphia induces habitual submission. The Auburn prisoner, when liberated, conscious that he is known to past associates, and that the public eye has gazed upon him, sees an accuser in every man he meets. The Philadelphia convict quits his cell, secure from recognition and exempt from reproach."

However much we may prefer the plan of solitude to the principle of association at Auburn, it cannot be denied that the strict discipline and separate dormitories of the latter, are an advancement on the old systems of idleness and promiscuous labour. Possessing, as it does, unquestioned advantages, it is earnestly desired that the brutal degradation of the lash may be permanently abjured. This feature, so repugnant to our natural feelings—so degrading to the pride and injurious to the temper and disposition of the sufferer,—was abandoned by Pennsylvania, in the year 1795, as inimical to the genius of republican government. At Wethersfield in Connecticut, it is wholly dispensed with, and the discipline of that penitentiary is eulogized by our author as superior to all the other prisons conducted upon the principle of association. But however modified, and with whatever assuasives, the possibility of vicious communication can only be obviated by making the keepers as numerous as the convicts to be watched; and the possibility of preventing a personal knowledge of each other, can only be effected through the instrumentality of *masks*. As the former intimation will scarcely be practised in an enlightened country, we cannot but fear the occurrence of a sanguinary outbreak, one of those sudden insurrections among the prisoners, which the formidable array of fire-arms and various implements of destruction, in each of these establishments, seem so dreadfully to threaten or portend.

As a matter of *national concern*, it is to be regretted that those of the States which have admitted the principle of association, in pursuance of Auburn, had not waited the slow but certain results of Pennsylvania. The intrinsic superiority of laborious employment and complete separation, must, as a means of reform, be, at length, universally conceded. The penitentiary at Philadelphia, after a six years' trial, has silently, but effectually, demolished the various objections to solitude which theorists foresaw and the timorous apprehended. The system has ceased to require for its defence the eloquence of plausible reasoning and impassioned appeal; it rests upon the immoveable basis of philosophy confirmed

by experiment. There can be no more conclusive reply to the refinements of sophistry and the ingenuity of cavil, which have been employed against it, than that which is furnished by a history of the past. To each and every objector we use one common language,—*inspect and examine the operation and results of the Eastern Penitentiary.*

Art. X.—CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

1.—*An Eulogy on the Life and Character of* John Marshall, *Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Delivered at the request of the Councils of Philadelphia, on the 24th September*, 1835. By Horace Binney. Philadelphia: 1835.

2.—*A Discourse upon the Life, Character, and Services of* The Honourable John Marshall, LL. D., *Chief Justice of the United States of America, pronounced on the 15th day of October, at the request of the Suffolk Bar*, by Joseph Story, LL. D., *and published at their request.* Boston: 1835.

The spectacle of large multitudes of men offering their homage of reverence for those among them who have become eminent for virtue and talents, fills the mind with various emotions. It is delightful to witness public demonstrations of respect for qualities which we ourselves love and admire. They appear to testify a general appreciation of the excellence and importance of those qualities, and afford ground for hope that the blessings which they create and diffuse will be continued. Amid the solemnities of the scene, while listening to the eloquent sentences which describe the exalted character and important services of a good and great man who has departed, we forget how few there are of the nation upon which he has perhaps conferred inestimable benefits, who can properly understand his character, or fairly value the results of his exertions. Carried away by the excitement of the occasion, we imagine for a moment that the great body of the people think and feel as the attentive audience of which we form a part;—not reflecting on the vast multitude of those who know nothing of the object of our regard, except perhaps his name, and that of the office which he filled.

The mass of men are influenced only by the external and the mechanical. They are governed by images presented to the senses, not by truths addressed to the reason; and admire those qualities which operate immediately upon matter—the action and effect of which they can see and feel, rather than those superior attributes of the mind which deal with the spiritual and immate-

rial, and the objects of whose exertion are abstract truths, and moral relations, which the million are for the most part unable to comprehend. So powerful is the charm of those qualities which excite the passions and affect the imagination, that they attract almost equal applause whether they be exerted for good or for evil. The man who benefits or who injures his fellow-citizens by a successful battle, is long the idol of the multitude; he who gains for them a more important, but bloodless victory, by the force of reason, is known and remembered only by the few, who can understand the nature and appreciate the difficulty of his labours. The conquering leader, whose genius, whose courage, or whose fortune, has won the freedom or rivetted the chains of his country, amid all the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war," is worshipped with love and reverence by succeeding millions. The hurrah and the applause are all for the hero; whilst the sage and statesman, whose clear and profound intellect,—whose deep knowledge of the nature of man, the exigencies of society, and the history of the past, have enabled him to construct a government and establish laws, the effect of which is the protection and security of the liberty, peace and happiness of unborn generations—is by the mass scarcely appreciated or honoured in his own, and not remembered after it. His fellow citizens enjoy the prosperity, the plenty, and the social order which are the results of his labours, just as the generality of men enjoy the light of the sun, and the fruits of the earth, thoughtlessly—thanklessly—ignorant in each case of the source of their blessings, and of the nature and operation of those causes which have produced so majestic a scene of happiness and beauty.

Another reflection which naturally arises on witnessing solemnities in honour of the illustrious dead is, that those solemnities are themselves a proof of the rarity of the qualities which they are intended to commemorate. Men do not testify admiration for that which they often see, and of the millions who have died, how few there are whose life or whose death have been distinguished by the notice of their fellows, and of those few, how small a number have possessed in their full measure the noblest attributes of our nature. If a generation produces one man of great wisdom and virtue, it is fortunate. He is sufficient to adorn and illustrate the age, and the steady light of his genius marks and distinguishes it forever after. The great mass of those among whom he lived and moved, with their little interests and petty pursuits, disappear and are forgotten, whilst the truths which he discovered—the principles which he established and the institutions which he created or improved, remain to influence the condition of men through the lapse of centuries.

And what are those qualities which thus make a man a blessing to the world and set him apart from his fellows, as a being

of a different nature? Principally the power to perceive truth and the desire to do good; qualities which may not at first sight, strike all as being very astonishing or remarkable. Yet none are more rare. It is their union which forms the wise and virtuous man, and when we reflect that all the crime and misery and degradation in the world are produced by the adoption of error and the indulgence of evil passions—we learn to revere wisdom and to love virtue.

In the early stages of society—whilst the minds of men are solely occupied in providing the means of subsistence, in repelling or in making aggression, courage and skill in war are the only virtues required, and the only ones which obtain respect. The higher qualities of mind have no opportunity for development or stimulus for exertion. But as a nation becomes more populous and secure,—as property increases and the relations of men are multiplied, a complicated system of laws and government becomes necessary. Objects are afforded for the exercise of reason, and those who are exempt from the necessity of daily toil, begin to feel the impulses of taste—the desire for knowledge—and the enjoyments of intellectual exertion. Superior excellence becomes difficult and rare, because in the advancement of society the standard of excellence becomes more exalted, and to reach it, requires a union of qualities which nature has bestowed with a penurious hand. Thus it is that whilst history records the names of a countless throng of heroes and warriors—how small is the number of philosophers and poets: of those who have enlarged the bounds of human knowledge, discovered truth, promoted the happiness of society, or attempted to elevate and refine the sentiments and desires of man.

It is some consolation to reflect, that if civilization, which multiplies so greatly the wants, the pursuits and relations of men, requires for its further progress, the constant exercise in important stations of the highest powers of human nature,—its effect is to develop and bring forth those powers, wherever they exist, into active usefulness. The demand produces the supply. Statesmen and philosophers and lawyers are found, not in ages of barbarism and poverty, but are the growth of wealth and security. They conduct that portion of the business of a community which regulates and governs all the rest, and the proper performance of such duties requires mental endowments of the highest order, strengthened and sharpened by exercise and cultivation. Very few men out of a generation are so gifted, and the administration of government and the conduct of public affairs, are of necessity, for the most part, committed to the hands of mediocrity. Nothing indeed is more rare than a union of all the great qualities necessary for the discharge of important public duties in a community far advanced in wealth and refinement. Even where the nation is lucky enough

to possess men so accomplished, such is the blindness and perverseness of human nature, that it is still an accident if they are permitted to exercise their powers in a proper sphere; and Providence can scarcely bestow upon a people a more valuable blessing, than a man who brings to a station of extensive and permanent influence, all the qualities necessary for the perfect performance of its duties.

Among the various offices which the affairs of a free, populous, and wealthy nation, governed by a complicated system of law requires—we should select that of a judge as demanding a rarer combination of excellence than any other. It is his province to administer the principles of an abstruse and difficult science, the acquisition of which requires long and laborious study—and the application, powers and qualities of a rare and peculiar nature. He must be wise, learned, and virtuous. His judgment must be calm and rapid, his knowledge various and profound, his manners dignified and courteous, his temper firm and mild, his integrity unimpeached and unimpeachable.

"The higher judicial offices of our country," says Mr. Binney in his Eulogium on Chief Justice Tilghman, "are posts of great distinction, and they owe it to their attendant exertion and responsibility. They put in requisition the noblest faculties of the mind, the finest properties of the temper, and not unfrequently they task to the utmost the vigour of an unbroken constitution. Very few, if any of their duties are mechanical. There is no routine by which their business is employed without the expenditure of thought. The cases which come before a judge are new either in principle or in circumstance; and not seldom the facts which ask for the application of different principles, are in the same cause, nearly in equipoise. There is consequently an interminable call upon the judge to compare, discriminate, weigh, adopt, reject, in fine to bring into intense exercise his whole understanding. Where the profession is candid and well-instructed, nothing that is obvious, and little that can be made so without deep consideration, is referred to the decision of the judges. For them the universal intelligence of the world is at work, to complicate the contracts and duties of men. For them are reserved those Gordian knots, which though others may cut, they must at least appear to untie. Every judgment is made under great responsibility to the science;—it must be a rule for the future as well as for the past. It is made under an equal responsibility to the parties;—the judge is the defaulter when through his means the defaulter escapes. It is under a higher responsibility to heaven;—the malediction of an unjust sentence is heavier upon him that gives, than upon him that receives it."

Such are the difficulties incident to the administration of justice in our state courts. The duties of Chief Justice of the United States, so complicated is our system of government and law, are more arduous and more varied, and task to the utmost the noblest powers of the mind. They are well described by Judge Story in the Discourse of which we have placed the title at the head of this article.

"The Chief Justiceship of the United States is a station full of perplexing duties, and delicate responsibilities, and requiring qualities so various, as well as so high, that no man, conscious of human infirmity, can fail to approach it with extreme diffidence and distrust of his own competency. It is the very post, where weakness, and ignorance, and timidity, must instantly betray themselves, and sink to

their natural level. It is difficult even for the profession at large fully to appreciate the extent of the labours, the various attainments, the consummate learning, and the exquisite combination of moral qualities, which are demanded to fill it worthily. It has hitherto been occupied only by the highest class of minds, which had been trained and disciplined by a long course of public and professional service for its functions. Jay, Ellsworth, and Marshall, have been the incumbents for the whole period since the adoption of the Constitution; and their extraordinary endowments have in a great measure concealed from the public gaze the dangers and the difficulties of this dazzling vocation.

"There is nothing in the jurisprudence of the States, which affords any parallel or measure of the labours of the National Courts. The jurisprudence of each State is homogeneous in its materials. It deals with institutions of a uniform character. It discusses questions of a nature familiar to the thoughts and employments of the whole profession. The learned advocate, who finds himself transferred, by public favour or superior ability, from the state bar to the state bench, finds the duties neither new, nor embarrassing in their elements or details. He passes over ground, where the pathways are known and measured; and he finds pleasure in retracing their windings and their passages. He may exclaim with the poet, Juvat iterare labores; and he indulges a safe and generous confidence in his own juridical attainments.

"How different is the case in the National Courts! With whatever affluence of learning a Judge may come there, he finds himself at once in a scene full of distressing novelties and varieties of thought. Instead of the jurisprudence of a single State, in which he has been educated and trained, he is at once plunged into the jurisprudence of twenty-four States, essentially differing in habits, laws, institutions, and principles of decision. He is compelled to become a student of doctrines, to which he has hitherto been an entire stranger; and the very language, in which those doctrines are sometimes expressed, is in the truest sense to him an unknown tongue. The words seem to belong to the dialect of his native language; but other meanings are attached to them, either so new, or so qualified, that he is embarrassed at every step of his progress. Nay; he is required in some measure to forget in one cause, what he has learned in another, from its inapplicability or local impropriety; and new statutes, perpetually accumulating on every side, seem to snatch from his grasp the principles of local law, at the moment, when he is beginning to congratulate himself upon the possession of them. Independent of this complicated intermixture of State Jurisprudence, he is compelled to master the whole extent of Admiralty and Prize Law; the public and private Law of Nations; and the varieties of English and American Equity Jurisprudence. To these confessedly Herculean labours he must now add some reasonable knowledge of the Civil Law, and of the Jurisprudence of France and Spain, as they break upon him from the sunny regions of the farthest South. Nor is this all; (though much of what has been already stated must be new to his thoughts) he must gather up the positive regulations of the statutes and treaties of the National Government, and the silent and implied results of its sovereignty and action. He must finally expand his studies to that most important branch of National Jurisprudence, the exposition of constitutional law, demanding, as it does, a comprehensiveness of thought, a calmness of judgment, and a diligence of research, (not to speak of other qualities,) which cannot be contemplated without the most anxious apprehensions of failure. When these various duties are considered, it is scarcely too much to say, that they present the same discouraging aspect of the National Jurisprudence, which Sir Henry Spelman has so feelingly proclaimed of the municipal jurisprudence of England, in his day;—Molem, non ingentem solum, sed perpetuis humeris sustinendam.

"These, however, are but a part of the qualifications required of the man who holds the office of Chief Justice. He must also possess other rare accomplishments, which are required of one, who, as the Head of the Court, is to preside over its public deliberations, and its private confidential conferences. Patience, moderation, candour, urbanity, quickness of perception, dignity of deportment, gentleness of manners, genius, which commands respect, and learning, which justifies confidence;—These seem indispensable qualifications to fill up the outlines of the character."

One remarkable difference between the government of the United States and others is,—that, whilst they are the slow growth of many ages, and have attained their present form through many changes and modifications, made in conformity to the circumstances and exigencies of society at different periods,—it was framed by a few men, in pursuance of a pre-conceived plan. It differs also in form, structure, and action, from any other. The whole system was an experiment and thought to be so. Its first movements were therefore watched with the deepest anxiety—for upon its success depended the happiness of a great people, and the cause of free institutions throughout the world. The great object of its founders was to preserve the union of the states and the liberties of the people; and the constitution, which is the written plan of the government,—under which it acts and from which it derives its authority—exhibits a set of contrivances by which the sovereign power is so distributed, and submitted to checks and balances in such a manner as to prevent its dangerous accumulation in the hands of an individual or of a few. As long as the different branches of the government, who are the recipients of power, conform to the constitution, the integrity of the system is preserved and the people are secure. But this they will not do unless human nature should change and cease to produce men, ardent with ambition, eager for power, and reckless in the pursuit of it, without a check established somewhere, which shall keep them in the prescribed path of duty.—Such a safe-guard has been provided. As the action of the government is upon individuals, by means of laws, which must be administered by the courts of justice, the judiciary appears to be the most appropriate and safe depository of the power of deciding, before it can be executed, whether a particular law is or is not in accordance with the constitution. This power has been accordingly committed to the judges of the Supreme Court. It is their province not only to construe and expound, but to guard and protect the great charter of our liberties. They stand between the government and the people, and pronounce every act invalid which is contrary to the tenor of the constitution; so that a law cannot have its full effect without the concurrence of all those, who collectively possess for the time being, the whole sovereign power of the state;—of the legislature who enact,—of the judiciary who decide upon its validity, and of the executive who enforces it.—Those to whom the task was committed of directing the first operations of this untried system, occupied stations of great difficulty and of immense responsibility. Every thing was new, every thing unsettled, and they were obliged to provide for the wants and contingencies of the future, with scarcely a light from the past to guide them. The highest office of the judiciary was then a post of much greater embarrassment and anxiety than it now is, when the action

of the government has become familiar and habitual, and with the precedents of half a century to direct its judgments. The court in those days had the constitution alone to contemplate—an instrument in which much is necessarily left to construction and inference, and the meaning of which, from the inherent ambiguity of language, is frequently liable to doubt and mistake. Each construction put upon it by the judiciary, was to become a rule for the future. The judges in fact had to build up a vast system of constitutional and national law for the guidance of posterity, and upon their wisdom, integrity, and learning, in a great degree, depended the future welfare and safety of the country.

How this task was performed, the life and labours of Judge Marshall can testify. He was fitted for it by the gifts of nature, who bestowed upon him the highest qualities of mind and character, and by the results of education; for he possessed a profound knowledge of the nature of the government, the intentions of its founders, and the wants and spirit of the times,—which he acquired during the arduous struggle of the revolution, and amid the political discussions of the day, in both which he acted a distinguished part.

The circumstances of his early youth were such as to afford him the best possible training for the difficult times through which he afterwards passed, and for the high stations which he successively filled. His father was a man remarkable for his courage and strength of character, and altogether fitted to form the mind of his son, and to instil into it the virtues of firmness, constancy and patriotism. His earliest days were passed in the mountain regions of his native state, where his constitution was invigorated by the active pursuits and healthful exercises of rural life, and his mind elevated by the contemplation of the wild beauties of nature. At the age of nineteen he entered the service of his country, in which he continued for six years—fighting in many of the principal battles of the revolution. We cannot resist the temptation to give our readers the following graphic sketch, by Mr. Binney, of the future sage. It is a description of his first appearance as a soldier, immediately after the battle of Lexington.

"At this date, Mr. Marshall resided in the paternal mansion at Oak Hill, and his first appearance after intelligence of the event, was as an officer of a militia company in Fauquier, which had been ordered to assemble about ten miles from his residence. A kinsman and cotemporary, who was an eye witness of this scene, has thus described it to me.

"'It was in May, 1775. He was then a youth of nineteen. The muster field was some twenty miles distant from the Court House, and in a section of country peopled by tillers of the earth. Rumours of the occurrences near Boston, had circulated with the effect of alarm and agitation, but without the means of ascertaining the truth, for not a newspaper was printed nearer than Williamsburg, nor was one taken within the bounds of the militia company, though large. The Captain had called the company together, and was expected to attend, but did not. John Marshall had been appointed Lieutenant to it. His father had formerly commanded

it. Soon after Lieutenant Marshall's appearance on the ground, those who knew him clustered about him to greet him, others from curiosity and to hear the news.

"'He proceeded to inform the company that the Captain would not be there, and that he had been appointed Lieutenant instead of a better:—that he had come to meet them as fellow soldiers, who were likely to be called on to defend their country, and their own rights and liberties, invaded by the British:—that there had been a battle at Lexington in Massachusetts, between the British and Americans, in which the Americans were victorious, but that more fighting was expected:—that soldiers were called for, and that it was time to brighten their fire arms, and learn to use them in the field;—and that if they would fall into a single line, he would show them the new manual exercise, for which purpose he had brought his gun,—bringing it up to his shoulder.—The sergeants put the men in line, and their fugleman presented himself in front to the right. His figure, says his venerable kinsman, I have now before me. He was about six feet high, straight and rather slender, of dark complexion—showing little if any rosy red, yet good health, the outline of the face nearly a circle, and within that, eyes dark to blackness, strong and penetrating, beaming with intelligence and good nature; an upright forehead, rather low, was terminated in a horizontal line by a mass of raven-black hair of unusual thickness and strength—the features of the face were in harmony with this outline, and the temples fully developed.—The result of this combination was interesting and very agreeable. The body and limbs indicated agility, rather than strength, in which, however, he was by no means deficient. He wore a purple or pale-blue hunting-shirt, and trousers of the same material fringed with white. A round black hat mounted with the buck's-tail for a cockade, crowned the figure and the man.

"'He went through the manual exercise by word and motion deliberately pronounced and performed, in the presence of the company, before he required the men to imitate him; and then proceeded to exercise them, with the most perfect temper. Never did man possess a temper more happy, or if otherwise, more subdued or better disciplined.

"'After a few lessons, the company were dismissed, and informed that if they wished to hear more about the war, and would form a circle around him, he would tell them what he understood about it. The circle was formed, and he addressed the company for something like an hour. I remember, for I was near him, that he spoke at the close of his speech of the Minute Battalion, about to be raised, and said he was going into it, and expected to be joined by many of his hearers. He then challenged an acquaintance to a game of quoits, and they closed the day with foot races, and other athletic exercises, at which there was no betting. He had walked ten miles to the muster field, and returned the same distance on foot to his father's house at Oak Hill, where he arrived a little after sunset.'

"This is a portrait, my fellow citizens, to which in simplicity, gaiety of heart, and manliness of spirit, in every thing but the symbols of the youthful soldier, and one or two of those lineaments, which the hand of time, however gentle, changes and perhaps improves, he never lost his resemblance. All who knew him well, will recognise its truth to nature."

It is worthy of remark, that the career of Chief Justice Marshall's distinguished associate, Judge Washington, was also begun in the military service of his country.

"The flame of patriotism," says Judge Hopkinson, in his beautiful Eulogy upon the latter, "which afterwards burnt so bright and strong in the bosom of the man, was kindled in the boy, and young Washington discarded his academic gown for the uniform of a soldier, and his books of science for the implements of war.—He joined a volunteer troop of horse, and served under the command of General Lee, whose daring courage and ceaseless activity kept all under his orders, and particularly the cavalry, in a constant and dangerous employment.—The invasion being turned to another direction, Bushrod, with his companions, returned to their homes."

With regard to these two illustrious men, Judge Hopkinson observes,—

"It was the singular fortune, and the distinguished merit, of President Adams, to bring upon this bench, two of its most brilliant ornaments—Virginia has the honour of having produced them both.—You, my brethren of the bar, and our brethren in every part of these United States, who are intimately acquainted with the official labours of the present Chief Justice, with their vital importance to the firm establishment and practical operations of the Government under which we live, you will not refuse your assent to the opinion, that if the President who raised *John Marshall* to that office, had not earned the gratitude of this people, by any other act of his life, he has done enough by this appointment to be held as a benefactor to his country. You also know how much he added to the debt by giving us Judge Washington."

Did our limits permit, we would gladly follow Marshall's eloquent Eulogists in their narrative of his illustrious and virtuous career, from its commencement to its close, which was accompanied by the tears of his friends, the regret and reverence of a nation, and better than all, by

"The sweet peace that goodness bosoms ever."

His labours as a judge are those upon which his fame principally rests, and which have been most important to the nation These alone are sufficient to entitle him to the profound gratitude and admiration of posterity—as, next to Washington—the greatest benefactor to his country. He was the expounder of the constitution, and many questions have been settled by his luminous mind and great authority—which, if left unsettled, or decided unwisely, or by one who carried with him less entirely the confidence of the people, might have proved sources of fatal mischief. On this subject we must quote the language of Mr. Binney, who speaks of him with the enthusiasm and just appreciation of a kindred spirit.

"I have now, my fellow citizens, defectively traced the life of this eminent man to the age of forty-five; and you have seen him from his youth upward, engaged in various stations and offices, tending successively to corroborate his health, to expand his affections, to develop his mind, to enrich it with the stores of legal science, to familiarize him with public affairs, and with the principles of the Constitution, and before little more than half his life had run out, producing from the materials supplied by a most bountiful nature, a consummate work, pre-eminently fitted for the judicial department of the Federal Government. To the first office of this department he was appointed on the 31st of January, 1801.

"At the date of this appointment, the Constitution had been more frequently discussed in deliberative assemblies, than in the Supreme Court of the United States. Circumstances had not yet called for the intervention of that court upon questions opening the whole scheme of the Constitution, and thereby determining the rules for its interpretation; nor had any thing of previous occurrence established the meaning of some of the most important provisions which restrain the powers of the states. The Constitution is undoubtedly clear in most of its clauses. In all its parts it is perhaps as free from doubt or obscurity, as the general language of a Constitution permits. But a Constitution has necessarily some complication in its structure, and language itself is not a finished work. The Constitution of the United States has been truly called an enumeration of powers, and not a definition of them. It cannot therefore surprise us, nor does it take from its merit, that the language of the Constitution required interpretation. It is true of the time when this appointment was made, that in many parts of the greatest difficulty and delicacy, it had not then received a judicial interpretation.

"It was obvious moreover at that time, that the rapidly augmenting transactions and legislation of the states, and their increasing numbers also, must within the compass of a few years, present cases of interference between the laws of the states and the Constitution, and bring up for discussion those embarrassing questions from which the earlier days of the Union had been exempt.

"For the duty of leading the highest court in the country in the adjudication of questions of such magnitude, as well as of controversies determinable by the laws of all the states, and by the code of public law, including a range of inquiries exceeding that of any other judicial tribunal that is known to us, was this illustrious person set apart; and when we now look back upon the thirty-four years of unimpaired vigour that he gave to the work, the extent to which the court has explained the Constitution, and sustained its supremacy, the principles of interpretation it has established for the decision of future controversy, and the confirmation it has given to all the blessings of life, by asserting and upholding the majesty of the law, we are lost in admiration of the man, and in gratitude to heaven for his beneficent life.

"Rare indeed were the qualifications which he brought to the station, and which continued to be more and more developed the longer he held it.

"He was endued by nature with a patience that was never surpassed;—patience to hear that which he knew already, that which he disapproved, that which questioned himself.—When he ceased to hear, it was not because his patience was exhausted, but because it ceased to be a virtue.

"His carriage in the discharge of his judicial business, was faultless. Whether the argument was animated or dull, instructive or superficial, the regard of his expressive eye was an assurance that nothing that ought to affect the cause, was lost by inattention or indifference, and the courtesy of his general manner was only so far restrained on the Bench, as was necessary for the dignity of office, and for the suppression of familiarity.

"His industry and powers of labour, when contemplated in connexion with his social temper, show a facility that does not generally belong to parts of such strength. There remain behind him nearly thirty volumes of copiously reasoned decisions, greater in difficulty and labour, than probably have been made in any other court during the life of a single judge! yet he participated in them all, and in those of greatest difficulty, his pen has most frequently drawn up the judgment; and in the midst of his judicial duties, he composed and published in the year 1804, a copious biography of Washington, surpassing in authenticity and minute accuracy, any public history with which we are acquainted. He found time also to revise it, and to publish a second edition, separating the History of the American Colonies from the Biography, and to prepare with his own pen an edition of the latter for the use of schools. Every part of it is marked with the scrupulous veracity of a judicial exposition; and it shows moreover, how deeply the writer was imbued with that spirit which will live after all the compositions of men shall be forgotten,—the spirit of charity, which could indite a history of the Revolution and of parties, in which he was a conspicuous actor, without discolouring his pages with the slightest infusion of gall. It could not be written with more candour an hundred years hence. It has not been challenged for the want of it, but in a single instance, and that has been refuted by himself with irresistible force of argument, as well as with unexhausted benignity of temper.

"To qualities such as these, he joined an immoveable firmness befitting the office of presiding judge, in the highest tribunal of the country. It was not the result of excited feeling, and consequently never rose or fell with the emotions of the day. It was the constitution of his nature, and sprung from the composure of a mind undisturbed by doubt, and of a heart unsusceptible of fear. He thought not of the fleeting judgments and commentaries of men; and although he was not indifferent to their approbation, it was not the compass by which he was directed, nor the haven in which he looked for safety.

"His learning was great, and his faculty of applying it of the very first order.

"But it is not by these qualities that he is so much distinguished from the judges of his time. In learning and industry, in patience, firmness, and fidelity, he has had his equals. But there is no judge, living or dead, whose claims are disparaged

by assigning the first place in the department of constitutional law to Chief Justice Marshall.

"He looked through the Constitution with the glance of intuition. He had been with it at its creation, and had been in communion with it from that hour. As the fundamental law, instituted by the people, for the concerns of a rising nation, he revolted at the theory that seeks for possible meanings of its language, that will leave it the smallest possible power. Both his judgment and affections bound him to it as a government supreme in its delegated powers, and supreme in the authority to expound and enforce them, proceeding from the people, designed for their welfare, accountable to them, possessing their confidence, representing their sovereignty, and no more to be restrained in the spirit of jealousy, within less than the fair dimensions of its authority, than to be extended beyond them in the spirit of usurpation. These were his constitutional principles, and he interpreted the Constitution by their light. If it is said that they are the same which he held as a follower of Washington, a member of the legislature of Virginia, and of the Congress of the United States, when party divided the country, it is most true. He was sincere, constant and consistent from the beginning to the end of his life. If to others it appeared that his principles were meant for party, he knew that they were devoted to the whole people, and he received his earthly reward in their ultimate general adoption, as the only security of the Union, and of the public welfare.

"To these principles he joined the most admirable powers of reasoning. When he came to his high office, hardly any interpretation of the Constitution could be assumed as true by force of authority. The Constitution is not a subject upon which mere authority is likely at any time to sustain a judicial construction with general consent. Reason is the great authority upon constitutional questions, and the faculty of reasoning is the only instrument by which it can be exercised. In him it was perfect, and its work was perfect,—in simplicity, perspicuity, connexion and strength. It is commonly as direct as possible, rarely resorting to analogy, and never making it the basis or principal support of the argument. Of all descriptions of reasoning, this when sound is most authoritative, and such therefore are the judgments upon the Constitution to which it has been applied.

"This is not the place for a particular reference to these judgments. During the time that he has been upon the bench, the court have explored almost every question in regard to the Constitution that can assume a judicial form. The obligation of contracts, and that which constitutes its essence,—the restraint upon the issue of paper currency by the states,—the authority of Congress to regulate trade, navigation, and intercourse among the states,—those principles and provisions in the Constitution which were intended to secure the rights of property in each of the states, and their enjoyment by intercourse among them all,—have been investigated, and settled upon a basis not to be shaken so long as the law shall retain any portion of our regard.

"If I were to select any in particular from the mass of its judgments, for the purpose of showing what we derive from the Constitution, and from the noble faculties which have been applied to its interpretation, it would be that in which the protection of chartered rights has been deduced from its provisions. The case of Dartmouth College is the bulwark of our incorporated institutions for public education, and of those chartered endowments for diffusive public charity, which are not only the ornaments but among the strongest defences of a nation. It raises them above the reach of party and occasional prejudice, and gives assurance to the hope, that the men who now live, may be associated with the men who are to live hereafter, by works consecrated to exalt and refine the people, and destined if they endure, to unite successive generations by the elevating sentiment of high national character.

"In a thousand ways the decisions of this court have given stability to the Union, by showing its inseparable connexion with the security and happiness of the people of the United States."

The excellence of the man was in admirable harmony with the superiority of the judge. The following description of his private character is by Judge Story.

"I have now finished the narrative of the life of Chief Justice Marshall, a life, which, though unadorned by brilliant passages of individual adventure, or striking events, carries with it, (unless I am greatly mistaken,) that, which is the truest title to renown, a fame founded on public and private virtue. It has happened to him, as to many other distinguished men, that his life had few incidents; and those, which belonged to it, were not far removed from the ordinary course of human events. That life was filled up in the conscientious discharge of duty. It was throughout marked by a wise and considerate propriety. His virtues expanded with the gradual development of his character. They were the natural growth of deep rooted principles, working their way through the gentlest affections, and the purest ambition. No man ever had a loftier desire of excellence; but it was tempered by a kindness, which subdued envy, and a diffidence, which extinguished jealousy. Search his whole life, and you cannot lay your finger on a single extravagance of design or act. There were no infirmities, leaving a permanent stain behind them. There were no eccentricities to be concealed; no follies to be apologized for; no vices to be blushed at; no rash outbreakings of passionate resentment to be regretted; no dark deeds, disturbing the peace of families, or leaving them wretched by its desolations. If here and there the severest scrutiny might be thought capable of detecting any slight admixture of human frailty, it was so shaded off in its colouring, that it melted into some kindred virtue. It might with truth be said, that the very failing leaned to the side of the charities of life: and carried with it the soothing reflection—Non multum abludit imago. It might excite a smile; it could never awaken a sigh.

"Indeed, there was in him a rare combination of virtues, such only as belongs to a character of consummate wisdom; a wisdom which looks through this world, but which also looks far beyond it for motives and objects. I know not whether such wisdom ought to be considered as the cause, or the accompaniment of such virtues; or whether they do not in truth alternately act upon, and perfect each other.

"I have said, that there was in him a rare combination of virtues. If I might venture, upon so solemn an occasion, to express my own deliberate judgment, in the very terms most significant to express it, I should say, that the combination was so rare, that I have never known any man, whom I should pronounce more perfect. He had a deep sense of moral and religious obligation, and a love of truth, constant, enduring, unflinching. It naturally gave rise to a sincerity of thought, purpose, expression, and conduct, which, though never severe, was always open, manly, and straight forward. Yet it was combined with such a gentle and bland demeanour, that it never gave offence; but it was on the contrary, most persuasive in its appeals to the understanding.

"Among Christian sects, he personally attached himself to the Episcopal Church. It was the religion of his early education; and became afterwards that of his choice. But he was without the slightest touch of bigotry or intolerance. His benevolence was as wide, as Christianity itself. It embraced the human race. He was not only liberal in his feelings, and principles, but in his charities. His hands were open upon all occasions to succour distress, to encourage enterprise, and to support good institutions.

"He was a man of the most unaffected modesty. Although I am persuaded, that no one ever possessed a more entire sense of his own extraordinary talents and acquirements, than he; yet it was a quiet, secret sense, without pride and without ostentation. May I be permitted to say, that, during a most intimate friendship of many, many years, I never upon any occasion was able to detect the slightest tincture of personal vanity. He had no desire for display; and no ambition for admiration. He made no effort to win attention in conversation or argument, beyond what the occasion absolutely required. He sought no fine turns of expression, no vividness of diction, no ornate elegancies of thought, no pointed sentences, to attract observation. What he said was always well said, because it came from a full mind, accustomed to deep reflection; and he was rarely languid, or indifferent to topics, which interested others. He dismissed them without regret; though he discussed them with spirit. He never obtruded his own opinions upon others; but brought them out only, as they were sought, and then with clearness and calmness. Upon a first introduction, he would be thought to be somewhat cold and re-

served; but he was neither the one, nor the other. It was simply a habit of easy taciturnity, waiting, as it were, his own turn to follow the line of conversation, and not to presume to lead it. Even this habit melted away in the presence of the young; for he always looked upon them with a sort of parental fondness, and enjoyed their playful wit, and fresh and confident enthusiasm. Meet him in a stage coach, as a stranger, and travel with him a whole day; and you would only be struck with his readiness to administer to the accommodations of others, and his anxiety to appropriate the least to himself. Be with him, the unknown guest at an Inn, and he seemed adjusted to the very scene, partaking of the warm welcome of its comforts, whenever found; and if not found, resigning himself without complaint to its meanest arrangements. You would never suspect, in either case, that he was a great man; far less that he was the Chief Justice of the United States. But, if perchance, invited by the occasion, you drew him into familiar conversation, you would never forget, that you had seen and heard that 'old man eloquent.'

"He had great simplicity of character, manners, dress, and deportment; and yet with a natural dignity, that suppressed impertinence, and silenced rudeness. His simplicity was never accompanied with that want of perception of what is right, and fit for the occasion; of that grace, which wins respect; or that propriety which constitutes the essence of refined courtesy. And yet it had an exquisite *naiveté*, which charmed every one, and gave a sweetness to his familiar conversations, approaching to fascination. The first impression of a stranger, upon his introduction to him, was generally that of disappointment. It seemed hardly credible, that such simplicity should be the accompaniment of such acknowledged greatness. The consciousness of power was not there; the air of office was not there; there was no play of the lights or shades of rank; no study of effect in tone or bearing. You saw at once, that he never thought of himself; and that he was far more anxious to know others, than to be known by them. You quitted him with increased reverence for human greatness; for in him it seemed inseparable from goodness. If vanity stood abashed in his presence, it was not, that he rebuked it; but that his example showed its utter nothingness.

"He was a man of deep sensibility and tenderness; nay he was an enthusiast in regard to the domestic virtues. He was endowed by nature with a temper of great susceptibility, easily excited, and warm, when roused. But it had been so schooled by discipline, or rather so moulded and chastened by his affections, that it seemed in gentleness, like the distilling dews of evening. It had been so long accustomed to flow in channels, where its sole delight was to give or secure happiness to others, that no one would have believed, that it could ever have been precipitate or sudden in its movements. In truth, there was, to the very close of his life, a romantic chivalry in his feelings, which, though rarely displayed, except in the circle of his most intimate friends, would there pour out itself with the most touching tenderness. In this confidential intercourse, when his soul sought solace from the sympathy of other minds, he would dissolve in tears at the recollection of some buried hope, or lost happiness. He would break out into strains of almost divine eloquence, while he pointed out the scenes of former joys, or recalled the memory of other days, as he brought up their images from the dimness and distance of forgotten years, and showed you at once the depth, with which he could feel, and the lower depths, in which he could bury his own closest, dearest, noblest emotions. After all, whatever may be his fame in the eyes of the world, that, which, in a just sense, was his highest glory, was the purity, affectionateness, liberality, and devotedness of his domestic life. Home, home, was the scene of his real triumphs. There he indulged himself in what he most loved, the duties and the blessings of the family circle. There, his heart had its full play; and his social qualities, warmed, and elevated, and refined by the habitual elegancies of taste, shed around their beautiful and blended lights. There, the sunshine of his soul diffused its softened radiance, and cheered, and soothed, and tranquillized the passing hours.

"May I be permitted also in this presence to allude to another trait in his character, which lets us at once into the inmost recesses of his feelings with an unerring certainty. I allude to the high value, in which he held the female sex, as the friends, the companions, and the equals of man. I do not here mean to refer to the courtesy and delicate kindness, with which he was accustomed to treat the sex; but rather to the unaffected respect, with which he spoke of their accomplishments, their talents,

their virtues, and their excellencies. The scoffs and jeers of the morose, the bitter taunts of the satirist, and the lighter ridicule of the witty, so profusely, and often so ungenerously, poured out upon transient follies or fashions, found no sympathy in his bosom. He was still farther above the common place flatteries, by which frivolity seeks to administer aliment to personal vanity, or vice to make its approaches for baser purposes. He spoke to the sex, when present, as he spoke of them, when absent, in language of just appeal to their understandings, their tastes, and their duties. He paid a voluntary homage to their genius, and to the beautiful productions of it, which now adorn almost every branch of literature and learning. He read those productions with a glowing gratitude. He proudly proclaimed their merits, and vindicated on all occasions their claims to the highest distinction. And he did not hesitate to assign to the great female authors of our day a rank, not inferior to that of the most gifted and polished of the other sex. But, above all, he delighted to dwell on the admirable adaptation of their minds, and sensibilities, and affections to the exalted duties assigned to them by Providence. Their superior purity, their singleness of heart, their exquisite perception of moral and religious sentiment, their maternal devotedness, their uncomplaining sacrifices, their fearlessness in duty, their buoyancy in hope, their courage in despair, their love, which triumphs most, when most pressed by dangers and difficulties; which watches the couch of sickness, and smooths the bed of death, and smiles even in the agonies of its own sufferings;—These, these were the favourite topics of his confidential conversation; and on these he expatiated with an enthusiasm, which showed them to be present in his daily meditations."

Such was John Marshall—an extraordinary instance of all the great and virtuous qualities which make a man a blessing to his country and an honour to his age. Nature produces few such men,—the common objects and pursuits of life do not require them: the world affords few situations which could have given full scope to his powers and perfect development to his faculties,—none perhaps, except that, which he actually held. He seemed born for the times in which he lived,—times of difficulty, of doubt and of danger, requiring all the prudence, wisdom, courage and patriotism which he so eminently possessed. It was not however for the occasions to which they were applied, that his labours were alone important. His exertions were for the benefit of the future as well as the present—and he now forms a part of that which is the noblest inheritance of posterity—the memory of the wise and virtuous who have departed. It seems as though nature endeavoured to compensate for the scarcity of great and good men, by giving to their characters, extensive and pervading influence, not only during life, but after death,—and the country will long feel the blessing of Judge Marshall's career, in the decisions of the court over which he presided, in the moral influence of his character, and in the light of his glorious example.

That example is well worthy the consideration of the people, and should in every possible way be held up to their contemplation. If they could be brought to feel its simple beauty, to comprehend its true greatness, and to understand its real usefulness,—then, indeed, the most important benefits of the life of this illustrious man, would be experienced after his death. The popular gaze however is seldom attracted by characters in which there is nothing to dazzle the imagination or to rouse the passions. His

triumphs were those of reason and virtue, which appeal not to the senses, and were unaccompanied by the glittering parade and pompous pageantry, which excite the admiration of the multitude, and in their eyes, "make ambition virtue." Wisdom, learning, purity and truth, genuine patriotism, disinterested integrity and exalted genius; how sad a thing it is to think, that qualities such as these, the exercise of which in public stations would carry a nation to so proud a place of happiness and glory, are so far above the appreciation of the mass of mankind, as to have little chance of gaining their favour, when opposed by the subtleties of selfish cunning, or the tinsel glittering of military achievement. Men in all ages have been the victims of demagogues and heroes. The first by flattering the prejudices and pandering to the passions,—the second by bewildering the judgment and exciting the imagination of the multitude, have always contrived to baffle the efforts of the wise and the patriotic, and to overthrow those institutions which promised most fairly to secure the liberty and happiness of the people. As an individual is in greater peril from the violence of his own passions and the weakness of his own judgment, than from any external dangers which may beset his path,—so a nation is more liable to fall, through the blind infatuation, the moral corruption, and the erroneous opinions of its own members, than by the assaults of its enemies. Virtue and knowledge will alone strengthen it, where it must needs be strengthened—against itself. Wanting these, its fleets and armies may indeed secure it from the efforts of a foreign foe,—but its people, unable to govern themselves, will soon degrade their own dignity and destroy their own happiness; reckless licentiousness will take the place of regulated liberty, riot and bloodshed of social order; and finally absolute power will usurp the seat of constitutional authority.

Let us hope better things for our country. Our government must still be regarded as an experiment, but as an experiment, which, notwithstanding many things to regret and to fear, has, on the whole, so far succeeded well. We have much reason for hope, when we regard the cautious wisdom of the constitution,—the peculiar circumstances of the nation,—and the intelligence of the people. But whilst we encourage a cheerful confidence, let us beware of indulging in blind security, deluded by the gay sunshine and rich abundance of prosperous fortune. Though the expanse of the sky be bright and clear, there are clouds rising upon the horizon of portentous aspect, which to an observant eye denote the coming tempest. As such we cannot but regard the efforts now making, particularly in Pennsylvania, to destroy the independence of the judiciary, and to bring it into the dangerous vortex of party conflict. Complete independence alike of the people and the other branches of the government, is absolutely neces-

sary for the proper performance of the duties of this office, and to none, from its nature, may independent action be so safely trusted. Its province is not to originate measures but to judge of those proposed by others;—not to attack but to defend;—not to make laws but to expound them. The impartial and calm exercise of well informed reason is the only duty of this department;—a reason uninfluenced by fear or favour or interest. To make it dependent on the people, would be to render it pliable to every blast of popular excitement; is inconsistent with the nature of its duties, and without an object; for though the will of the people ought to be consulted in the enactment of laws, after these are once made, they have nothing to do with the construction and application of them, which should be governed by truth and the justice of particular cases. To make it dependent on the legislature or the executive, would be to make it an agent, and to add its power to that already possessed by the particular department to which it would be attached, thus destroying that balance of power which is the strongest bulwark of liberty, and producing the accumulation of it in the hands of a few men, against which it was the great object of the constitution to guard.

On this head, we have been struck by the following observations of Judge Hopkinson in his Eulogium quoted above.

"Judge Washington came to the bench of the Supreme Court at a period when its duties were exceedingly arduous and interesting. The convulsions of Europe, which were felt in the United States, gave birth to questions of national and constitutional law, which involved in their consequences the honour and peace of our country, and which it was the right and duty of this court to hear and determine. Many of these questions, arising out of unprecedented circumstances in the positions and pretensions of the belligerent nations of Europe, and from our own peculiar relations with all of them, were new and difficult in themselves, and rendered more so by the dangers which threatened us on every side, and beset every course we might take.—In such a state of things, when the passions of the people were agitated and inflamed, and these passions were necessarily communicated to our popular assemblies, we may imagine the importance of having, in our system of government, one department which, firmly based upon a rock, lifted its head above the storm, and controlled its fury. Independent, truly independent, in all times and under all circumstances, it yields neither to the influence of the executive, nor to the clamours of the multitude; but, standing upon the Constitution, it defends it against *every* attack; and, *let it never be forgotten, they will stand, or fall together.*—'I believe before Heaven,' said the late President of the United States, 'that the durability of this Government depends upon that Court.' Immoveable in its integrity, enlightened in its knowledge, patriotic in its designs, at the period I have alluded to, it understood perfectly its powers and its duties, and moving on with the moderation of true dignity and the confidence of conscious rectitude, no considerations of policy or popularity could change its course. This exalted tribunal, exalted by the trust and power reposed in it by the Constitution, *whose guardian it is*, and scarcely less so by the qualifications of the great and good men who have exercised its powers, was then the ark of our safety; has continued to be so, and will be so, while the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and the rights we enjoy under it, the sacred inheritance of every citizen of the United States.—Therefore it is that the enemies of our institutions; of our prosperity and happiness; in a word—*of our Union*, have been and are indefatigable in their efforts to undermine the authority of this court; to bring suspicion and contempt upon it; to paralyze its strength and defame its character. Troy cannot fall while Hector lives.—Never let

an American, who loves his country, doubt that it is upon this tribunal, upon its independence, knowledge and purity; upon its being never touched by any species of corrupt influence, and never disgraced by incapacity and ignorance, that the prosperity, freedom and happiness of this people mainly depend. It is the regulating power of the complicated machine of our government; without it every part would be speedily thrown into disorder, and run wildly to confusion and ruin. If you shall live to see the day when *Faction*, whatever name it may assume, whether it shall call itself *State Rights*, or what it will, shall succeed in breaking down this barrier of the Constitution; this defence of every right you possess—be assured, and let the solemn truth sink deep into your hearts, there is an end of this government, of the union of these states and of all the happiness you enjoy under it.—The great republican experiment now for the first time put on trial; the question whether a people can govern themselves, will be pronounced to be a failure, and the friends of free institutions must give them up.—This is well known to your enemies every where, and therefore in all their discussions; in their popular harangues and festive toasts, the Supreme Court is a special object of bitter vituperation.—We have, however, the pride and consolation to know that although this hostility has been waged almost from the adoption of the Constitution, and has been supported by great and popular names, the court has continued silently to advance in the favour of the people; to fix its foundations deeper and firmer in their confidence, and to defeat and defy its assailants, by exhibiting, from year to year, the best evidences of its integrity and usefulness.—This defence will never fail, while there is virtue enough in the people to value the virtuous, and intelligence enough to know their own good."

We cannot better close these remarks than by quoting the language of Judge Marshall on the same subject, in the convention of Virginia, which met in the year 1829, to revise the constitution of that state. They are the parting words of a sage and patriot to his countrymen, and are thus introduced by Mr. Binney.

"It was particularly on the question of judicial tenure, the subject upon which he could speak after probably more personal reflection and observation than any man living, that he poured out his heart-felt convictions with an energy that belongs to nothing but truth. The proposed Constitution, while it adopted for the judges of the Superior Courts the tenure of good behaviour, guarded by a clause against the construction which had in one instance prevailed, that the repeal of the law establishing the court, and by a mere majority, should dissolve the tenure, and discharge the judge upon the world. In support of this clause, which was proposed by himself, and of the general principle of judicial independence, he spoke with the fervour and almost with the authority of an apostle. 'The argument of the gentleman, he said, goes to prove not only that there is no such thing as judicial independence, but that there ought to be no such thing:—that it is unwise and improvident to make the tenure of the judge's office to continue during good behaviour. I have grown old in the opinion that there is nothing more dear to Virginia, or ought to be more dear to her statesmen, and that the best interests of our country are secured by it. Advert, sir, to the duties of a judge. He has to pass between the government, and the man whom that government is prosecuting,—between the most powerful individual in the community, and the poorest and most unpopular. It is of the last importance, that in the performance of these duties, he should observe the utmost fairness. Need I press the necessity of this? Does not every man feel that his own personal security, and the security of his property, depends upon that fairness. The judicial department comes home in its effects to every man's fire side;—it passes on his property, his reputation, his life, his all. Is it not to the last degree important, that he should be rendered perfectly and completely independent, with nothing to control him but God and his conscience.' 'I acknowledge that in my judgment, the whole good which may grow out of this convention, be it what it may, will never compensate for the evil of changing the judicial tenure of office.' 'I have always thought from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest scourge an angry heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful and a sinning people, was an ignorant, a corrupt, or a dependent judiciary.'"

APPENDIX.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

I think it may be requested, without being considered unreasonable, of the proprietor of the American Quarterly Review, to insert what follows; being intended to correct an error on the part of the writer of an article, American Quarterly Review, September, 1835, page 118, in these words, "the same description of force (militia) which fled at North Point without seeing an enemy."

A Militia man who was at the Battle of North Point.

Baltimore, 30th October, 1835.

The force that left Baltimore on Sunday evening the 11th September, 1814, 3d Brigade Maryland militia, under the command of General Stricker, with the intention of harassing the expected advance of the British army, then afloat off North Point, evidently with the intention of landing, consisted of 550 men 5th regiment M. M., including a company from York (P.), 620 men 6th regiment M. M., 500 men 27th regiment M. M., 450 men 39th regiment M. M., 700 men 51st regiment M. M., 150 riflemen, 140 cavalry, 75 artillery, with six four pounders—making a total of 3185 men. It reached the M. meeting house, near the head of Bear creek, at eight o'clock P. M., and encamped for the night in the woods without other covering. The following morning a small corps was pushed in advance, the same that fell in with the British and had the skirmish in which General Ross was killed; the 6th regiment was stationed on a rising ground, about one mile in the rear, on whom the main body in case of need were to fall back and rally on; 150 men of the 5th regiment, who had been engaged in the advance skirmish, were too much exhausted to be taken into the line, thus leaving, of all arms, 2415 men in line, from which take 700 men, 51st regiment, who fled at an early period of the cannonading, there remained 1715 militia, to meet a regular British force, consisting of 4th regiment, 750 men, 25th regiment, 1000, 44th regiment, 650, 85th regiment, 700, two battalions of marines not attached to the ships of war, (a letter from Colonel Malcolm, found on board the captured schooner St. Lawrence, stated his battalion of marines, when it left Portsmouth, to have been 800 men,) say each battalion 600 men, 1200, 600 marines belonging to the ships of war, one company artillery and one company of rocketeers 100, 600 sailors—total 5600. How the 1715 militia met them, let a British account, The Subaltern in America, tell. Speaking of the advance of the army after disembarking, he says, "Of the exact number of combatants thus brought together I can hardly offer an opinion; we had lost at Bladensburg about 500 men in all, but of these many were so far convalescent as to take the field again, and our reinforcements from the fleet were considerable. Balancing the one against the other, therefore, I should be disposed to say that somewhat about five thousand, or five thousand five hundred men moved from the water's edge this morning." After speaking of the advanced skirmish in which Ross fell, he

continues—"When I overtook the skirmishers, they were in full pursuit of the Americans, now flying with all precipitation before them; the wood was accordingly emptied in a trice, but on reaching its skirts we found in truth what we had expected to find, that the riflemen now dislodged were nothing more than the outposts, or rather advanced corps of a regular army. At the opposite extremity of a few open fields, about 6000 or 7000* were drawn up in line, their left resting on a lake, and their right extending to a creek; their centre was protected by high palings and a row of lofty trees, whilst all before them was exposed and bare to the distance of nearly half a mile. Of artillery they appeared to have six or eight pieces in the field; these were arranged, two on the main road, which fell in towards the right of the position, three somewhat farther to the left, and the remainder singly at different intervals between the corps of infantry. About half musket shot in front of them was a farm house, surrounded by numerous barns, stables, and stack yard—whether or not they had filled it with troops, we had no means of ascertaining, but it occurred to Charlton that it might be worth while to seize it, in case they should have neglected a measure to them of so much importance; with this in view we lost no time in rushing on—we sprang over the paling, and having received two discharges of grape from the guns on the road, reached the house in question with the loss of only three men. The enemy had not occupied it. We took possession without delay, and rejoiced sincerely in the error of which they had been guilty, determined that no efforts should on our parts be wanting to hinder them from retaking it. Established in this snug post, abundant leisure was granted for observing, as well the dispositions made by the enemy to receive the attack, as the advance of our own troops to make it, and a most animated spectacle both the one and the other presented. On the side of the Americans, mounted officers could be seen riding backwards and forwards, apparently encouraging the men to do their duty; some companies moving from its rear, wheeled up into line, others, quitting the line, fell back towards the reserve; but the corps that attracted the chief of our attention was the identical riflemen whom we had so lately driven before us out of the wood; they continued for some time to drop in by sections of six, eight, and ten, and taking post in the rear of the line, resumed as they best could something like order. Nor were other manifestations of a resolution to keep their ground wanting; several tumbrils and ammunition wagons arriving, were speedily emptied of their contents, and casks of cartridges, ranged at intervals between the men, bore testimony to the zeal with which the store-keeper's department had been attended to. Such was the condition of the affairs on the right. Away towards the left a good deal of marching and counter-marching went on, but whether it arose from some mismanagement in the original disposition of the force, I cannot tell; it struck me as very highly injudicious, to render raw troops thus unsteady at the very moment when they were about to come under fire, and I confess I did not augur very favourably of the determination which that flank at least of the Americans would exhibit;† lastly, the heads of two columns appearing in the skirts of the more remote thicket, pointed out how the reserve was stationed,‡ and almost

* 2415 men of all arms.

† The 51st regiment M. M., had been ordered to form at a right angle on the left of the line; by mistake it was marched into line, and whilst counter-marching to take the intended ground, it got into confusion and fled.

‡ There was no reserve in the field; the heads of two columns were regiments marching into line, who had until that period been placed about three hundred yards in the rear.

told of what numbers it consisted. How different was the prospect to which a glance towards our rear introduced us. We had taken possession of the farm-house perhaps ten minutes or a quarter of an hour before the leading divisions of our troops began to diverge from the forest; as soon, however, as they showed themselves, a flank movement to the right was made, and the 85th regiment, in beautiful regularity, spread itself at extended order over the whole of the enemy's front, the seamen who came next marched straight forward along the road till they came within cannon shot of the American line, where they halted, the 4th regiment arriving after them, wheeled off as the 85th had done to the right, but instead of extending itself, filed along in columns of half companies, by the rear of the light troops, until it was lost to further observation in a grove. A similar movement was made by the 44th and a battalion of marines, who forming line in the open field, stood to support the skirmishers, whilst the 21st, taking up its ground on the road, came in on the rear of the column, of which the seamen constituted the front. All these formations were executed with as much coolness and precision as if the whole had been nothing more than a review; and in the eyes of us who watched it, the spectacle was in the highest degree amusing.

"In the meanwhile, neither the American artillery nor our own remained idle; the head of the column no sooner appeared, than the enemy's pieces, which commanded the road, opened upon it, and though the range was somewhat long, did considerable execution. To check this, Captain Carmichael, by whom the British artillery was commanded, instantly ordered two guns and a howitzer to the front, and pushing them forward within point blank distance of the Americans, soon paid them back with interest, in their own coin—I do not know that I ever saw shots more accurately thrown. At the first discharge, five American gunners were killed;* at the next, one of the pieces was disabled; upon which, turning their attention to the infantry, our artillery mowed them down by whole sections. On this occasion the missile principally used was the sharpnel. It may perhaps be necessary to inform the unmilitary reader, that the sharpnel is a hollow globe of iron, the cavity of which is filled up, not with powder only, but with a quantity of musket balls. It is discharged from a cannon exactly as a round shot is discharged, and being supplied with a fuse more or less short, according to the distance to be traversed, it bursts just in front of its object, and throws the whole of its murderous contents forward. To-day it did dreadful havoc. The Americans could not stand before it, but shrunk away from each spot where a shell had fallen, as if there had been something deadly in the very soil. But it was not on the road alone that a smart cannonading was kept up. The three guns of which I have already spoken as being stationed in the fields towards the Americans' left, opened upon the 85th regiment as soon as they had taken their ground. The soldiers however paid little heed to the salutation. Being commanded to lie down, they did so, and rested for twenty minutes very composedly, in defiance of the showers of balls that fell thick and fast about them. At the expiration of that period, every necessary preparation appearing to be complete, Colonel Brooke, on whom the chief command had devolved, was seen to ride along the rear of the line, followed by his staff. Halting about the centre of the field, the little group turned their glasses for a few minutes in the direction of the enemy's position, and then, as if satisfied all things were in order, they began to disperse. An aid-de-camp galloped off to the right, Mr. Evans flew towards the left, and the orderly bugler sounding the charge, the whole army sprung

* Not one killed, several were wounded.

into its ranks. The spirit stirring notes were echoed back from all quarters, and the line moved forward. I have said our position all this while was among a number of houses and corn stacks, situated about midway between the hostile armies. Nothing can be conceived more animated or more imposing than the spectacle that now met our gaze. The light troops, in extended order, stretching from one thicket to another, covered the entire open space, and advanced with the same coolness and in the same admirable style as if they had been marching upon a parade. In their rear, though far enough removed to be in a great measure secure against the fire of musketry, came a compact line, whose business it was rather to give support wherever it should be needed, than to take any active part in the battle. On the road again, a dense column of blue jackets pressed forward—with alacrity and contempt of danger which so eminently distinguish the British sailor—whilst a battalion in column marched after it, ready to follow up with advantage whatever success the privileged undisciplined valour of the seamen might obtain. On the side of the Americans all was stillness and expectation. The corps which up to this moment had been continually changing their ground, now stood fast. The whole were in line, and, with shouldered arms, appeared to watch the progress of their enemies, like men who were determined not to be beaten. I thought indeed that I could perceive a little wavering at one particular point; it was a spot towards their extreme left, which in the course of the cannonade had received more than its due proportion of salutations, but whether I was correct or not it was impossible for me to say, inasmuch as the vision became almost instantly obscured by columns of smoke.

"The Americans had in their line several pieces of cannon from which no discharge had taken place. What their object was in keeping them so long idle, I know not; perhaps they imagined that their fire, when opened unexpectedly, would produce a double effect, and on that account reserved it for the attack. Be this as it may, our infantry had not advanced ten paces, when a volley of grape was poured upon them from every gun in the field, and the plunging of balls all along the grass, the crashing of rails, trees, and other objects struck, as well as not a few prostrations among the soldiers themselves, gave proof that the salutation was not less serious than noisy. As yet it may be said that I and my immediate followers ranked nothing more than spectators of the dispositions and movements of our comrades. Occasionally, indeed, a cannon shot passing through the window of the house, or lodging in one of the stacks, bore testimony that the enemy were not wholly unmindful of us; but we were already so far in advance, that to push on till the others overtook us, would have been the height of absurdity. Now however we began to feel, that a state of quiescence was not exactly that which became us. Having waited till a few of the most forward of the skirmishers begun to seek shelter behind our farm yard, we likewise assumed the offensive, and dashing from our lurking place, pressed onwards. Immediately in front of the farm-house ran a high railing similar to those of which I have before had occasion to speak, as intersecting almost every field or open spot in this quarter of America. We were in the act of springing over it, when the enemy directing against us a couple of six-pounders, swept down five or six men out of the company. Up to this moment not a single musket had been discharged from either side, and the most perfect silence prevailed throughout the ranks of both armies. The British soldiers moved forward with their accustomed fearlessness, and the Americans with much apparent coolness, stood to receive them. Now, however, when a little more than a hundred paces divided the one line from the other, both parties made ready to bring matters more decidedly to a personal struggle. The Americans were the first to use their small arms. Having rent the air with a shout, they fired a volley, begun upon the right,

and carried away regularly to the extreme left, and then loading again, kept up an unintermitted discharge, which soon in a great degree concealed them from our observation. Nor were we backward in returning the salute. A hearty British cheer gave notice of our willingness to meet them; and firing and running we gradually closed upon them, with the design of bringing the bayonet into play. I hardly know what language to employ for the purpose of conveying to the mind of a reader who possesses no practical acquaintance with the subject, something like a clear idea of a battle, at that period in its progress at which we have now arrived. Volley upon volley having been given, we were now advanced within less than twenty yards of the American line, yet such was the denseness of the smoke, that it was only when a passing breeze swept away the cloud for a moment, that either force became visible to the other. It was not, therefore, at men's persons that the fire of our soldiers was directed. The flashes of the enemy's muskets alone served as an object to aim at, as, without doubt, the flashes of muskets alone guided the enemy. At last, however, the wind suddenly sprung up. The obscurity in which both parties had been enveloped was cleared away, and there sure enough stood our opponents, not, as they stood an hour ago, in close and compact array, but confused by the murderous fire to which they had been exposed. Napoleon Bonaparte has affirmed, that he never witnessed any thing more terrific than the fire of a British line of infantry. Of this the Americans had to-day received the most appalling proofs; numbers lay dead among the feet of their comrades; numbers more had retired maimed or wounded; and those who still kept the field, were broken and confused. One thing alone was required to complete the rout. Our gallant fellows, uttering a hearty cheer, threw in their last volley, and then rushed forward with the bayonet; but a shock, which the flower of European armies had never been able to withstand, the Americans ventured not to receive. They lost in a moment all order, and fled as every man best could, from the field.

"There was but one road along which horses or carriages could move, and it became crowded to excess in a moment. Whilst the infantry, dashing into the forest, thought to conceal themselves among its mazes, the cavalry, of which a few squadrons had been drawn up upon their right, scampered off by the main road, and was immediately followed by guns, tumbrils, ammunition wagons, and the whole materiel of the army. To arrest the progress of all, or some part of that force, became now our great object. "Hurrah for the guns!" was a word of command first uttered by Colonel Brooke; it was repeated, with loud laughter and tumultuous outcries, from one rank to another; and desperate and unremitting were the efforts we made to overtake and cut off such as were hindmost. But unhappily the absence of even the mounted troopers told sorely against us to day. The truth of it is, the American ordnance, drawn by fleet horses, readily escaped. And out of the whole party, only two guns* and one tumbril alone, fell into our hands. Of prisoners, we were fortunate enough to secure a few. The fourth regiment, which had made a detour for the purpose of turning the enemy's left, though it arrived not in time to take much share in the action, succeeded in cutting off about half a battalion from the high road, and this body, driven back upon its pursuers, saved itself from annihilation by laying down its arms.† Thus ended the affair of the 12th September, after about one hour and a half of pretty severe fighting. On our side

*But one gun fell into hands of the British, and that from the horses being killed.

†Exclusive of wounded, but fifty of our men fell into the hands of the British—not one more.

the loss sustained could not exceed two hundred men in all,* on the part of the Americans, at least double the number had fallen. The dead, indeed, lay in clusters far more frequent and far more numerous, than any where, I at least discovered, at Bladensburg; and as the proportion between the killed and wounded in an army is usually as five to one, it was easy to collect that the whole amount of persons rendered hors-de-combat, must have been very considerable.† Yet there was not amongst us one man, who did not feel that the victory had been purchased at a terrible price,—it had cost the life of our General, and in so doing had crippled all our resources."

*The following official Returns show that the British loss was 329 men.

Return of killed and wounded in the action with the enemy near Baltimore, 12th Sept. 1814. Gen. Staff, 1 Major Gen., 2 horses killed, 3 do. wounded.

Royal Marine Artillery, 1 rank and file killed, 3 do. wounded.

Royal Artillery, 6 rank and file wounded.

4th Regiment, 1 sergeant, 1 rank and file killed, 3 sergeants, 10 rank and file wounded.

21st Regiment, 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 9 rank and file killed, 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 77 rank and file wounded.

44th Regiment, 11 rank and file killed, 3 captains, 3 subalterns, 5 sergeants, 78 rank and file wounded.

85th Regiment, 3 rank and file killed, 2 captains, 1 subaltern, 26 rank and file wounded.

Royal Marines, 2d Battalion, 4 rank and file killed, 10 rank and file wounded.

" " 3d Battalion, 2 rank and file killed, 1 sergeant, 9 rank and file wounded.

Detachments of Marines from the ships, attached to the 2d Battalion, 2 rank and file killed, 1 rank and file wounded.

Detachments of Royal Marines under captain Rolyns, 2 rank and file killed, 1 captain, 9 rank and file wounded.

Total, 1 General Staff, 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 35 rank and file killed, 7 captains, 4 subalterns, 11 sergeants, 229 rank and file wounded. 290 total.

(Signed,) HENRY DEBRIEG, Maj. A. D. A. A. General.

Killed, wounded and missing of the Naval Brigade, commanded by Captain E. Crofton of H. M. Ship Royal Oak, and serving with the army on shore, under M. G. Ross, 12th Sept. 1814.

Total killed, wounded, and missing, 6 killed, 32 wounded, 1 missing. Total 39. British total killed and wounded, 329 men.

†List of killed and wounded of the 3d Brigade, at the late engagement at Long Log Lane, Sept. 12th, 1814.

Captain Montgomery's Artillery, wounded, Joseph Brooks, 2d Lieut. 1 sergeant, 12 privates, 1 since dead.

5th Regiment Infantry, killed 6, wounded Capt. Steuart, Lieut. Reese, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals and 40 privates. 27th Regiment Infantry, killed Adjutant James L. Donaldson and 8 privates, wounded Major Moore, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals and 41 privates. 39th Regiment Infantry, killed 3 privates, wounded Capt. Quantril, 2 corporals and 20 privates. 51st Regiment Infantry, killed 3 privates, wounded Ensign Kirby and 3 privates. Rifle Battalion, killed Lieut. Andre and two privates, wounded 2 sergeants and 5 privates. Recapitulation, killed, 1 adjutant, 1 subaltern and 22 privates; wounded, 1 major, 2 captains, 3 subalterns, 12 non-commissioned officers and 121 privates. Total killed and wounded 163 Americans. Made prisoners, 1 subaltern, 49 non-commissioned officers and privates. The recapitulation contains the aggregate of prisoners taken by the enemy, excepting those paroled at the Meeting House, included in the wounded.

L. FRAILEY, B. M. 3d Brigade, M. M.



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